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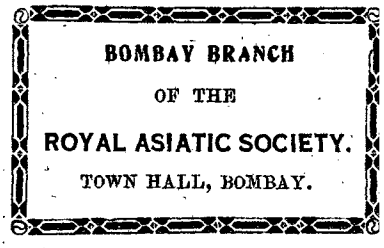

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THE WORLD'S HISTORY

THE WORLD'S HISTORY

A SURVEY OF MAN'S RECORD

EDITED BY

DR. H. F. HELMOLT

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY THE

RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

VOLUME V

SOUTH-EASTERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

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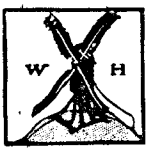
WITH PLATES AND MAPS



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WILLIAM HEINEMANN
1907

PREFACE

WE feel that a word of apology is due to our subscribers for the delay which has attended the publication of the present volume. The difficulties of production have been greater than we anticipated. Our contributors found, in several cases, that it was impossible to give a satisfactory account of the subjects which they had undertaken without making independent researches on an extensive scale. We hope that the delay is justified by the result; the present volume may fairly claim to be a fuller and more accurate account of South-Eastern and Eastern Europe than any which is to be found in the older universal histories.

Special attention has been devoted to the origins of the peoples whose history is here narrated. On this side of the subject the volume is particularly indebted to the work of J. Marquart on "East European and East Asiatic Migrations" (Leipsic, 1903), and to that of N. Jorga on the "History of the Roumanians" (Gotha, 1905, 2 vols.). The last-named work is included in the "Staatengeschichte" series of Lamprecht. Dr. Armin Tille, the editor of this portion of the series, courteously placed the proofs, as far as the middle of the second volume, at the disposal of Dr. Helmolt.

In this, as in previous volumes, we have departed from the practice of similar works by treating with exceptional fulness those peoples and regions which have been generally neglected as unimportant. It is hoped that our volume will be, for this reason, more generally useful than if we had followed the beaten track. Moreover, it is impossible to settle the relative importance of events and movements on *a priori* principles. To give only two instances, the question of Bulgarian origins turns out to be of unsuspected interest; and the history of the Bogumiles, as investigated in the following pages, supplies a missing chapter in the history of Slavonic ecclesiastical literature.

Our general subject is Eastern Europe, in the wider sense which we have given to the term in our introduction to Vol. VII. The subject has been divided into seven sections. The first of these, from the pen of Dr. Rudolf von Scala, forms a continuation of Vol. IV., Chap. V., and traces the development of Hellenism from the death of Alexander the Great. Part of this section is devoted to the history of mediæval Greece, and illustrates more particularly the influence of Byzantium upon her subject provinces. The sections on the Albanians and European Turkey are connected with one another at several points, and may be regarded as supple-

menting the Hellenic section. Then follow sections on Bohemia and Moravia previously to 1526, and on the Southern Slavs. The sixth section deals with the Danubian races, the seventh deals with the remaining Slav peoples, and deserves a special mention for the originality of the arrangement and the attempt to trace the general course of Slavonic development. All students of Russian history must be grateful to the work of Schiemann and Brückner on this subject (in Oncken's "Allgemeine Geschichte"). But in some respects our section adds to the results of these learned specialists; partly as to the origins of the Russian Empire, partly as to the century between Ivan IV. and Peter the Great. Poland also has received special attention from our contributor. In this, as in the fourth and sixth sections, the influence of Germany upon Slavonic development has been fully illustrated.

For the Albanian and Danubian sections, left incomplete by the premature and lamented death of their respective authors, Dr. Helmolt is partially responsible. He has completed the Albanian section; in the Danubian section, the author of which died as far back as 1899, he has incorporated the results of the most recent researches. His original intention was to include in this volume a section on the historical importance of the Baltic. This, however, through pressure of space has been carried over to the sixth volume.

Prof. Dr. Ludwig Mangold, of Budapesth, has rendered valuable assistance in settling some crucial questions of Hungarian history; the explanation of the "Golden Bull" of 1222-1351 has been revised by Prof. Dr. A. Luschin von Ebengreuth of Graz; the modest but highly valuable account of the literature of the gipsies of Central and Southern America, a point hitherto neglected, is due to Consul Ed. Rickert, of Hamburg.

It is also our pleasant duty to express our acknowledgments to those who have met our wishes as regards the illustration of the volume. We have to thank the authorities of the Moravian provincial archives at Brünn, of the Royal Roumanian Academy at Bucharest, of the Royal Public Library and Cabinet of Engravings at Dresden, of the Ducal Library at Gotha, of the town archives at Iglau, of the Royal Czartoryski Museum at Cracow, of the Germanic National Museum at Nuremberg, of the National Library at Paris, of the Bohemian Museum at Prague, of the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, the Royal and Imperial Familienfideikommiss Library, of the royal, court, and state archives, and of the court library at Vienna.

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I

THE GREEKS AFTER ALEXANDER THE GREAT

By PROF. DR. RUDOLF VON SCALA

1. HELLENISM

A. The World-wide Position of Hellenism

(*a*) *Hellenism before Alexander the Great*

THE dialects of the Greek races were influenced by long intercourse with the adjoining peoples of Illyria, Asia Minor, and Thraco-Phrygia. Hellenism also, which, in the course of expansion, often settled on a soil already peopled, must have had the peculiarities of its culture considerably modified in those cases.

The undeviating and broad path along which the Greek religion moved from Fetichism to a religion of ethical content, as shown by the Eleusinian mysteries with their lesson of maternal love, had been a true national Greek path. But not merely are the traces of the influence of neighbouring nations distinctly recognisable in the different countries; the substratum of the indigenous population shows through, however much it may have been depressed, so that we cannot speak of a fusion of races in the strictest sense. Just as the Catholic Church received and Christianised the old heathen cults, so the deities of the older strata of the population were taken over by the Greeks together with the seats of their worship; for example, the earth-deities and nature-deities of the inhabitants of Asia Minor, the orgiastic cults of the Thracians, and, later, Semitic and Egyptian deities. The service of the Ephesian goddess, with its exclusive priesthood and attendant eunuchs, strikes us as foreign and non-Greek, in the same way that the goddess Rhea in Crete belongs to the aborigines of Asia Minor. The great nature-goddess Ma, the mother of all life, at whose feet the beasts of the forest lie, while lions draw her chariot, is worshipped where the sun is nearest, on the lofty mountain tops which his fiery rays first kiss.

When autumn with a master's brush gave fresh beauty to the dying foliage on tree and shrub, the Phrygians mourned for their great divinity in bitter grief; but when in springtide nature, so long dead, was revived with mysterious growth and burgeoning, the youth of the nation sallied forth with dance and barbaric music to celebrate in the awakening of spring the resurrection of the god Sabazius. The Greeks adopted the analogous cult of the Thracian Dionysus

(cf. Vol. IV, p. 83). The music which is so closely associated with the ritual of these cults may possibly have found its way among the Greeks. While Greek music was acquainted with a minor scale, which contained the same notes ascending and descending, and therefore was without a dominant note, the Phrygo-Lydian music, which now became prevalent, was a major mode, corresponding roughly to the major keys of the Gaelic folk songs. The Phrygian musician Olympus was regarded as a personification of this influence; and, generally speaking, the memory of the Greek debt to Asia Minor was preserved with remarkable fidelity in the nomenclature and the ideas of history.

The Apollo cult, which had become entirely Greek, rested in many points on the worship of the Lycian sun-god; Apollo, Artemis, and Leto were, even in Hellenistic times, national gods of Lycia; the Lycian singers of Delos, such as Olen, continued to live in the memory of the Greeks. The mysteries of the Samothracian Cabiri, Semitic in name and Asiatic in nature, had great attraction for the Greeks. The Phœnician Astarte of Paphos in Cyprus was borrowed by the Greeks; so, too, the goddess of Eryx in Sicily; and not infrequently we find in Greek temples a female deity of Greek name but foreign origin, such as the armed Aphrodite in the temples of Cythera and Sparta, and the Athena of Lindus. So also Agrigentum adopted not only the bull-god of the Semites (the bull of Phalaris), but also the Semitic custom of honouring the god with human sacrifices. And even where the old seat of worship did not lie within the new Greek territory, Greeks zealously fostered the ancient cults, as the Cyrenæans, for example, the cult of the ram-horned Ammon. By the substratum of foreign language and the facile absorption of foreign cults the barriers of Greek civilization were weakened. Community of religion between two nations increases the influence which they exert one on the other. A civilization on a higher plane transmits its forms to others; thus from the archetype of Phœnician script, as invented in Syria or Arabia, and preserved comparatively unaltered in the inscription of the Moabite king Mesa (Vol. III, p. 122), not merely the Sidonian-Phœnician and old Aramaic, but also the old Greek alphabets were derived, and the Semitic forms of trade and commerce, as fixed by the Babylonians (ibid. p. 40), the system of weights and measures and coinage (Vol. IV, p. 56), were transmitted to the Greeks. The Egyptian art of casting in iron stimulated Rhœcus, whose name is found in Naucratis, and subsequent Greek sculptors; while the colouring of the Greco-Cyprian artistic products was suggested by that of the Assyrian reliefs. The Assyrian metal-worker and the Lydian carpet-weaver gave hints to the Greek potter. The splendid system of mensuration which the Egyptian priests evolved for the benefit of the Egyptian agriculturists raised geometry to a level which opened new paths to Thales and Pythagoras.

In this way the original form of Greek civilization has received important admixtures of foreign culture. The blending was facilitated by political inclusion in Oriental empires, by close neighbourship, which ended now in wars, now in peaceful relations of trade and intercourse, and by long years of peaceful association in the same communities; in short, by the fact that a large percentage of the Greeks lived under foreign rule, by the side of foreigners and with foreigners.

The Greek towns of Cyprus obeyed an Assyrian lord; Greek princes appeared at the court of King Assarhaddon and Assurbanipal; the towns of Asia Minor and Cyrene stood under Persian kings; Greek towns in Sicily recognised Carthaginian

supremacy. Greek troops had measured swords with the tribes of Asia Minor; with Egyptians, Assyrians, Libyans, Carthaginians, Iberians, Celts, Ligurians, Etruscans, with Italian tribes and Illyrians, Thracians, Scythians, and Persians. Greek mercenaries served in the seventh and sixth centuries in Babylonia, as a poem of Alcæus shows us, and on board the Euphrates fleet of Sennacherib; and also in Egypt, as the celebrated inscriptions written by mercenaries at Abu Simbel show us. Greek States concluded treaties with the kings of Lydia, with King Amasis of Egypt, with the Carthaginians, the Persian kings and Thracian princes, and with Italian tribes. On the peaceful paths of commerce the horizon of the Greeks extended to the northern coasts of Europe and the high lands of Central Asia. The Phœnician markets were supplied by the Ionian towns with slaves and mineral ores; the products of Miletus passed through Sybaris to Etruria; Illyrian tribes, as far north as Istria, received Greek merchandise; and the town of Epidamnus had a special official to transact business with the Illyrians. Greek art exercised "by reflex action" a strong influence on Phœnician art, whose terra-cotta figures in particular show a Greek character,—Ionian curls, the archaic smile, and the Greek folds of the robe. Types like the Silenus type were simply adopted by the Phœnicians.

Crœsus provided the pillars for the temple at Ephesus; Greeks wrought the magnificent presents which the Lydian kings Alyattes and Crœsus offered to the temple of the Branchidæ at Didyma, such as the silver bowl on a base of iron which the Ionian Glaucus made for Alyattes. The bowl of King Crœsus, which held six hundred amphoræ, can hardly be regarded as a present to Delphi from that ruler; the probable history being that it was plundered from the temple of the Branchidæ and deposited in Delphi. But Ionian artists resided at Sardis. Mixed marriages between Lydians and Greeks were the order of the day; King Alyattes took an Ionian woman to wife, and a daughter of Alyattes was given in marriage to Melas of Ephesus. The poet Alcman, who developed Lydian music, was a native of the Lydian capital. Such facts explain the immense influence of Lydia on the Ionians. Xenophanes of Colophon blamed his countrymen for parading in Lydian luxury, with purple robes and gold ornaments in their carefully dressed hair. Hence the Lydian name of the garment which fell to the feet (*βασσάρα*, signifying, perhaps, originally the second part of the ceremonial dress worn in honour of the god Bassareus — the fox-skin) passed into the Greek language (just as the Lydian *κύπασσις*, perhaps also cothurnus). A Lydian historian wrote his work in Greek.

Etruscans, Latins, Umbrians, Oscans, and Sabellians must have resided at Cumæ in Lower Italy, and they introduced the Greek alphabet into their native districts. The fame of the Cumæan Apollo as a god of healing induced Rome to receive the god on the occasion of a severe pestilence, and to give a lasting recognition to the Sibylline books. Owing to a disastrous failure of the crops the Greek deities Demeter, Dionysus and Core made their entry into Rome and were accorded a temple, which was embellished by the Greek artists Damophilus and Gorgasus. The priestesses for the secret festivals of Demeter came from Campania; the introduction of the god Hermes and the founding of his temple (which was connected with a corn exchange) were associated with the import of corn from Lower Italy and Sicily; similarly the worship of Neptune, ruler of the sea, was due to the oversea trade with Greece. The philosophy of Pythagoras attracted

members of southern Italian tribes into its mystic circle. Greek legislature influenced the slow development of the Italian constitutions, but especially the criminal law of Rome. The struggle for written law was transferred from Greece to Italy, and political catch-words probably followed the same road. Greek art influenced Italian tribes and towns; Etruscan, like Lycian, artists must have studied in Greece, and Greek poems were translated into Etruscan.

Persia and Greece began at an early period to exchange the products of their civilizations. The palaces of the Persian kings were adorned not merely with the spoils of their victories over the Greeks, such as the brazen ram's-horns found at Susa in 1901 (which the Greeks cast from captured arms and had offered to Apollo of Didyma), and the statue of the god which Canachus of Sicyon had sculptured. The palaces at Susa must have been built and decorated by Greek artists. The name of one of these alone, Telephanes of Phocæa, who worked at the court of Darius, has come down to us; but their traces are visible in the whole style of Persian architecture, in the harmonious agreement between the interior and the façade, in the great audience-chambers and halls of columns (*apadâna*), in the fluted pillars and their bases. In sculpture and painting the bold treatment of the dress and hair which, in spite of all similarity, is sharply differentiated from the Assyrian style, the drawing of the eye, the representation of the step, are all thoroughly Greek. Together with Greek artists, who must have been nearly akin to those of Ægina, numerous Greek works of art (Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Apollo) reached Persia, and in their turn served as models.

The lesser products of Persian art are equally Greek. The splendid amphora, of which two handles have found a resting-place in the Louvre and the Berlin Antiquarium, is, with its Ionic acanthus leaves and Persian winged ibexes, as completely Greek as the golden bowl of Theodoros of Samos, as the golden vine with the emerald-green grapes which shaded the throne of the Achæmenidæ, or the golden plane-tree, masterpieces which Antigonus Monophthalmos ordered to be melted down. Numerous gems were made by Greeks for Persians, in Oriental setting but with Greek designs. Thus on a cylinder of chalcedony, found at Kertch, Darius is represented chastising the rebel Gaumata, the latter in Grecian garb. Another gem exhibits a scene of ritual, a Persian queen entering the presence of a deity; her cloak is drawn as a veil over the back of her head in the Greek fashion. Hunting scenes, with Persian cuneiform inscriptions, point to Greek workmanship in the fidelity to nature with which the deer and trees are delineated. Indeed, the political disruption of the Greeks is strikingly expressed to us on one such Persian gem: a noble Persian holds two naked Greek prisoners fastened by a rope, and the guard of the prisoners appears as a Greek in full armour.

In other spheres, also, Greek culture was employed by the Persians. The Greek physician Democedes of Croton practised at the court of Darius, the first of a series of physicians in ordinary at the Persian court, and was sent on a journey of exploration. A Carian explorer, Scylax of Caryanda, used the Greek language to describe his travels, undertaken by the order of Darius, which included the courses of the Cabul River and the Indus down to the sea. Finally, this intimate intercourse increased the awe with which the Persian kings regarded the Greek gods. A strong proof of this is afforded by the well-known decree of Darius to

the governor Gadatas, expressing his royal dissatisfaction that taxes had been imposed upon the officials of the shrine of the Branchidæ. Three hundred talents of incense were offered to the Delian Apollo, and the most complete immunity was assured to all his subjects. Thus the every-day intercourse of Greece and Persia presents a quite different picture from that afforded by the Persian wars of traditional history.

Phrygian art also was stimulated by Greece. Façades in the style of the Greek temples took the place on the tombs of the native Phrygian façades with their Egyptian pylons and lions like those of Caria and Mycenæ. The tombs of Ayazinu show us the increasing effect of Greek influence, until finally the façade on a tomb at Gherdek-Kaiasi bears all the characteristics of a Dorian temple.

But the Greeks did not live merely *amongst* foreigners and *near* foreigners; the Greek community included members who spoke alien tongues. The Greeks thus lived *with* foreigners on the closest terms of intercourse.

Scattered over the wide expanse of the Mediterranean, on the desert which fringes the highlands of Barca, on the fertile banks of the Rhone, on the slopes of Etna, in the hill country of Epirus, on the coasts of the Black Sea, and in the valley of the Nile the strangest types of city-state developed and adapted themselves to the country without faltering in their loyalty to their common home.

Prehistoric strata were preserved on completely Greek soil, as in Lemnos and Crete, down to the age of writing (witness the so-called Tyrrhene inscription from Lemnos and Eteocretan inscriptions from Praisos). The language of every-day life at Ephesus was permeated with Lydian, while the vernacular of Tarentum showed Italian elements; the town of Perinthus had a Thracian tribal division (Phyle); Bithynians of Thrace served the Byzantines as bondsmen, and Siculi were the serfs of Syracusan landholders. The petty townships of the peninsula of Athos were inhabited by a Thracian population, which was, however, so far Grecised that it employed Greek as the colloquial language; while in towns of what is now Southern France Iberian and Greek quarters existed, and from this region was diffused through the Greek world that influence of Northern, and especially Celtic, civilization which we are accustomed to term the La Tène culture (Vol. I, p. 173). The language, writing, and products of Greece were disseminated through purely Celtic regions. To this intercourse are due those imitations of Greek gods and letters on Celtic coins, which were prevalent from the mouth of the Seine to Bohemia, and on the commercial highway as far as the Lower Rhine and Northern Italy.

In Egypt the Greek *enclaves*, the Greek mercenaries of Daphne (Tell Defennet), and the Greek manufacturing and commercial town of Naucratis carried on a brisk trade with the Egyptians, in accordance with whose customs scarabæi were made and engraved, and with whose neighbourly assistance a whole cycle of Greco-Egyptian myths was formed. It was then that the pretty legend of the treasure-house of Rhampsinitus (Vol. III, p. 674) originated, which throughout is not originally Egyptian, but an imitation of the legend of Trophonius and Agamedes, who built the treasury of King Augeias of Elis. The priests then adopted the legend of Proteus and the Egyptian king, who tore Helena away from Paris in order to restore her to her husband. This arrest of Paris in Egypt looks much like a frivolous travesty of the Greek legend. The festival of Perseus was celebrated at Chemmis with gymnastic contests in imitation of the Greek games; in

fact, the entire cycle of Delian myths is transplanted to Egypt, and a floating island was discovered there also. This mutual exchange of intellectual wealth between Greeks and Egyptians may account for the introduction of the bands and the annulets of the Doric columns which encircle the floreated Egyptian capitals. Pharaoh Necho, after the victory over King Josiah of Judah at Megiddo, dedicated his coat of mail to Apollo of Branchidæ, and the earliest dated Greek inscriptions of 590–589 (mentioned on page 2) relate to an expedition of King Psammetichus II against Ethiopia, in which Greek mercenaries were engaged (cf. Vol. III, p. 684); they are engraved on the leg of a colossal Ramses in the splendid rock-temple of Abu Simbel far up in Nubia.

Amasis the Philhellene contributed to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, dedicated in the temple of Lindus a linen breastplate, in which every thread was woven out of three hundred and sixty strands corresponding to the days of the year in the old calendar, and sent presents to Sparta. In his reign the settlements of the Greeks were transferred from the Pelusiac arm of the Nile to Memphis and further, a place in the Delta; subsequently Naucratis (Vol. III, p. 686) was assigned to them, which was completely disconnected from the Egyptian State and received absolute self-government. The Greeks, faithful to their language, manners, and customs, erected there a central shrine, the Hellenion, for all their Egyptian colonies, which thenceforward multiplied more rapidly and extended far into the desert. The Samians had founded a factory in the great oasis of Uah el-Khargeh (seven days' journey from Thebes). We hear of the brother of the poetess Sappho as a wine-merchant in Naucratis; Alcæus, the poet, stayed in Egypt, while his brother distinguished himself in the service of Nebuchadnezzar. The foremost men of Greece either actually visited Egypt, or, according to the legend, drew wisdom from these newly opened sources. Solon and Pythagoras undoubtedly stayed in Egypt. At this period the terms for coarse linen (*φώσσων* and *ἡμιτόβιον*) and fine linen (*σινδών*), and linen tunics ornamented with fringes (*καλάσιρις*), found their way from Egyptian into Greek.

There were three strata of population in Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia: a Greek (Æolian or Thessalian), an Illyrian, and a Corinthian (or Northwest Greek) imposed one on the other, and these tribes were usually regarded by the Greeks as mixed nationalities. In fact, the strong Thraco-Illyrian strain among the Macedonians enabled the more exclusive spirits of old Greece to stigmatise the Macedonians as barbarians (Vol. IV, p. 297).

The numerous Carian names among the families of Halicarnassus show how strongly the original population was represented, while the naming of Milesians after the goddess Hecate illustrates the power of the Carian cult. The intimate union of races is proved by the fact that the fathers of Thales (Hexamyes) and of Bias (Teutamos), the uncle of Herodotus (Panyassis) undoubtedly, and his father (Lyxas) probably, bear Carian names, such as occur also in Samos (Cheramnes) and in Cos. A similar mixture of blood occurs in Greco-Libyan and Greco-Thracian districts; Hegesypyle, wife of Miltiades, was a Thracian princess; Thucydides was descended from her father Olorus, and the two Dions and the historian Arrian had Thracian blood in their veins.

In the aristocratic and agricultural State of Lycia Greek settlers filled the rôle of a commercial and money-making middle class and disseminated a knowledge of the arts for which their native land was famous. Dynasts of Lycia

struck coins which represent them with the Persian tiara, but bear on the reverse the figure of the goddess Athena. Monuments were erected to the princes, which extol them in the Lycian and Greek languages, and an Attic epigram on the Columna Xanthia praises the son of Harpagus, because with the help of Athena, the destroyer of towns, he laid low many citadels, and dedicated to Zeus more trophies than any mortal. Greeks and Dynasts together drew up in bilingual agreements the regulations for festivals, as is shown by the inscription of Isinda. The coins of the towns of Mallos, Issos, and other places on the Cilician coast bear Greek inscriptions by the side of those in Aramaic.

The Greek towns of the kingdom of the Bosphorus, such as Panticapæum (near the modern Kertch), founded by the Milesians, which climbs the hills in terraces, not only accepted the Phrygian Mother, but, since Scythians also lived in the same political community, had in great measure adopted Scythian manners. Thus they covered their lower limbs with the trousers and high boots of the barbarian. Masterpieces of Greek art, like the silver vase of Kertch, originated in these towns; nevertheless an Oriental influence became more and more prominent, in the huge sepulchral mounds which they raised, in the decoration of their robes with gold leaf, in the use of the Persian mitre and the golden diadem as the royal head-dress (cf. Vol. IV, p. 77 *et seq.*). Olbia also enjoyed brisk commerce with the Scythians, and was subject to Scythian influence (cf. Vol. IV, p. 273). A flourishing inland trade was conducted along the Dniester, Bug, and Narew, and the connections of the traders extended to the mouths of the Vistula; on the caravan road to Central Asia, which even at the present day possesses importance, and suggests the line of the future trans-continental railroad (Vol. II, p. 224), there lay in the middle of forest-country a town built of wood and surrounded with palisades, in which Hellenic farmers and trappers settled. They borrowed largely from the language of the adjoining tribes, and, far from their homes in the northern forests, worshipped their own deities, especially Dionysus. A Greek cup found on the Obwa, representing the dispute between Ulysses and Ajax, and a statue of Hygeia found at Perm, show that Greek trade flourished even in those parts.

The Greek people thus grew to maturity in constant intercourse with every nation of the civilized world. The ancient bonds of union, the national games, which united the Greeks of the most various regions, and the common religious centres soon made the whole nation share alike in the lessons which had been learned on the fringes of the Greek world. It was only when all intellectual importation had become unnecessary that exclusiveness became a feature of the city-state, and it was in the age of Pericles that Athens first regarded mixed marriages with non-Athenian women as invalid.

The lands which formed the core of Greece became self-centred; but on the outer verge of Greece the national tendency was to expand and proselytise. An immense influence was disseminated from the western Greek world, which under the rule of the two Dionysi embraced the Eastern Siculi; the splendid coins of Euainetos of Syracuse were copied by the Semites in Segesta, Motye, and Panormus, as well as by the satraps of the Persian Empire, Pharnabazus and Tarcamus, while Greek gods and Greek art passed into the western Semitic world. Greeks helped subsequently to fight the war of liberation in Egypt, and yet supplied the Persians on the other hand with mercenaries and generals. Greeks served at the Persian court as body-physicians and wrote Persian history, priding themselves,

with very dubious right, on their knowledge of official records. Greeks like Memnon of Rhodes would have been the best supports of the Persian Empire, if the jealousy and distrust of the Persian nobles had not crippled them; and Greek mercenaries were the leading troops of the Persian Empire from the expedition of Cyrus down to the last desperate battle of Darius Codomannus. Thus the Greek nation, even in the decisive battle under Alexander, supplied the best warriors and the best brains on either side, and at the same time scattered with lavish hands the rich stores of Hellenic culture over all the inhabited world.

(*b*) *The World-wide Position of the Greek Nation under Alexander the Great.* — The founding of Alexander's empire (Vol. IV, p. 299) brought to the East an expansion of Greek culture; it promoted an exchange of commodities between East and West, and a mixture of barbarian and Greek nationalities, such as the ancient world had never seen before. Iberian tribes in Spain, Celtic clans in Southern France, Etruscan towns, Italian arts and crafts, Egyptian military systems and Egyptian legends, Lycian sepulchral architecture and Carian monuments, the work of Scythian goldsmiths and Persian palaces had already long been subject to Greek influence, so that the Greeks won their place in the history of the world far more as citizens of the Mediterranean sphere than by their domestic struggles. But now the old colonising activity of the Greeks, which had been relaxed for two centuries, was renewed over the whole expanse of a broad empire whose political life was Greek, whose government was Persian, whose rulers and army were Greek. The founding of Alexandria and revival of Babylon had created great cities in the East, which, from the height of their intellectual and material civilization, were destined to become the centres of the new empire. The whole stream of their wealth flowed westward; the long stored-up treasures of the Achæmenids once more circulated in the markets; the observations and calculations of Chaldæan astronomers, which went back thousands of years, became available to the Greeks. Pytheas, and after him Hipparchus, used Babylonian measures in calculating the distance of the stars. The political and religious traditions of Babylon, which had already brought the Assyrian monarchs under their spell and made a coronation in Babylon appear the necessary condition of a legitimate title, played a foremost part in the world-sovereignty of Alexander, and fitted in marvellously well with his schemes for investing his empire with a religious character. The building of the temple to Marduk Esaggil played in Alexander's plan a part not less important than the construction of harbours and dockyards.

Hellenism could now regard these conquered countries as a real intellectual possession. The reports of the general staff, which contained an exact survey of the conquered country, were deposited in the imperial archives at Babylon. Special officials (Bematists, or step-measurers) were responsible for the measurement of the distances. Trustworthy figures were forthcoming, instead of the estimates based on the caravan trade with eastern countries, against the inaccuracy of which Aristotle so vigorously protested. The course of the Indus and Ganges and the island of Taprobane (Ceylon) became known. The reports of Nearchus the Cretan effected a scientific conquest of the coast between the Indus and Euphrates. In December, 323, this explorer, the leading member of the scientific staff of Alexander, entered the Persian Gulf with a fleet for which the Himalayas had supplied the timber. To his pen is doubtless due that wonderful account of the tidal-plants

(the mangroves with their supporting roots which grow on the shore and spread far out into the sea) which is extant in Theophrastus. Alexander had intrusted to Heraclides the exploration of the Caspian Sea and its connection with the ocean, — his death prevented the execution of the plan, — and three times organised attempts to circumnavigate Arabia; but Archias of Pella, Androsthenes of Thasos, and Hieron of Soloi were all equally unable to pass the surf-beaten Cape Musandam. To the second of these naval explorers we owe the masterly description of the isle of Bahrein, Tylos, with its flowering gardens and cool fountains, on which Androsthenes stayed from December, 324, to January, 323. Here the discovery was made that plants sleep, and we are given a beautiful description of the way in which the ficus-leaves of the Indian tamarind fold up for the night. The cotton plantations, which recalled so vividly the vines of Hellas, were carefully studied. Thus we possess in this account, extant in Theophrastus, a brilliant commentary on the difference of the methods by which this expedition of Alexander opened up the conquered territories from those, for instance, of the Arabian conquerors, who saw barely anything on this marvellous island. We do not know who of Alexander's staff supplied the observations on the banyan which were made about 326, during the halt at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines, nor who so accurately mapped out the species of the trees on the Northwestern Himalayas, nor who discovered, from the case of the citron-tree, the existence of sexual differences in the vegetable kingdom. However easy it was to exaggerate in the description of the gigantic Indian fig-trees, where the Bematists fixed the circumference of the foliage at fourteen hundred and fifty yards (considerably less than that of the still existing giant trees of Nerbuda), and however difficult it was to explain the aerial roots which spring from the older branches and become supporting roots, we are everywhere astonished at the way in which these phenomena were surveyed with open eyes and intelligent appreciation. Nothing has been preserved for us of the reports of Gorgos, a mining expert, who explored, probably at Alexander's command, the gold and silver mines as well as the salt-mines in the Indian kingdom of Sopeithes, and the treatise on harbours by Cleon of Syracuse is lost. But the comprehensiveness of the survey by which the new world was opened up is clearly shown us from such broken fragments of the keenest intellectual activity.

The intellectual conquest of the East thus was achieved by the keen Western faculty for scientific observation. But the nuptials of the Orient and Occident which were celebrated at the wedding festival in Susa (Vol. IV, p. 128) remained a slave-marriage, in which the East was the lord and master. The admission of the Persians and other races into the great frame of the Macedonian army signified, it is true, a further victory of Western organisation; but the contemplated admission of Persian troops into the Macedonian phalanx would have broken it up.

And yet Alexander thought that the political organisation of Hellenism, the world-empire, was only possible by a fusion of races. By the transplantation of nations from Asia to Europe, and from Europe to Asia, it was proposed to gain for the world-monarchy, with its halo of religious sanctity, the support of those disconnected masses who were united with the ruling dynasty alone, but had no coherence among themselves. At a distance the Hellenic *Polis*, the city-state, seemed the suitable representative of a new culture; at home, however, the old constitutional life might become dangerous, so that all recollections of the

Corinthian League (Vol. IV, p. 299) were suppressed, and decrees were published by Alexander which counselled the return of the exiled, but prohibited the combined meetings of Achæan and Arcadian towns. Garrisons were placed in the towns, tyrants were favoured or condemned, so that Oriental despotism seemed to have won the day over all Western developments.

In the East the association of Alexander's sovereignty with the substrata underlying the Persian imperial organisation was unmistakable. We see how fully Alexander used the religious convictions of the Egyptians and Babylonians, and perhaps even the political traditions of the latter, for his own ends, and how he restored to the city of Sardis and the Lydians the old Lydian rights.

Court etiquette and official institutions were, on the other hand, largely borrowed by Alexander from the Persian Empire. His father Philip had taken the first step in this direction by imitating a Persian custom, the military education of noble youths at court. It was not the study of Herodotus' history and Xenophon's "Anabasis," but the presence of Persian exiles at the Macedonian court, that led to these views. The custom at the Persian court of kissing the ground; the harem, the Persian state-robe, the Persian criminal code (as in the case of Bessus), were adopted; and the eunuchs were taken over with the Persian court officials. The Vezir[1] was called in Greek, since Æschylus' "Persians," *Chiliarch*, a name which was now officially borne by Hephæstion. Chares of Mytilene was nominated chief chamberlain (εἰσαγγελλεύς), and the head scribe took a prominent position. The official protocols and royal diaries were kept up in the new Macedonian world-empire after the old Persian style. These royal diaries of Alexander form the core of the tradition on which our knowledge of the era of Alexander ought to rest, but owing to the later literature of romance they are not always recognisable beneath the mass of legends. A considerable fragment, which comprises the last days of Alexander, has been preserved for us in tolerable completeness. The Persian system of roads and the Persian imperial post were maintained; and the basis of the imperial administration was the old division into satrapies. But the powers of the governors were and they were kept in close connection with the centre of the empire. The command of the army and the administration of the finance were detached from the office of satrap; the rights of coining money and keeping mercenaries were altogether abolished.

The last year of Alexander's life was typical of the world-wide position of the Greco-Macedonian kingdom. Embassies from the sources of the Blue Nile and from the steppes of Southern Russia, from Ethiopia and the Scythian country, from Iberians, Celts, Bruttians, Lucanians, and Etruscans, and above all from Rome and Carthage, came in that year to Alexander's court. Arabia was to be circumnavigated, and a scheme initiated to regulate the irrigation of the Euphrates' region by lowering the weirs, repairing the canals, and building dykes. The coast and the islands of the Persian Gulf were to be colonised (cf. Vol. IV, p. 129). It was intended also to rear temples on the most ancient holy sites of Greece (Delos, Dodona, Delphi), as well as at home at Dion, Amphipolis, and Cyrrhus. The old hereditary culture of the East and the energy of the West seemed to be welded together, and Greek had become the language of the civilized provinces of Western

[1] In Ktesias ἀζαβαρίτης, in Hesychius ἀζαραπατεῖς = the Armenian hazarapet, from hazar, thousand, as a commander of the one thousand pomegranate-bearing bodyguards; cf. explanation to the picture in Vol. III, p. 147.

Asia, just as Babylonian had been a thousand years before. And this inheritance of Alexander was not transitory. Even if on that summer's evening of 323 B. C. (June 13), when the news that he was dead, and that the world was without a lord, burst on the passionately excited populace at Babylon, the plans for the future were dead, and the disintegration of the mighty empire was inevitable, yet the creation of a new sphere of culture, which partially embraced the ancient East, is the work of Alexander. No Roman world-empire, no world-embracing Christianity, no Byzantine Empire, with Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt as provinces, would have been possible without this monarchy of Alexander.

At the time when geographical knowledge was immensely widened towards the East by Alexander's victories, a bold mariner set sail from Marseilles (Massilia), the chief emporium of the products of the North, of amber and tin, and the centre from which Greek influence spread among Celts and Iberians; this was Pytheas, one of the most successful explorers and also the first Greek to reach the Teutons. Alexander von Humboldt characterises the great and common impulse which mastered the spirits of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries with the words, "The age of Columbus was also the age of Copernicus, Ariosto, Dürer, and Raphael." We may point to the fact that the age of Pytheas was also that of Plato, Aristotle, and Lysippus, of Philip and Alexander of Macedon.

Columbus started out in blind faith; that is shown by his *libro das profecias* (cf. Vol. I, p. 348). But Pytheas not only stood at the head of the science of his day, but increased that science by new discoveries which held good for all time. He worked with comparatively small apparatus for observation, with the gnomon (shadow-indicator), a rod, the length of whose shadow at noon during the equinox, compared with the actual length of the rod, gave the geographical latitude of the place where the observation was taken. Yet in spite of this insufficient apparatus, the latitude of Massilia, as determined by him, is correct within five minutes. The old idea that the pole star marked the celestial pole was definitely refuted by him. Scientific problems, such as the inquiry into the size of the globe and into the extent of the inhabited world, led him far out into unexplored regions; his intention was to reach the polar circle. As soon as the limits of the Mediterranean were passed, a multiplicity of phenomena attracted the attention of the bold explorer; the phenomenon of the tides, which was explained even by Plato as due to supernatural causes, was then for the first time assigned by Pytheas correctly to the action of the moon. At first driven by southwesterly winds, and then pressing forward more slowly without any assistance, he reached the northwest corner of Spain in thirteen days, and then steered out into the open sea with a northerly course for three days. The pole star showed the observer the direction of his course, and ultimately the geographical latitude was determined from the altitude of the pole. Westerly and southwesterly winds, as well as the Gulf Stream, drove Pytheas out of his course, and thus, under the belief that he had sailed continually northward, he reached the western point of Brittany and the island of Ushant (Uxisame). He then circumnavigated England, since he first sailed thirteen days to the north, reached the most northerly cape of Great Britain, and, two days later, the Shetland Islands, which he calls Aibudes. The longest day, of nineteen hours, which he records, exactly tallies with this latitude. Accounts of Thule (Iceland) found their way to him. He brought with him mysterious tales of a mixture of water, air, and earth, comparable rather to the gleaming of a medusa or jelly-fish,—

a long misunderstood description, not merely of the thick, gray mist which makes earth, the water, and the air indistinguishable, but of the northern lights. He then sailed to the mouths of the Rhine, penetrated to the Elbe, to the land of the Teutons, and to the islands which at low tide were dry land, to the island of Abalos (Heligoland?), whither in spring the waves bring the amber; finally, he reached the coast of Jutland.

Pytheas, the discoverer of the Germans, undertook his bold voyage in the interests of science, and offered to science enormous tracts of new territory, which, from foolish but explicable doubts, it long wished to relegate to the domain of fable. Some practical extension of the sphere of Massilian commerce, in fact the founding of a settlement at the mouth of the Loire, may well have been connected with this important expedition. An excessive estimate of the distance over which he sailed, and the consequent assumption of the immense expanse of the coast of Britain, certainly caused errors in the chart of Pytheas; but our age is competent fully to grasp the high importance of Pytheas as one of the earliest and most successful explorers of all times.

Greek daring and Greek intellect thus surveyed the then known world from the Shetland Islands to modern Turkestan, from the west coast of Libya to the Ganges. The survey of Britain and Persia, the aurora borealis, the tides in the Atlantic, no less than the growth of banyans and mangroves, amber on the shores of Germany, gold and silver mines in India, and scientific inquiry into the outer ocean and the limits of the land, were objects of Greek investigation as much as the laws of social development and the laws of thought itself. Thus the philosophy of Aristotle (384–322) seems to us like the pæan of this world-embracing thought, teaching that thought itself is the immaterial divinity, the cause of all movement, the absolute self-consciousness.

Insight into the laws of human thought is the most certain starting point of all knowledge. We follow in thought the universal cause into its particular effects, just as we see the white light break up in the prism into its bright component colours. That thing which, through every period of change, preserves its comprehensible existence is the object of true knowledge. All development consists in the relation of potentiality to realisation, of matter to form. If the matter develops to the form which is latent in it by design, then, according to the laws of predisposition and necessity, it develops progressively, without beginning or end, in unceasing movement, from the formless, that is, the pure matter, through an immense series of gradations, upwards to the immaterial form, to the divinity. And in this scale of gradations, where even the changes of the inorganic imply a development of latent potentialities, the evolutionary process passes through the lower forms of life, possessing but a vegetative soul, to man, whose soul is reason. Happiness is the aim of human life, and to obtain it the ethical virtues, which are rooted in the will, come into play together with knowledge. But man can never pursue his goal in solitude; he requires fellow-men and society; he is a *ζῶον πολιτικόν*, a social being. One of the great intellectual discoveries of the age of Alexander shows itself in the doctrine that man cannot fully realise his latent potentialities except in the State; this doctrine supplies an irresistible protest against those cowardly and selfish anarchist delusions of the Cynics and Megarians, who held that the only happiness possible to the individual by himself consisted in the reversion to impossible conditions of barbarism and in the enjoyment

of the moment. All intelligent persons grasped clearly the importance of the fact now established that only a combined social effort and the strength of the community had created for Hellenism that predominant place which it held in the world.

Thus Aristotle, whose influence has been felt for two thousand years, is the best personification of that age which created a living and active philosophy from the results of its achievements, and no longer clung to political phrases, but from an investigation of the abundant historical material brought into clear relief the outlines of the State and its primary object, the education of the citizens.

(*c*) *The Power and Position of Hellenism after Alexander the Great.* — The focus of political activity shifted towards the East, and the direction of world commerce changed; the centres of trade were now the new Greek cities, in comparison with which the ancient capitals seemed insignificant settlements. Alexander valued the Semite as a necessary complement to the Persian; he was also not without reverence for old traditions and for scientific eminence. He therefore promoted the prosperity of Babylon; but Seleucia on the Tigris, not Babylon, became the metropolis of the fertile plain of Mesopotamia.

The combined commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Egypt itself converged on Alexandria, that city of world trade and cosmopolitan civilization. It was there, close to that emblem of world trade, the marble lighthouse, the Pharos, which towered high above the palm-trees, and near the museum and the library, the homes of civilization, that the mortal remains of Alexander's fiery spirit found their last resting-place. How small seemed the "great" cities of the mother country compared with this city of Alexander, covering some twenty-two hundred acres (three and a half square miles) with its half million of inhabitants. Carpet factories, glass-works, the production of papyrus and incense, gave the commercial city the stamp of a manufacturing town. Alexandria, as the centre of a new movement, became also the headquarters of the new industry of cameo-cutting. That marvellous Farnesettazza, which has rightly been termed the foremost product of Alexandrine art, came from its workshops.

Alexandria then was the starting point of that policy, justly to be compared with the attitude of the English in India, which ruled the Nile country in civilization, politics, and nationality. It forced upon the native population the language of their rulers, burdened the natives alone with a poll-tax, but in compensation it allowed an infinity of religious ideas to ascend from the lower strata of society to the ruling class. Districts, towns, and villages were given new Greek names, and at the period when the Greek influence was at its height many of the old population Grecised their names or gave them a Greek look (*efonch-er* lives = Επώνυχος, and similarly Thaubastis = Θαυμαστή); and not only were the royal edicts published in the Greek language (occasionally with an Egyptian translation), but also the private contracts of ordinary business (leases, labour contracts, conveyances) are in Greek. Ptolemy Philadelphus succeeded in assigning the proceeds of a very ancient tax (the *apomoira*, or one-sixth of the produce of vineyards, orchards, and kitchen gardens) to the cult of his sister Arsinoë, that is, to the Ptolemaic government (264–263). The assignment of other imposts in compensation did not check a considerable shrinkage in the revenue of the native temples. The prevalence of Greek notions in the worship of Serapis is incontestable (Vol. III, p. 692).

Counter influences, generated in the lower levels of society, offered a stout resistance to the potent ideas of the Hellene. The old native divinities brought not merely Alexander, but also the Ptolemies, so strongly under their spell that they built numerous temples in their honour. The old administrative divisions were left, with the natural exception that the Ptolemies, following Alexander's uniform policy in Persia, placed military commanders by the side of the civil officials. The wonderfully close-meshed net of taxation, which the Pharaoh dynasty had drawn round its subjects, was preserved and developed as a welcome institution; so also the system of monopolies, the exploitation of the royal demesnes, and the official hierarchy of the court. The old magic formulæ, the influence of the Magi,[1] the mythology, and the religious ideas of Egypt poured in mighty streams into the Hellenic world. And even if these latter suffered a transformation at the hands of the Stoics and other Greek schools, yet their essential features persisted, and showed a marvellous power of revival. Even in art the old Egyptian style carried the day. We find a princess of the Ptolemaic house depicted on a cameo as an Egyptian; and if artistic representations may be trusted, the princes themselves adopted native dress.

The ancient cities of Syria were so far Grecised that the new capital Antioch on the Orontes, with its suburb Daphne, henceforward the emporium for the Euphrates trade, was surrounded by a chain of Greek settlements. Military colonies, inhabited by veterans who had earned their discharge, as well as by natives, were founded on the model of the city-state, both in the old country and in Asia Minor. City life, with a government by a mass assembly and an organisation of the citizens in tribes, flourished in these colonies. Supported by the national government, occupying the position of the dominant class, the Greeks acquired enormous influence upon social life. How completely the Greek *Polis* had conquered the Semitic East is proved by the forms of worship and of law. Ascalon could produce a Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo, in addition to Astarte and the fish-goddess (Atargatis-Derketo). The coins of Damascus show, it is true, a Dionysus, who exhibits some assimilation to the Arabian god, but they bear also the heads of Artemis, Athene, and Nikē. The so-called Syrian Code was compiled in these regions on the basis of Greek legal notions. Even in the era of the Maccabees a gymnasium in Jerusalem shocked the orthodox Jews; and the Feast of Tabernacles was, by the introduction of thyrsus wands, made to resemble the Dionysia, which, however, a Seleucid could not introduce.

Terms belonging to constitutional forms (self-government), to military matters (army, war, pay), and legislation (Sanhedrin, the titles of prosecutor, defendant, presiding judge) forced their way into Palestine. The phraseology of commerce showed Greek influence; so did the Greek legend borne by Jewish coins after the time of the Hasmonæans. Hemp now was imported hither from Greece; Greek household furniture, Greek clothing, and Greek family names preponderate.

The Jews of the Dispersion were Hellenised in various ways. The translation of the Scriptures, the Septuagint version, was due to the necessity of keeping up the knowledge of the Bible among those who had gradually lost their acquaintance with the sacred language. Thus a new channel was opened for the diffusion of Greek influence; although diffusion was accompanied by a process of corruption,

[1] So late as the Byzantine era we may point to the tomb of the Magian priestess Mithritis, found in 1902 by Alexander Gayet.

and the Greek language took a tinge of Hebraic idiom among the Jews of Alexandria.

Even the remote countries of the East now drew nearer to Hellenism. The Greeks of Asia Minor had of course belonged to the same empire as a part of the Indian nation, so that commerce was early able to bring into the Punjab the products of Greek art; and philosophical ideas, such as the Indian doctrine of the transmigration of souls, found their way to Greek territory. It is certain that the Indians, at the time of the grammarian Pânini (Vol. II, p. 415), had become familiar with the Greek alphabet, and had struck coins after the Athenian pattern. It was not until Alexander's expedition that the country was conquered by science (p. 8), and the Indian trade, which was now so important to Alexandria, became a part of Greek commerce. The Indian custom of ornamenting golden vessels with precious stones was adopted in the sphere of Greek culture; thus Stratonice of Syria sent golden cups, inlaid with ivory, as an offering to Delos, and Indian jacinth became a favourite material with lapidaries. After the conquests of science the spirit of romance asserted its claim; the imaginative writers of Alexander's age busied themselves with India. At a much earlier date the Greeks had welcomed the fantasies of Indian folk-lore, such as the gold-mining ants as large as jackals and clad in skins, which some wish to explain as a Tibetan fur-clad tribe (cf. Vol. II, p. 146). Even if the myth of the Cyclops, who occur substantially in the Mahâbhârata as Lalataxa, arose independently among the Greeks and the Indians, those tribes which always carry their homes with them, since they only require to wrap themselves up in their enormous ears, are distinctly the creation of an Indian story-teller (cf. ibid. p. 147). They also appear in the Mahâbhârata as Tscharnaprawarana. In the age subsequent to Alexander a flourishing commerce was maintained with India, and Megasthenes (ibid. p. 406) in astonishment tells of the marvellous country, its splendid mountain forests, its smiling well-watered plains, and the strong, proud race of men which breathes the pure air. What a fluttering, crawling, and leaping there is under the mighty trees, whose topmost foliage rustles in the wind! Tigers twice the size of lions, and coal-black apes, whose faces are white and bearded, roam through the Indian forest in the daytime. Gigantic serpents with bat-like wings whiz through the air at night; innumerable kinds of birds screech, and coo, and sing in a bewildering babel.

Amongst the men, however, the most remarkable were the Philosophers, who meditated over the problems of the universe in solitude for thirty-seven years and then never discussed them with women. For, as Megasthenes naïvely thought, if women were unworthy of the high teaching, a grievous sin would have been committed in wasting it on them; but if they were worthy of the teaching, they would certainly be diverted from their own duties, or, to express the idea in modern phraseology, they would be filled with ideas of emancipation. The philosophy itself was gladly recognised as akin to the wisdom of the Greeks. Megasthenes, perhaps, when he makes this statement, has in mind the doctrine of transmigration. So, too, the Greeks, when they saw the procession in honour of Siva (cf. Vol. II, p. 410) winding through the vine-clad valleys, with the clash of cymbals and kettledrums, may have thought themselves transported to their own homes during the noisy passing of a Dionysiac rout. With the Indian precious stones came their names (opal, beryl, etc.) into the West. Indian fables influenced the Greek

travellers' tales, the true precursors of Defoe's immortal work. Thus the romance of Iambulus shows an unmistakable likeness to the adventures of Sinbad, which are the products of Indian fancy, and were later incorporated by the Arabians in the collection of "The Arabian Nights."

But an influence spread also from the West to the East. A typical instance of this is shown by the fact that Indian expressions connected with warfare (*σύριγξ*, a subterraneous passage = surunyâ, and *χάλινος*, a horse-bit = khalîna, can show a Greek origin; and that *μέλαν*, ink = melâ, and *κάλαμος*, pen = kalama) found their way into Sanscrit from the Greek. An echo of the great struggles between Greeks and Indians is heard even in the commentaries on the grammarian Pânini, and intellectual links of connection are forged in abundance. Alexander had brought the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to India with him, and his gigantic train included numerous actors. We must date back to that period the similarities which the Mritshtshhakatikâ (Vol. II, p. 418) present to the Attic comedy, the imitation of the Greek stage, which calls the curtain in Indian *yawanika*, or "the Greek," the transference of Homeric legends into the Indian epics, the beast fables on Indian soil, until later even the Greek romances of Achilles Tatius served to adorn the romance "Kâdamharî" of Bâna (600–630 A. D.) and his son. The plastic arts were enriched. Doric (Kashmir), Ionic (Taxila), and Corinthian pillars (Gandhâra) arose in that fairyland, which, under King Asoka (Vol. II, pp. 387, 394), after the Persian model, had passed from the stage of wooden buildings to stone buildings; the symbol of the god of love, the dolphin, may have been transported from Greece to India by the sculptor's art. Coins were struck on the Greek model. Finally, the Greek dialogue served as a framework for the discussions of Greeks and Indians on philosophic subjects; thus the Melinda = panha — of a somewhat later date — presents one such dialogue between King Menander[1] and the Buddhist priest Nâya Sena.

The relations of Asoka with the West in the field of religion and politics are somewhat audaciously stated in his thirteenth inscription, and the assertion that he, the "pious" king, had succeeded in winning over even the Greek princes Amtiyoga (Antiochus), Tulumaya (Ptolemaus), Amtekina (Antigonus), Maka (Mayas), Alikasadala (Alexander of Epirus) cannot be seriously entertained. The Indo-Bactrian empire and the petty kingdoms parcelled out of it were long a home of the Greek spirit. Great vitality must have been latent in these kingdoms of the Greek *conquistadores*, since they did not shrink from the danger of mutual hostility. The struggle, which was carried on from these parts, seemed to the adjoining peoples more colossal than the conquests of Alexander the Great. Its importance for the establishment of relations between the Greek-speaking world, India and East Asia, has not yet been sufficiently appreciated. King Demetrius (180–165) and the town of Demetrias (Dâttamittîyaka-yonaka), which he built, appear in the stirring verses of the Mahâbhârata. Tibetan hordes (cf. Vol. IV, p. 160) drove him out of Bactria and forced him completely into the Punjâb. The huge gold coins of his successor Eucratides, with the bust of the king and a horseman (Dioscuros), are described by Chinese records of the first century B. C. Indian culture and philosophy must have gained a footing in this kingdom by degrees. King Menander (c. 125–95 B. C.) was already a Buddhist; but, even when fading away,

[1] Sanskrit, Milindra, Pâli, Milinda; cf. below, and Vol. IV, p. 160.

this Greek civilization had strength enough to influence the adjoining Indo-Scythian territory. The coins of this empire usually bear Indian and Greek inscriptions in Greek letters; then Indian in Greek letters; finally the native language, but still in Greek letters. The change in the older figures strikes us as strange: thus the Indian zebu, the Tibetan yak, or Greek divinities (Artemis-Selene, Demeter-Hermes).

But the influence reached still further eastward. The Bactrian province of Ferghana (in Chinese, Ta yüan, probably from *Τουριούαν*, as in Strabo) was occupied by the Chinese general Li Kuang li in 101 B.C.; we find here the bridge connecting the Greek and Chinese civilizations, over which came the movement which revolutionised Chinese art under the emperor Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.). It had long been clear that the Chinese at this time and from this district imported the noble Turcoman blood-horses, lucern (in Chinese *muh*, from *μηδική*), as excellent horse fodder, and the vine (in Chinese, *p'u t'au*, from *βότρυς*). After Chang kien the explorer (Vol. II, p. 79) had brought the vine from Ta yüan to China, the emperor Wu Ti had it planted in the palace gardens at Si ngan fu (Cha ngan). But now critics of Chinese art assign to this very period metal mirrors which show marvellous vine-leaf ornamentation, as well as the lion and the winged horse. It is more than mere conjecture that Chinese art, which had stood still since the second millennium B.C., owed its sudden renascence to Greco-Bactrian influence and the naturalism of Greek art.

The excavations of Aurel Stein, 1900–1901, in Chinese (East) Turkestan, in Khotan, have brought to light fresh evidence of the expansion of Greek culture, as well as a further station on the road by which the peoples of the West migrated towards Eastern Asia. A Pallas Athene, represented on a seal in archaic style, a seal with a sitting Greek figure, probably Eros, and, above all, a seal with a portrait head after a Western model, but with thoroughly Chinese features (an illustration of it is given in Stein's "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," London, 1903), show that here, half-way between West Iran and Pekin, Greek culture had established a firm footing. The types of the coins for Transoxania or Western Turkestan originated in the Greek centres of civilization in Bactria, so that the silver tetradrachms found in Samarkand and Tashkent must have been struck after the pattern of the coins of Heliocles and Euthydemus, and similarly the path of Greek influences must have led thence through Ferghana, past the Greek city of Alexandria Eschate and Kashgar and Yarkand, to Khotan.

And while thus in the remotest east of the countries which were included in the habitable world, on the fringe of the East Asiatic world, the Greek spirit, wantonly prodigal of its forces, was tearing itself to pieces, and nevertheless was able to influence coinage, art, and flora, as far as India and East Asia; while in the Nile valley and at Babylon native authors wrote in Greek, while Greeks had explored the Red Sea, the Nile, the Caspian, and Scythia, this same Hellenism had founded for itself in the West a province of Hellenic manners and customs, and had completely enslaved it. This was the Roman Empire, now coming to the fore, which, as it took its part in this international commerce, offered the Greek intellect a new home with new constitutional and legal principles.

Roman historiography, philosophy, eloquence, mathematics, medicine, sculpture, and poetry, the games of Rome, the fauna and flora of Italy, the forms of daily life and the religions of Rome, became Greek. A world-empire could not

be won except in alliance with a cosmopolitan civilization — Rome herself was powerless to create both these at once. The Greeks had given the Italians the fruit trees of the East (peach, almond, walnut, chestnut, plum). In the midst of this enriched flora there now arose in Italy the Greek house, with its two divisions, ornamented with Greek marble, or the old Italian house transformed with the Greek ridged roof; its rooms, which bore Greek names, were divided by Greek tapestry curtains. In the dining-room (*triclinium*) the guests reclined, wearing long woollen tunics. The soft house-shoes, slippers, and sandals of the Greeks were in use. The girls in the house wore the Greek skirt (*cacomboma*). On the high roads were seen the Macedonian *kausia* as head-wear, together with the Greek (broader-brimmed) *petasos;* for cold weather the fur tippet (*arnacis*) of Greek pattern had come into fashion. Whether we regard the higher employments of life, education with its three grades and its three classes of Greek teachers,[1] or the new professions which originated in the growing tendencies of taste (the breeding of poultry, game, or fish), everywhere Greek influence is predominant.

In ancient times a critical period (famine, pestilence) or a practical want may have called in individual divinities from the Greek religion (cf. p. 3), and these motives were indeed always important. On the occasion of a pestilence in 293 B. C. the worship of Æsculapius was brought to Rome from Epirus, and attracted at the same time the Greek art of medicine. The war troubles of 249 effected the transference of the Greek ideas as to the lower world from Tarentum to the Ara Ditis (in the "Tarentum" on the Campus Martius), so that henceforward Pluto and Proserpine are worshipped as native divinities. Again, the defeat at Lake Trasimene (217 B. C.) aroused a desire to bring in new deities; Venus of Mount Eryx and Mens (Σωφροσύνη) then came into the Italian capital. But now another point made itself felt. There was not only the wish to invoke the help of gods from the predominant religion, but a desire was felt for the noisy festivals of the Greeks; thus in 238 B. C. the feast of a Greek goddess was introduced under the name of the Floralia. The ritual of the Greeks was so much more elaborate and artistic than that of Rome, that a religious revolution at once resulted. Thus both Italian and Capitoline divinities — for instance, Juno Sospita of Lanuvium, and Juno Regina of the Aventine — were now honoured with Greek rites. To the latter a procession of virgins went in pilgrimage, chanting the refrain of the propitiatory hymn which L. Livius Andronicus, a Greek of Lower Italy († 209 B. C.) had composed. The circle of the twelve gods was completed after the Greek model; other assimilations were made, and Greek myths then completely concealed from view the old Italian divinities. But where, nevertheless, some clear ideas of their nature were preserved, there the plastic art of Greece, with its powerfully elaborated types of divinities, crushed the last remnants of native imagery. These dethroned deities seemed almost to exist on sufferance in order to fill up gaps in the chronology. What had become of the time when foreign deities might only be worshipped outside the boundaries of the city (the Pomerium)?

With the Greek religion, Greek philosophy, Greek rationalism, and religious inquiry came into Italy, and although hindered in various ways, for example, by

[1] *Ludi magister* or *pædagogus* in the house; *litteratus; rhetor.*

the censorship (prohibition of the "Pythagorean" books) and the expulsion of individual teachers, finally, in the dress of the Stoic school, attained to undisputed sovereignty.

Thus the past history of Rome was remodelled and given a Greek colouring. The national fancy had already tried to illuminate the obscure beginnings of the city, borrowing many details from the legend of Cyrus in Herodotus. Greek imagination, which had once made Zopyrus, Periander, and Jason of Pherae living characters, now bestowed form and colour on the not less dark history of the kings of Rome. The siege of Veii was retold with incidents suggested by the Trojan war, and Homeric heroes lent their characteristics: Numa (Ulysses), Marcus Valerius (in the struggle with Tarquinius, a second Menelaus against another Paris), Camillus (Achilles), Manlius Torquatus (Hector). Gods of the Greek type take part in the battles (thus the Dioscuri in the battle on the river Sagra in Bruttium and at Lake Regillus); characters are created according to Greek models (Decemvirs as a parallel to the Thirty Tyrants, Scipio as a new Alcibiades, Fabius as a modernised version of Nicias); the horrors of the plague are transferred from Athens to Sicily, and the hopes raised by the Sicilian expedition are attributed to the Romans at the time of the African enterprise of Scipio. How excellently the occupation of Athens by the Persians supplies particulars for the Gallic conquest! How the accounts of Greek battles (the battle of Cunaxa is a prototype for Cirta) and stories of sieges (Halicarnassus — Saguntum) make up for the Roman deficiency in imaginative power! To fill up the great void of the national past the Roman historians, if so we may call them, borrowed from their Greek precursors the descriptions of diplomatic negotiations, satirical reflections suited to the surrounding tribes of Italy, and questions on the theory of history. It is little wonder that the Roman historians, down to M. Porcius Cato, wrote in Greek.

The world has hardly ever seen such vast districts and nations so various thus steeped in a civilization — however much it may have been a "world-civilization" — which still showed its national origin in the greater majority of its component parts. The larger area belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race of to-day is dominated by the English world-language; but the civilization which goes with the language is not purely Anglo-Saxon, it bears only an Anglo-Saxon tinge. Those centuries preceding the Christian era saw the language of Athens become the Greek vernacular, *Κοινή*, this in its turn become the language of the world; and a large part of the known world became at the same time a sphere of Greek culture and intellect.

B. Lesser Greece up to the Roman Conquest

Alexander the Great had assumed the part of a champion of freedom in Hellas, since he put an end to the power of the tyrants and showed especial honour to Athens. But in so doing he kept in view his plans for creating a monarchy invested with religious attributes, and demanded the recognition of his divinity. While in the army of Alexander the Greek opposition made common cause with the discontented Macedonian nobility, the cities of Hellas were generally tranquil.

Athens, in whose case the war of desperation instigated by Demosthenes had already marked a departure from the prosperous policy of Eubulus, returned

after the battle of Chæronea to the paths of Eubulus, and flourished with fresh splendour under the guidance of Lycurgus (335–326). In this era of peace the ministry of finance became the most important office in the State; like the military offices, it required to be filled with experts (who, contrary to democratic traditions, were elected and not chosen by lot), and to be secured from rapid changes by a four years' tenure of office. Athens had found in Lycurgus one of her greatest finance ministers. This man, who amid the growing luxury of his native city led a studiously simple life, understood not only how to raise the State revenue once more to twelve hundred talents, but also how to turn his personal credit to the advantage of the State, since private individuals would only lend their money to it on the guarantee of Lycurgus. In order to increase the public interest in the figures of the revenue, the budget was publicly displayed on tablets. The immense naval arsenal at Piræus was now constructed; accommodation for the fleet was for the future provided by three hundred and seventy-seven boat-houses. A Panathenaic racecourse was built, the gymnasium in the Lyceum and the theatre of Dionysus were completed, and the fleet was put on a war footing.

But after the downfall of Lycurgus Athens entangled herself in the (Lamian) war with Macedon (cf. Vol. IV, p. 131), and had to consent to a diminution of her political privileges and to the introduction of a Macedonian garrison. The attempt of Polyperchon to restore the old constitution on a democratic basis failed completely (Vol. IV, p. 132). Demetrius of Phaleron, at once a statesman, philosopher, and orator, made Athens independent under a moderate oligarchy, even though the Macedonian garrison was left. Under his government (318–307) not only did a sound financial policy prevail, so that the revenue rose again to the amount which had been realised under Lycurgus, and the burdensome requirements for the theatre (Choregia) could be paid out of the State coffers and splendid festivals held, but owing to Demetrius the researches of his master Theophrastus in the field of jurisprudence were revived and a reformation of the laws was carried out.

But the luxury of the "Tyrant," and the way in which he allowed himself to be fêted, made him hated; Athens therefore greeted with effusion the man who liberated her from the Phalerian, Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus (Vol. IV, p. 134). All Central Greece and the Peloponnese, with the exception of Messenia and Sparta, were freed from Macedonian and Egyptian garrisons; the old congress of Corinth (ibid. p. 299) was solemnly revived to maintain the national peace; and Demetrius Poliorcetes, like Philip and Alexander, was nominated commander-in-chief of the league. The recall of Demetrius to Asia Minor by his father Antigonus (ibid. p. 132) did not directly destroy his power, but it gave opportunity for energetic opponents, such as Democharès, the nephew of Demosthenes, to come forward, and led to the revolt of Athens after the battle at Ipsus (301). Under the leadership of Lachares, Athens offered a desperate resistance, for which the temple treasures and the golden robe of Athene had to furnish means. However, in 294 Athens again fell to Demetrius, and henceforth was garrisoned for many years by the Macedonians. Victory over the Spartans, whom he had attacked, did not now attract Demetrius so much as the crown of Macedonia (cf. Vol. IV, p. 135); this he secured by the conquest of Bœotia, where the historian Hieronymus of Cardia was governor, but he only held it for

a short time. The son of Demetrius, the able Antigonus Gonatas, then ruled Greece on the basis of a new treaty and by the help of partisans, who governed in the various towns as tyrants.

It was everywhere evident that a more effectual resistance to despotism could be offered by the new leagues than by the antique city-state. The individual Greek city-state was a shuttlecock in the hands of the warring kings of the Diodochi. What assistance could be given in the struggle by alliances of the old pattern! To-day cemented, to-morrow disunited — there was no relying on them, and no strength in them. Finally, after centuries, the further step was successfully taken, and the union of the country (cf. Vol. IV, p. 274) was achieved under a form which allowed to the individual city-state self-government, its own laws and "the constitution of its fathers," but also rendered possible a combination of all the States for foreign policy. The contest with the great powers was now put on another basis. The new form of union was the federation of which we have examples in the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues (c. 280). This marks the greatest advance of Greek development since the seventh century. In order not to leave the greater city-states at the mercy of a numerical majority of the smaller, votes were taken in the Achæan League by cities, each of which had more or less votes according to their population. The highest official of the league (*strategos*) had to attend to current business; he was assisted by a board of officials (*Apocletai* in the Ætolian League, *Damiurgi* in the Achæan) who presided in the congress of the league. Most of the States of Central Greece united in the Ætolian League, the communities of the Peloponnesus in the Achæan League (2,330 square miles), so that a rural population formed the core of the first, while the second was composed mainly of the inhabitants of small towns.

These leagues were now the representatives of the political power of Greece. But they only found clever diplomatists, not great men, to lead them. Thus Aratus (Strategos of the Achæan League after 251 and 245; cf. Vol. IV, p. 140) obtained some increase of territory and temporary successes, but he was quite incompetent to lead the whole federation firmly towards a great goal. Vacillation between a pro-Macedonian and an anti-Macedonian policy was an attitude most injurious to the Greek cause at those grave times. It was Sparta and her reforming monarchs that produced this wavering. The struggle between landowners and mortgagees under King Agis (242), the revolution in all conditions of tenure by the "Lycurgan" redivision of the soil under King Cleomenes (226), also the hegemony which Sparta claimed and indeed already had assumed over the Achæans, led to a great combination between Antigonus Doson of Macedonia, the Achæan League, the Thessalians, Epirotes, Acarnanians, Bœotians, Phocians, Locrians, and the towns of Eubœa (223). The battle of Sellasia (221) drove Cleomenes into poverty and exile at Alexandria.

The peace congress of Naupactus in 217 welded together all the States which we have enumerated with the Ætolian League, for common defence against the West. No one more clearly indicated the dangers which threatened Greece than Agelaus of Naupactus: "If the clouds which are rising from the West settle over Greece, then the truces and the wars, the childish games, in short, which we now play together, will be so entirely taken from us that we shall implore the gods of their goodness to grant us the liberty to wage war and conclude peace, if we wish to be arbitrators of our own quarrels." However the struggle between Carthage

and Rome might end, the conqueror was certain to become a menace to the Greeks.

An effort was made to ascertain more clearly the inner sources of the strength of the Roman Empire. We have a proof of this in a letter, which confuses fact and falsehood, sent by King Philip of Macedon to the inhabitants of the Thessalian town Larissa; he refers to the systematical extension of privileges and to the planting of colonies in the Roman Empire — certainly a noteworthy testimony to the acknowledged superiority of Roman constitutional development. The treaty (the terms of which are still extant) between Philip of Macedon and Carthage, represented by Hannibal (Vol. IV, p. 363), shows the desire to resist the alarming growth of the power of Rome by an alliance with the Semite. But the foolish policy of Macedonia had made it impossible that the league of Naupactus should lead to a combined movement of Macedonians, Greeks, and Semites. The Ætolian League, in combination with the new military monarchy of Sparta, the Messenians, Eleans, and Athenians, took the side of Rome in 210, but were soon compelled to conclude a peace with Philip (to which the Romans became a party in 208), since the Achæan League under Philopœmen and Philip himself achieved considerable successes. The combined attack of Syria and Macedonia upon the Asiatic possessions of Egypt (204–201; Vol. IV, p. 152) not merely broke up a federation of the States which, like Rhodes, desired to preserve the old balance of power in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, but compelled Rome also to interfere. The independence of all the Hellenes formerly dependent on Macedonia was solemnly proclaimed by T. Quinctius Flamininus at the Isthmian games of 196.

The discontent in Greece increased, since neither had the Ætolian League obtained the alliance of Thessaly nor the Achæan that of Sparta. In the latter State a communistic military monarchy asserted itself. The interference of Antiochus III, king of Syria (192), who was called in by the Ætolians, was quickly averted by Rome (cf. Vol. IV, p. 153); the Ætolian League consequently sank into absolute insignificance. In the meantime the Achæan League had attained the zenith of its expansion. But it was apparent that the outward form of the federal State, the κοινόν, could not overcome the diversity of its component constitutions. Such confusion reigned in Sparta that order could not be restored either by the Ætolian League or by the arbitration of Rome. Nabis, the military despot, had, since 206, exiled or executed all the wealthy, and divided their possessions, wives, and children among emancipated slaves and hordes of mercenaries. But after the conquest of Sparta by Philopœmen (192 and 188) the position of affairs was not improved; even Charon confiscated property and distributed it as he liked.

At other points of Greek territory national life was hurrying towards the precipice. In Bœotia only those were elected to office who could gratify the palate of the populace with something new, division of property, or an embargo on all criminal procedure. Trials lasted a lifetime, and a man who embarked on a lawsuit did not venture to show himself, if he wished to escape assassination. The rich man showed more favour to the members of his dining club than to his relations or even to his children, who frequently received a smaller heritage than the boon companions for whose carousals the month had not days enough. A fictitious brilliancy solaced the emptiness of an existence which was enlivened only by civil feuds, wholesale executions, and exiles, robbery, and distribution of land.

A nation of lazzaroni physically effete, self-indulgent, without loyalty or religion down to the very swineherds, having no confidence in themselves or hope for the future — such was the description which the Arcadian historian Polybius of Megalopolis sorrowfully gave of his countrymen of the second century B. C. Terrible wars of class against class are recorded in Arcadia and Messenia, Ætolia and Thessaly; even the last hopeless struggle for independence was utilised for their own purposes by men (as, for example, Diæus, the head of the league) who only wished to fish in troubled waters and to obliterate accusations against themselves in the general confusion. There is a ring of mockery at this grave crisis in the speeches of the orators, who roused popular feeling first against Sparta and then against Rome, and wished to conciliate the masses by the repeal of the laws of debt and the enlistment of slaves in the army. Greece, unable to defend herself, felt the Roman yoke to be in some sense a release. Polybius would never have been able to write his history had he not realised this when face to face with the intolerable conditions of his day; it was not merely the friendly influence of the Scipios and their circle which taught him to value the firm fabric of the Roman Empire, but the contrast between that fabric and the crumbling Greek confederations, which the Romans were now demolishing. Corinth a wilderness, all the leagues politically dissolved and tolerated only as the managers of festivals, the imposition of a tribute and the supervision by the governor of the city constitutions — such was the last stage in the political history of ancient Greece.

C. The Progress in Culture during the Hellenistic Era

The Attic dialect (cf. p. 19), slightly altered and somewhat pedantically enlarged by use of prepositions to ensure the greatest accuracy, had conquered the Greek world, vanquished all dialects, even those in Laconia, Bœotia, Thessaly, and northwest Asia Minor, and finally, in spite of Theocritus, had conquered even the common Doric. Thus one common language (the κοινή) spread over the wide Greek sphere. Within that sphere the new monarchies usurped the intellectual headship; Alexandria in particular drew upon Greece proper for a supply of scholars, poets, and artists, and for this reason far outstripped the mother country in intellectual importance. The expansion of the sphere of Greek culture at that time (a process illustrated on pp. 15 *et seq.*) and the gloomy inner political history of Greece proper failed, however, to prevent additions being made to the heritage of Greek civilization.

The natural sciences, such as geography and botany, were benefited by the expansion of the Hellenic world. Eratosthenes of Cyrene especially was able to determine with tolerable accuracy the circumference of the earth, and to draw an excellent map of the world. The observations of Chaldæan astronomers may have contributed to shake the old theory that the earth was the centre of the universe. Aristarchus of Samos already regarded the sun as so gigantic that he could not possibly uphold that error, but made the earth rotate on its axis and round the motionless sun. The scientific reports of Alexander's expedition were edited in an exemplary fashion by Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle. Archimedes of Syracuse surpassed Euclid in geometrical and physical discoveries; he defined with considerable accuracy the ratio of the diameter to the circumference of the circle, made studies of spiral lines and conic sections, and examined the ratio of

the weight of a body to the water displaced by it. Strato of Lampsacus, in a scientific hydrography, explains the changes produced on the earth's surface by water. Man himself was not neglected. Herophilus of Chalcedon discovered that the nerves start from the brain and spinal cord, and that there is a circulation of the blood. Erasistratus of Ceos carried out bold surgical operations.

It is easy to understand why this stirring epoch produced numerous memoirs and reminiscences, but hardly any writer has succeeded in making a really artistic use of the ascertained results of science. The excellent military account of Alexander's campaigns by the subsequent king Ptolemy, the strictly truthful account of the post-Alexandrine age by Hieronymus of Cardia (cf. p. 20), the vivid history of the tyrant Duris of Samos, which, perhaps, sacrifices truth to vividness, as well as that of Phylarchus of Naucratis, and lastly the history of the Greek West by Timæus of Tauromenium, which, though steeped in superstition, is based on inscriptions and local investigations, cannot bridge the gulf between matter and form, nor master entirely the difficulty of historical criticism. The works of Polybius, which relate to the expansion of the power of Rome (264–146, from the first Punic war to the destruction of Carthage), cannot be termed artistic. But they show the developed critical faculty of a man who in his own person typified the growing Hellenism of the Roman world. Living in the midst of affairs, with the best information at his disposal, and keenly conscious of the reasons which accounted for the fall of Hellas and the rise of the Roman republic, he may in his own line be ranked with Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon.

The individualistic tendencies of philosophy reflect the age. Like Nietzsche's philosophy of the "Uebermensch," the Stoa — in some respects non-Greek, owing to the strong Semitic strain in its founders — could offer consolation only to the wise man who can attain the highest goals of humanity by living out his own life in accordance with nature. State and nation fall into the background; at most the Stoic tries to win influence over the leading personalities, the kings. Cosmopolitanism contents the men who, on account of mankind, for which they can do nothing, are allowed to ignore their brethren, for whom they chose to do nothing. The Epicurean philosophy may possibly have shown less pride of intellect, but even this subordinates the State to the interests of the individual. Harmless enjoyment is the last word of the Epicurean school.

The era of the Greek republics created an art which drew inspiration from the depths of religion, and took for subject-matter the highest developments of which humanity is capable. The age of the Hellenistic kingdoms democratised art; the army, which wished to keep in touch with the Greek mother country, and the colonists, who had given up their old homes, could only appreciate the new comedy, the mirror of ordinary life. Still narrower were the attractions of the *mime*, and of the fashionable erotic poetry. The masses took pleasure in this coarseness and in the faithful reproduction of every-day events. The upper classes wished at least for a return to nature, as later at the time when Watteau painted shepherds, they recognised themselves in the sentimental goat-herds of Theocritus. Insignificant people are commemorated in the epitaphs of Leonidas of Tarentum. Music, which, according to Aristoxenus, had sunk into "the slough of vulgarity," could not produce any works which were more than *rechauffés* of old compositions, except in the sphere of the musical comedy; and here were to be found a realism and a coarseness which even the mime could not surpass.

EXPLANATION OF THE COLOURED PLATE, "THE ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS"

The "Alexander Sarcophagus" in the Museum at Constantinople may be ascribed to the end of the fourth century B. C., and is probably the work of an Athenian artist. It is the largest of the Greek Sarcophagi found at Sidon in 1887 by Hamdy Bey, the meritorious Director-General of the Imperial Turkish Museum. The view that it is the actual coffin of Alexander is exploded; but there is still a difference of opinion whether we are to consider the Sarcophagus as a monument to a Macedonian noble of Alexander's suite, or as commemorating one of the Oriental potentates who flourished under the Macedonian supremacy. However that may be, the hunting and battle scenes, which adorn the two long sides and short sides of the chest as well as each of the gables of the lid, are historical pictures in the fullest sense of the word and masterpieces of Greek sculpture. A cavalry battle, in which King Alexander himself, on the extreme left, is charging forward to decide the day (the battle of Issus, we may suppose), is depicted on the one long side; a lion hunt, which will recall the joint work of Lysippus and Leochares, intended for Delphi, on the other. The effect of the plastic work, which is executed with great vividness and with an almost exaggerated delicacy, is enhanced by colouring in virtually perfect preservation. The bare parts, as well as the background of the relief, glitter in the original warm whiteness of the Pentelic marble. The other parts are brilliant with rich hues of yellow, violet, purple, red, and blue. The frieze on the lid shows yellow vine tendrils on a violet ground. Here, too, we have an additional proof that forms borrowed essentially from nature, such as leaves, tendrils, or branches, are the novelty which the later Greek art of ornamentation discovered.

(Chiefly from Karl Woermann, "Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker," Vol. I. Leipsic and Vienna, 1900.)

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THE "ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS" FROM SIDON, NOW IN THE MUSEUM AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

(After Hamdi Bey and Théod. Reinach, Une Nécropole royale à Sidon.)

A political romance, which, about 300 B. C., under the cloak of an amusing traveller's tale, proposed to solve the most burning social questions, was conspicuously appropriate to this popular crisis. It was the sacred chronicle of Euhemerus, who, from his explanation that the gods represented distinguished men who formerly lived on earth, has given his name (Euhemerism) to the rationalistic method of interpreting mythology. Priests, artists, and craftsmen composed the first class of this well-organised State, which lay in the southern ocean near the coast of India. In it there was no individual property beyond house and garden. All produce belonged to the State; and the priests, acting as stewards, divided the common store on a definite scheme, which did not, however, insist on absolute equality. The State thus appeared as an economic institution, presiding over the production and distribution of wealth.

Finally, the plastic arts had approached every-day life, and had been led towards realism. Lysistratus (brother of Lysippus) executed portraits from plaster masks. The prose of contemporary society forced its way into sculpture in the form of beggars and old crones, and great creations were brought nearer to the comprehension of the multitude, travestied in terra-cotta. The youth painfully extracting a thorn becomes a street urchin blowing on his foot with chubby cheeks (Priene). The nickname "Dirt Painter" was given to Pausias, who painted the interiors of kitchens and barbers' shops; and mosaic pavements were executed representing such themes as an untidy room, strewn with the refuse of the banquet. Hellenistic art was not invariably enlisted in the service of the masses and popularised; it worked occasionally for the kings. The Nikė of Samothrace, with its marvellous floating robe, glorified the naval victory of Demetrius Poliorcetes; the dying gladiator (on the capitol), and the Gaul who has killed his wife and is now falling by his own hand, were carved for the victories of King Attalus of Pergamum. A large number of historical pictures were produced; we only know the copy of the battle of Alexander in mosaic (see the plate in Vol. IV, p. 116). The intimate connection between sculpture and painting, so noticeable in Lysippus and Apelles, when used to emphasise the general effect as opposed to the details, and to represent the ideal not the actual, is distinctly visible in the so-called sarcophagi of Alexander;[1] painting certainly asserts itself there. Religious art continued to produce noble works in Athens, as, for instance, the Hera of the Ludovisi and the Venus of Milo (in the Louvre), which belong to the Attic school. The increase in the number of monuments and the custom of wearing the portrait of the sovereign on a ring promoted the art of portraiture.

Lastly, the influence of the East on Hellenistic art must not be neglected. On this subject we possess at present only scanty information; in the case of the capitals of the East we know that they were laid out symmetrically according to the principles of Hippodamus the Milesian (cf. Vol. IV, p. 287), but nothing about the application of the accepted Eastern types, which, so far as we know, make their first appearance quite suddenly in the Byzantine age, although they must have been preserved all along. We may, perhaps, observe such effects on plastic art in the widespread realism of the Rhodian school, with its Laocoön group, and in the Serapeion at Alexandria, where the Egyptian arrangement of courtyard and pylons was employed. Oriental customs and vices, beliefs and superstitions, slowly fil-

[1] See the accompanying illustration, "The Sarcophagus of Alexander in the Museum at Constantinople."

tered into Greek life. Its centre of gravity lay in the Greco-Oriental capitals of the East. Greece proper took no large share in the production of great men; and centres of intellectual activity arose in the East, or far westward in Sicily and Italy.

D. The Roman Rule (146 B. C.–395 A. D.)

The Roman rule appeared a guarantee of peace and order to its subjects. The Romans could not suppress all political life, since the municipal administration of the city-state still involved many questions of a political character, and the Greeks fancied that they still kept political freedom existent. Hellas did not drink deeply of the cup of misery until Sulla (Vol. IV, p. 376) destroyed the prestige of Athens, and the shores and shrines of Greece became the hunting-grounds of Cilician pirates. It is true that Acrocorinth was raised by Cæsar from its ruins, and Corinth itself became a prosperous trading town, but only as a Roman colony, in which the Latin language, Roman life, and a Roman constitution prevailed. The last vestiges of independence, the prosperity which, under old forms of government, had accrued to the new and motley population of Athens after Sulla's conquest, were wholly destroyed by Augustus. He emancipated Eretria and Ægina from their dependence on Athens; similarly Sparta endured the mortification of seeing a "free Laconia" (consisting of twenty-four former Perioecic towns) founded near her. A new Roman colony arose in Patras, with ruinous effects on the prosperity of the Ætolian country population which was forced to settle there, and a Greek colony was established in Nicopolis. The emperor Tiberius, who laid down the principle that the provincials might be shorn, not flayed, gave Greece a short respite from the caprice of the senatorial governors by uniting Macedonia and Achaia with the imperial province of Mœsia.

Nero's grant of freedom (Vol. IV, p. 426), which has recently been authenticated by inscriptions, and was only a measure of financial relief, meant that Greece should be exempt from taxes; this did not prevent Nero, after the burning of Rome, from systematically plundering Greece of her artistic treasures. This immunity from taxation was revoked by Vespasian.

The renaissance of the second century roused a widespread enthusiasm for the old culture of Greece. The imperial throne of Rome was occupied by no more splendid representative of this movement than Hadrian (Vol. IV, p. 441). Not merely did he show his love and reverence for Hellas by completing ancient edifices, such as the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, and by erecting new temples, but he attended to the practical needs of the Greeks by constructing aqueducts and high-roads. He also promoted legal uniformity by codifying local customary rights. Tib. Claudius Atticus Herodes (101–177) rivalled the example of the emperor by rebuilding the Odeion. The university of Athens flourished, and the election of the professors excited no less interest than that of the city magistrates in former days. It might almost be concluded from the influx of spectators at the Pythian, Isthmian, and Olympian games that ancient Hellas was still flourishing as before; and the vitality of the old dialects gave to this view of the case a certain plausibility. But the enormous indebtedness of the landed proprietors and of the entire nation discloses the social misery of Greece. The country was living on its capital, paying for imports by the exportation of its gold and silver; the value of the precious metals increased immensely.

After Caracalla had conferred the citizenship upon every subject of the Roman Empire (Vol. IV, p. 448), Hellenism became supreme in the East. But the heart of Greece gained nothing thereby. There had been a heavy withdrawal of men into the countries of the East, the new world, and Greece became more and more depopulated. The invasion of the Goths and Herulians in 267 affected Athens (whose warriors distinguished themselves under the historian Herennius Dexippus) less than Argos and Corinth; yet Corinth reappears in 275 as one of the most important towns of Greece. But in the field of intellectual culture Athens with her splendid university still stood in the forefront, although many of her art treasures, like those of other towns, were fated to be carried away to Constantinople. Her magnificent statues and her ancient fame softened the heart of the Gothic king Alaric, so that he granted the city favourable terms. On the other hand, Corinth, Nemea, Argos, and Sparta fell victims to the devastations of the Goths.

2. BYZANTIUM

A. The Founding of the Byzantine Empire

An Italian bureaucracy had hardly grown up out of the Roman aristocracy when it fell into the power of the military despotism. Augustus indeed had established the military monarchy, victorious after seventy years of war, under such moderate forms that, although legally based on military and civil force, it seemed to be rather a civil magistracy, dividing sovereignty with the Senate. But even in the first century the prætorian guards — that portion of the army which stood nearest to the source of power — came prominently forward in deposing and enthroning the emperors. Then, in the words of Tacitus, the secret how emperors were proclaimed was revealed to all the world, and the provincial armies refused to be left in the background. Adoption, the selection of the most capable, then for a comparatively long period secured to the empire internal peace and strength; but the old causes of instability were at once revived when, in the person of Commodus, an emperor for the first time succeeded to his power by hereditary right. Some fifty rulers "reigned" ninety years until Diocletian: two submitted to foreign foes, one abdicated, and one ended his days peacefully; all the others died a violent death. All the bonds of order were loosened; agriculture and stock-breeding, industries and commerce, died out; the empire was one vast desert, Italy slowly became the prey of malaria, and the towns mere memories of more prosperous times.

Then the Illyrian Diocletian[1] once more welded the empire together, but at the same time divided it into four parts. He transformed the imperial office into an Oriental despotism, shifted the centre of gravity to the East, and created from germs which had long existed in the State a social organisation which made the Roman Empire a caste State.

(*a*) *The West outstripped by the East.* — At the court of Diocletian, in Nicomedia, Constantine had become acquainted with the expansion of the East. To one who reviewed the situation from that point of outlook Hellenism and Chris-

[1] Possibly of Albanian stock (cf. Vol. IV, p. 455).

tianity necessarily appeared to be the powers with which imperialism was compelled to make not only terms of peace but an alliance of the closest kind. Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt seemed to be the principal countries which these powers had appropriated as their sphere. The gloom of senile inaction may have fallen on the primitive culture of Syria and Egypt as on the west of the empire, but the Thracian nationalities of Asia Minor — some steeped in Greek civilization, some almost untouched by it, and completely free from any trace of Roman influence — gave the impression of vigorous life and aroused the hope of a brilliant future. In Asia Minor the half-Oriental half-Hellenic civilizations of the East had been tried and found wanting. The reaction against them led to a pious worship of imperialism. There then the new doctrine of Christianity, unhindered by old forms of ritual and by obsolete fanaticism, spread over the country like flames over a wide prairie, so that Asia Minor became the first Christian country. The word of redemption, first uttered in the towns, reached the outlying villages and hamlets, so that the temples stood deserted, the ancient sacred festivals were no longer celebrated, and the sacrificial victims found no purchasers.[1] As early as the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius the conviction had spread through the educated upper classes that the Roman world-monarchy and the Christian world-religion were born at the same time, and signified blessing and prosperity one for the other. This view was expressed by Bishop Melito of Sardis. "This philosophy of ours first budded among a strange people. But when, under the sovereignty of thy predecessor Augustus, it began to blossom in the provinces it brought in a special degree rich blessings to thy realm. For from that day forward the Roman Empire has increased continuously in extent and magnificence; and of this empire thou art the beloved ruler, and wilt continue to be so, with thy son, so far as thou art willing to protect this philosophy, which, beginning under Augustus and growing up with the empire, thy forefathers honoured equally with other religions." Marcus Aurelius was unfitted both by his temperament and by his position to fulfil this wish; that was left for Constantine. Christianity spread deep down into the lowest strata of the people, whom Hellenism had never touched, who still preserved the capacity for enthusiasm and the delight in festivals which were peculiar to Thrace and Asia Minor. The Christian Church transformed the old feast-days; the new festivals of the martyrs were celebrated, like the old festivals in honour of Cybele, with tumultuous magnificence, and in another sect — that of the Messalians — the wild fanaticism of the old popular cults burst forth. A former priest of Cybele (Montanus) was the founder of a Christian sect; women played as prophetesses a great part in the new religion, and shepherds suffered martyrdom for the new doctrine. The activity of the Christian communities in Asia Minor called forth recognition even from the scoffing Lucian. Gothic Christianity sprang from the church in Cappadocia, and the foundation was there laid for that event which afforded an example and a model to Constantine. Armenia became the first Christian State (cf. below, p. 58).

How dull and pitiable seemed Western life by contrast! As the Western world grew old its learning sank into insignificance, its plastic art degenerated into rough mechanic work, and its poetry flickered out in foolish farce. In relief

[1] Cf. the accounts given by the younger Pliny to the emperor Trajan on the condition of Bithynia, 111–113.

carving the artist obtains his effects of light and shade by deeply undercutting the figures in relief; his groups have a stiff and geometrical unity; he shows no love for the infinite detail and variety of nature; all power of artistic representation disappears in favour of mechanical suggestion, such as we can observe in the vertical panels of the arch of Constantine under the beautiful reliefs filched from the work of a more artistic age. Gems present the same features. In the cameo of agate-onyx, which represents the triumphal entry of Constantine II into Rome, four deformed figures stand for the Roman people; the sardonyx, celebrating the triumph of Licinius over Maximin, is no less clumsy. In the medals of the period we find, as formerly in the Peloponnesian school of Polycletus, an utter absence of expression; but the pupils of Polycletus had the art of expressing physical charm, and this is wanting in the work of the new school. It is not so much any suppression of fine modelling as a mechanical deficiency of eye that is expressed in these heads of the age of Constantine.

In literature also the symptoms of senility are obvious at Rome. Even the Gallic schools of rhetoric surpassed in importance the instruction given in the capital. The emperor Constantine had certainly an opportunity, when he visited Gaul in 311, of becoming acquainted with this elegant language. The grossest flatteries were lavished on himself and other emperors by Eumenius, a Gallic school manager, and a Greek by descent. Constantine could easily convince himself that intellects were at a still lower ebb in Gaul than in the capital, and that there also no germs of a renaissance were discernible. Poetry had not risen superior to those ridiculous feats of versification which could be read backwards or forwards, or where the beginning of one verse recurred at the end of the next verse. The subjects were in no wise superior to the form; poets wrote manuals of hygiene, prosody, and hunting, or celebrated the rivalry of cooks and bakers. Even the gods were handled in the vein of stupid and vulgar indecency, which was the surest passport to popularity. More ambitious intellects could amuse themselves with capping verse, with a cento which was composed only out of passages from ancient poets and grew into a regular tragedy (the "Medea" in the Codex Salmasianus), with the "geometrical" poetry, which could be read diagonally, or contained acrostics on the name of Christ. Sad to relate, these ingenious feats pleased even the emperor.

It was different in the East, where hidden springs came to the surface, where an afterglow of Oriental culture and of the Hellenistic renaissance was still discernible. Poetry indeed, even in the East, could not emancipate itself from the intellectual weariness and decrepitude of the age; mathematical exercises in epigrammatic form show the degradation of the creative impulse. But the delicate rococo poetry of Alexandria still showed vitality; the poets from Asia Minor and Syria, who at a later date devoted themselves to the production of epics and romances, were transmitters of Hellenistic poetry (Quintus of Smyrna, Nonnus) or utilised Hellenistic versions of Oriental novels (the Syrian Semite Heliodorus).

The plastic arts, as studied in the East, were far more valuable for a revival of the old greatness and the creation of a new Greco-Christian culture. Events were quite early commemorated on the tombs of the martyrs in the most Christian country (Asia Minor), which brought to the heroes of the faith fame and the reverence of their countrymen. "The artist executed in bright colours the best products of his art; he represented with his brush the heroic deeds of the martyr,

his firmness, his agonies, the savage figures of the tyrants, and their scorn . . . finally, the image of the human form of Christ, who imposed this conflict on him." This is the description that Gregory of Nyssa gives (379–394) of the typical pictures of martyrs. His account is confirmed by extant examples, such as those which the chapel of Theodorus Tyron, in Eukaita, exhibits. The chapel of Euphemia, the patron saint of Chalcedon, shows a whole series of them, which Bishop Asterius of Amaseia extolled to the skies on account of the spiritual expression of the heroine.

The wealth of architectural creations which was to be found in the Hellenistic cities presented admirable models for an emperor who was a great patron of building, and anxious to effect the fusion of Christianity with Hellenism. The Church of the Apostles in Constantinople, the great church in Antioch, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem have certainly proved models of ecclesiastical architecture for succeeding ages, and are the starting points of a new style. But they are also the last triumphs of a long-established Greco-Oriental school; they illustrate methods of architectural ornamentation which date from the remote past. The vast basilica with its tower-like flanking buildings, and the cruciform domed church with its primitive form of a square with rounded ends, can both be traced back to Eastern patterns; the former to the Hittite Ilani (cf. Vol. III, p. 124), the latter to the rock-tombs of Sidon, the catacombs of Alexandria and Palmyra; afterwards imitated in buildings above ground (Prætorium of Musmije) and actually furnished with a dome (Djerash and Kufr in Nûeiyîs). The decoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem shows the influence of the Syro-Hellenistic volute and deeply incised foliage (as at Baalbec and Spalato).

Constantine is designated by a later historian as an innovator and a subverter of ancient laws. We can as a matter of fact demonstrate that particular principles from the Greek legal sphere passed into the code of Constantine; for example, the property of the mother descended to the children, and the father only enjoyed the usufruct, as the law of Gortyn shows. Thus the repression of what was Roman and the preference for what was Hellenistic even in the field of legal principles, the shifting of the centre of the empire to the East, and the admission of Christianity to a place among the legally recognised religions, form a chain with closely fitting links, the starting point of which is the conviction that Asia Minor and the East are the countries of the future, while the West has played out its part, now six hundred years old.

(*b*) *The Promotion of Byzantium to be the Capital of the World, "Constantinople."* — If Constantine was to choose a place on the confines of Asia and Europe which held a convenient position on the sea and possessed all the essential qualifications for the new capital of the world, only the northwestern corner of Asia Minor and the part of Europe lying opposite came into consideration. Connected directly with Asia Minor, now a country of first importance, and the East, in the vicinity of the marvellous stone quarries of Proconnesus, and in easy communication with the line of the Danube and the Illyrian group of countries, Byzantium, the old Greek city (already recognised by the Delphic oracle in respect of its excellent military and commercial position), was far better adapted than the region of Ilium and Alexandria Troas to meet all the wishes of Constantine. He had proved in the war with Licinius that the master of the opening of the Bos-

phorus into the Propontis, that is to say, of Byzantium, might prove a thorn in the side of his antagonist. Licinius while in possession of this town had barred the passage into Asia, but as soon as he evacuated it he was unable to offer any successful resistance (Vol. IV, p. 461 *et seq.*).

In July and August, 325, this new Rome was adorned with numerous edifices. On November 26, 328, the foundation-stone was laid for the enlargement of the town walls (fourteen miles in length), on the day when the sun enters the sign of Sagittarius. On May 11, 330, was celebrated the consecration of the new city, which wound so picturesquely between the sea and the bay indenting the coast to the west. The new capital was now pushed on with an unparalleled and well-directed energy. One of the two consuls was selected for Constantinople. Senators were introduced from Rome, and received houses and estates on the Asiatic or European side of the Bosphorus. Landowners in the surrounding "dioceses" might not make testamentary dispositions unless they already possessed a house in Constantinople. The multitude was to be allured there by gifts of corn and distribution of wine and oil.

Constantine erected for the followers of the new religion his Church of the Apostles, which was also to be his mausoleum; the Asiatic open square, employed for sepulchral buildings, thus became a model for the cruciform domed church for the Christian world. The old cults were only partially retained; Pallas Poliuchus (the Panagia Poliuchus) had to give way, like Diana Hecate and Venus. Simple transformations (such as that of the goddess Cybele into the goddess of prayer) occurred frequently; the names of the days became saints (St. Sabbas). But the old Tyche and the Dioscuri received new temples in the young Christian city. The Christian faith had not yet created any high standard of religious art (Vol. IV, p. 202); it was only wrestling with the representation of primitive forms. The old paganism had therefore to lend its art to adorn the new capital. The length and breadth of the Greco-Roman world was laid under contribution; statues in large numbers were brought to the "flourishing" city. The Pallas of Lindus and the Zeus of Dodona were now raised in front of the doors of the Senate house; the famous snake-column from Delphi (Vol. IV, p. 282) was erected in the hippodrome. If Rome boasted her imperial forums, the city of Constantine took no less pride in its forum of Constantine, a broad oval place, surrounded by colonnades, which displayed in its centre a lofty porphyry column (now the burnt column Djemberli Tash) with the statue of the emperor as Apollo-Helios.

(*c*) *The Beginnings of Byzantine History.* — Byzantium was founded — and now *Byzantine* history begins. Purists reject the name Byzantine, preferring the name East Roman or Romaic, since the Byzantines called themselves by this Grecised form of the Latin Romani (Ρωμαῖοι).

The character of this East Roman Empire, which is given by the component elements of Hellenism, Orientalism, and Christianity, is at first profoundly affected by the caste-system of Diocletian and Constantine. The whole empire was an artificial fabric, with hereditary professions in every sphere, hereditary farmers and district counsellors, guilds and army, — a network of compulsory groups and classes into which even criminals are thrust. All sections of society were separated by hatred, struggling to be freed one from the other. A great gulf was fixed between the higher and lower classes; the latter were not able to accuse the

former in court. The decline of trade, the insecurity of all conditions of life, and the debasement of the coinage had led to a shrinkage of commerce and to a strange revival of the régime of barter. It was in the midst of these symptoms of disease that the union of the new elements was to exercise a salutary influence, and a fresh current to flow through this old society.

Julian the Apostate (361–363) tried once more to thwart the plans of Constantine. Paganism seemed to him capable of a second renascence. The mysteries of Mithras, the Sun-God, to whom he devoted an almost fanatical study, had attracted him with an irresistible power since his introduction by the philosopher Maximus of Ephesus into a conventicle of Mithras worshippers. This Oriental sun-cult had spread extraordinarily over the West; but Julian failed to see that it was entirely foreign to the Greek-speaking sphere, and had never established a firm hold there. Since the religious influences of the East had so little footing in Greece, it was a sad error to believe that a soldier's religion could be filled with Platonic ideas. This attempt to unite Hellenism and Orientalism was destined to fail as much as the attempt to exclude Christianity, whose followers seemed to Julian to be destitute of ethical training (cf. Vol. IV, p. 203), and the attempt to combine neo-Platonic notions with a superstitious popular religion.

For the new "Byzantine" empire Christianity seemed a most essential element. To control it seemed to be the right of the sovereign; for this reason Constantine himself presided at the Council of Nicæa (ibid. p. 196). The most striking features of the new development were the interest of the sovereign in theological disputes and the right which he claimed to decide them (Cæsaro-papism).

(*d*) *The Invasion of the Huns; the Partition of the Roman Empire.* — Meanwhile the fabric of the empire was tottering beneath the attack of barbarian races. A nation of horsemen in the north of China, which was certainly of Turkish (not Lesgish) stock, the nation of the Hiung nu, split up about 50 B. C. into two sections; a southern section, which submitted to the Chinese (Vol. II, p. 139), and an army bent on conquest which set out to conquer under Chichi (ibid. p. 154), took possession of the kingdom of the Wu Sun (Usun) at the foot of the T'ien shan, and planted itself in the territory of the Kirgis tribes. We can follow from Chinese sources the further migration into the region between Lake Baikal and the Sea of Aral as well as the connection with the Hiung nu of the Chinese mother country (of Ku tsang). The weaklings remained behind, and thus a selection was made of the fittest men, who, though few in numbers, subjugated powerful neighbouring peoples and verified the saying of Chichi: "With our mounted warriors we form a nation whose name fills all barbarians with dismay . . . and even if we die, the fame of our valour will last, and our children and children's children will be leaders of other nations."

The Alani on the Volga were subdued. The shock of the relentless race then struck the West Goths, who asked and obtained admission into the Roman Empire. But the incapacity and treachery of the Roman officials led to war (Vol. IV, p. 466). Fritigern the leader was joined from all sides by farmers, slaves, miners, and debtors. Life in all the Germanic districts as far as Alsace, into which the Alemanni made a premature incursion, now became insecure. Fritigern once more demanded Thrace. The refusal of the emperor Valens resulted in the sanguinary battle of Adrianople (August 9, 378), and Valens fell. Owing to this

the Germanic danger assumed enormous proportions. If the Arian Goths had conquered, the counter-stream of Orthodoxy would have necessarily swollen all the more. The peace concluded by the Spaniard Theodosius (emperor, 379–395) admitted the Goths into Mœsia as allies (*fœderati*); in other respects also the army and government were thrown open to Germanic influences. The Frank Richomer (Ricimer) appears as commander-in-chief and consul; the Vandal Stilicho was commander-in-chief and husband of Serena, a niece and adopted daughter of the emperor.

The partition of the empire by Theodosius into a western and an eastern section was definitely concluded. The division of the imperial chancery into a Greek and a Roman department was a step towards drawing the logical conclusion from the distinction between the Latin and Greek halves of the empire. This measure had been advocated by Diocletian and Constantine, and was now definitely taken; not because Arcadius and Honorius had been made emperors of West and East (Theodosius had hardly contemplated the definite separation, since he appointed Stilicho imperial regent for both), but at the time when Theodosius II or his sister Pulcheria recognised Valentinian III as emperor of the West (425). The legislative separation was not proclaimed before 438; and a law applying to West and East dates as late as the year 468. The recognition of Constantinople seems to have still been necessary to validate an imperial election for the West; in 472 Julius Nepos (Vol. IV, p. 472) was recognised as emperor of the West by Leo I the Thracian.

But the empire of the "Romaioi" was now given up to that peculiar development which we term Byzantine or East Roman. The Church of New Rome was subject to the emperor, who in 381, at the Council of Constantinople (Vol. IV, p. 206), tore up documents of which he disapproved. It was only natural that the bishop was then given precedence immediately after the Roman bishop, — here again a dualism pregnant with significance. On the other hand, the emperor bowed to the counsels of the Church. Theodosius was compelled to do public penance for the massacre in the circus at Thessalonica (390); Ambrosius, who forced him to it, eulogised the act of penance in his funeral oration over Theodosius. The influence of Oriental art soon became visible in the East; the golden gates of Theodosius the Great (constructed between 388 and 391) display in their architrave Egyptian and Syrian elements (chamfers: high cushion-like supports — tori). Thus at the threshold of Byzantine life stand Hellenism, Christianity, and Eastern civilization.

B. The Old Byzantine Empire down to Justinian

The political and ecclesiastical union of the eastern provinces of the old Roman Empire was due to the bonds of Greek culture and Christianity and the preponderance of Oriental elements in the population; it was not realised without struggles within and without. This realisation continued for almost six centuries to hover before the eyes of the Byzantines as a supreme ideal, from the time when all Eastern believers were united by the comprehensive confession of faith (Henotikon) of the patriarch Acacius, which the emperor Zeno promulgated (482), to the destruction of the secular Eastern power by the battle of Mantzikert (Malaz-

kerd, Melasgerd, 1071), when Cappadocia, Armenia, and Eastern Asia Minor were finally lost.

Foreign nationalities, Germanic tribes and Huns, had impeded the work of consolidation in the old Byzantine period, so, in the new age, did Persians, Arabians, and Turks; but Byzantium proved herself in these wars to be the bulwark of culture. And in internal affairs, from the day when the emperor Constantine — a true precursor of Justinian in his "Cæsaro-papism" — claimed for himself the right to settle the conditions of entrance into the Church and to depose any refractory bishops, down to the publication of a uniform confession of faith for the whole East, a steady progress in ecclesiastical unity had been maintained. The unqualified submission of Asia Minor to the ecclesiastical sovereignty of Constantinople, enforced by John Chrysostom; the abandonment of Nestorius under the pressure of the populace of the capital (Vol. IV, p. 207) because, conformably with his native school of Syrian theology, he had protested against the undue importance of Mariolatry; finally, the dispute with the Egyptian separatists, — such are the most important stages on this road. On this latter point the first measures taken by the emperor overshot the mark. The fear of the patriarch of Alexandria, who had been proclaimed œcumenical archbishop at the Council of Ephesus (449), and had more weight in secular affairs than the imperial governor, led, at the Council of Chalcedon, which met under the presidency of imperial commissaries, to the deposition of the ruling patriarch, Dioscorus (ibid. p. 208). This rejection of the claims of the Alexandrine patriarchate was followed by an immediate accession of privileges to the patriarch of Byzantium, who was, however, only a tool in the hands of the emperor. The final result was a loosening of the tight bands of centralisation and the concession of means by which Syrians and Alexandrians might work side by side in the same ecclesiastical society. How could *they* be permanently dispensed with in a sphere of civilization which followed the guidance of the East in the creation of dogmas, in the plastic arts, mosaics, and miniature-painting; in a sphere of civilization which, as regarded architecture (ecclesiastical buildings, pylons, columned cisterns), owed everything of value to the stimulus of the East? Nevertheless, the Persian Church seceded to Nestorianism (Vol. IV, p. 211).

The valour of the army did not prevent the Huns from spreading over the Danubian countries. An empire arose which, extraordinarily loosely framed, stretched from Denmark over portions of Germany, Russia, and Hungary, as far as modern Siberia. Huns had been received into the West and East Roman armies; Greeks and Romans lived among the Hunnish people, happy to have escaped the intolerable conditions of the Roman Empire. The Greek, whom Priscus, the secretary to the Byzantine embassy, met among the Huns in 448, expressed his opinion to the effect that he felt more at ease in his new home; the law only touched the poor in the Roman Empire, while the rich man escaped with impunity. The priest Salvianus of Massilia gave a similar opinion in the West: "Our countrymen, even those of noble birth, go over to the enemy, looking for Roman humanity among the barbarians, since they can no longer endure the barbarian inhumanity of the Romans." Attila, the king of the Huns, who had adopted the luxury of civilized countries in his wood-built palace between the Danube and the Theiss, but with conscious pride in the primitive simplicity of his nation of horsemen, refused all personal display, might have become dangerous to East Rome.

In 447 he was at the gates of Constantinople, and the withdrawal of the Huns was dearly bought by a peace which Theodosius II concluded.[1] Attila's goal lay, however, in the West; this was wrested from him on the Mauriazensian plain (between Méry on the Seine and Troyes), and thus East Rome was finally saved (cf. Vol. IV, p. 470).

The Germanic races played a prominent part at this time both in new Rome and old Rome. Theodosius, after the defeat of Arbogast the Frank, who had raised Eugenius to the imperial throne in 392 (see Vol. IV, p. 467), had vested the supreme management of the united empire in the hands of the Vandal Stilicho. But, in view of the mutual mistrust of the two empires, this appointment only signified a pious wish which could no longer be fulfilled. The Vandal, nevertheless, checked the Greek expedition of Alaric the West Goth (whom Arian monks employed to eradicate paganism, and through whom the splendid temple of Eleusis was laid in ruins), and brought it to a peaceful termination. Gainas the Goth, aided by Stilicho's troops, had come to Constantinople, suppressed the terrible *magister officiorum* Rufinus, made common cause with the insurgent Count Tribigild in Phrygia, and entered Constantinople with the victorious army of Goths. It was the orthodox population of the capital which then drove out the Arian Goths. The Goth Fravitta effected the final annihilation of the army of the Goths.

Pulcheria, the wise guardian and sister of Theodosius II, who had followed Anthemius in the guardianship, took numerous Germans into her service. The difficult task of escorting Placidia, the aunt of the emperor, with her son Valentinian III to the West was undertaken by the Goth Ardaburius; and the same man actually deposed the rival emperor John. Aspar, the son of Ardaburius, became in 434 consul, subsequently *magister militum*, and a patrician. Pulcheria, after the death of Theodosius II, gave her hand to a worthy senator, who had distinguished himself in the service of Aspar, Marcianus of Thrace (450 A. D.; cf. Vol. IV, p. 471). The latter ruled in the interests of the Goths; he had the courage to refuse tribute to the Huns, but looked calmly on the advance of the Vandals, who then occupied Mauretania. It is a significant fact about this predisposition towards Goths and Vandals, that even before this a nephew of Aspar had offered to aid the emperor Theodosius against any enemy except the Vandals.

Aspar, on the death of Marcianus, had declined the Byzantine crown on account of his Arian sympathies; but still, like Ricimer in the West, who raised Majorianus and Severus successively to the throne (cf. Vol. IV, p. 472), he nominated to the purple a military tribune, who seemed to him to be quite harmless from his want of culture, Leo the Thracian, or, as the Byzantines called him, Macellus (the butcher). Leo felt that his duty to the crown should outweigh his gratitude to the kingmaker Aspar, and therefore refused to "submit his own judgment and the public interests to the will of a subject," as we are told by Georgios Cedrenos, a somewhat uncritical writer, though here he certainly depends on the Isaurian Candidus, an excellently informed contemporary historian of the reigns of Leo and Zeno. The policy of Leo, freed from Gothic influence, was first directed towards a war on the Vandals. But the campaign of 468 ended in humiliation, and it

[1] Six thousand pounds of gold were paid down, in addition to a yearly tribute and the loss of the southern Danubian countries.

seemed as if everything would miscarry without Gothic assistance. Leo was therefore forced to nominate the son of Aspar as co-emperor. But in 471 Leo got rid of Aspar and one of his sons by assassination, while the new emperor and a third son escaped.

Oriental influence already began to take the place of Germanic predominance. Leo was protected by an Isaurian bodyguard, and Trascallisæus, the Isaurian, who, under the name of Zeno, became emperor of Byzantium in November, 474, received the hand of the daughter of the emperor. With the appearance on the scene of Aspar's nephew, the East Goth Theodoric Strabus (son of Triarius, and of the Amalian Theodoric, son of the East Gothic prince Theodemir), the destinies of Byzantium began once more to be dependent on the Teuton. The years 478–481 witnessed a desperate struggle, since at one time the emperor employed the Amalian against Theodoric Strabus, at another the two Theodorics confronted the emperor, while once more the emperor appeared allied with Strabus. At this opportunity the Bulgarians appeared for the first time (482) in league with Zeno against the Amalian; their name is derived from the Volga, on which the Bulgarians were long settled. After the death of Theodoric, the son of Triarius, Theodoric the Amalian, received grants of land, the consulship and patriciate, and lastly the "commission" to conquer Italy. The East Roman Empire finally shook off Germanic influence in the year 488, when Theodoric marched out to create for himself a new empire on Italian soil.

The empress-widow Ariadne, with the view of strengthening her cause by the forces of the Greek Balkan peninsula, gave her hand to the celebrated Anastasius I, "Dichorus" of Epidamnus (491–518). The destruction of the Isaurian military despotism was successfully accomplished. Notwithstanding the importance and value of the European territories, it proved impossible to keep back the invading Slavs, to conquer the Bulgarians, against whom a wall, running from Selymbria on the Propontis to Derkon on the Black Sea, was intended to act as a bulwark, or to avert a war with Persia mainly caused by intervention on behalf of the Persian Armenians. The diplomatic treatment of the Germanic princes produced the result that Theodoric — as if he were a Roman official — stamped his gold coins alone with the head of the emperor Anastasius. His silver coins show the name of Theodoric. An inscription from the time of the emperor Justin, which refers to the draining of the Pomptine marshes, first gives Theodoric the imperial title d[ominus] . . . semper Aug[ustus]. Clovis further assumed the consular badges, and possibly the patrician title, as did the Burgundian king Gundobat, and the king of the West Goths, Alaric II. The old empire, one and indivisible, seemed still to exist in face of the Germanic kings. Nevertheless the imperial ascendancy could not be maintained in the West, since it was necessary to wage a frontier war with Theodoric, and three formidable wars with Vitalian (probably a descendant of Aspar), who became peculiarly dangerous as the ally of the orthodox population of the capital. The emperor had leanings towards monophysitism. The alliance with Thrasamund, the anti-Catholic king of the Vandals, laid him open to the suspicion of being an Arian; in fact he was accused of being tainted with the Manichæan heresy. Before Vitalian's rising an orthodox rival emperor had been temporarily brought into the field. After the defeats of Vitalian the monks of Palestine began to evince violent opposition to the tendency of Byzantium.

The available titles (*illustres* = ἰλλούστριοι, *spectabiles* = περίβλεπτοι, *clarissimi* = λαμπρότατοι) were still more strongly developed as distinctions at this period. The chancery officials of the departments *epistularum, libellorum, dispositionum* were created, for instance, *clarissimi* when they retired into private life (396), just like the advocati of the *comes rerum privatarum* and proconsul of Asia (497); the *fisci patroni* became *respectabiles* (506), the *decuriones palatii* became *illustres* (415), just like the other *decuriones* and *silentiarii* (432). Among the highest officials rank the *præfectus prætorio*, the *præfectus urbi*, the *magistri peditum et equitum*, the *præpositus sacri cubiculi, magister officiorum, quæstor sacri palatii, comes sacrarum largitionum, comes sacrarum privatarum, comes domesticorum.* New titles of rank extended beyond the three traditional titles; thus in 400 a title which first belonged to the city prefects, but then was given amongst others to the consul and the patrician, namely, that of *magnificus* (= μεγαλοπρεπέστατος); also the title of the imperial officials, chosen, perhaps, in contrast to the clergy, *gloriosissimi* (= ἐνδοξότατοι). The children of the highest officials were enrolled even when minors into the ranks of *clarissimi. Dominus* sank down to a second-rate title; *nobilissimus* (a designation of members of the imperial house) gradually shared the same fate; the city prefect becomes *eminentissimus;* the style of *excellentissimus* (for senators, ex-consuls, and patricians) soon appeared. The aristocracy of birth (*nobiliores natalibus*), of office (*honorum luce conspicui*), and of money (*patrimonio ditiores*) were differentiated in 408–409. In spite of Christian convictions the court world of the emperor was called *sacer.*

One may see in this side of Byzantine development how the form of the Church and her teaching is definitely fixed for a whole world, how bureaucracy, officialism, and court fashions were spread, how new substance was given to old forms, and the old substance retained in carefully considered new forms. When all around the whole development of life has become uncertain, when a new fermenting world despises tradition or ignorantly rejects it, then this Byzantine imperialism, which maintains even the dynastic succession to a certain degree, becomes an exemplar for the younger Germanic states, and a reservoir for the traditions of Hellas and Rome, which was kept from stagnation by the fresh inflow of Oriental sources.

C. Old Byzantium at the Zenith of its Prosperity under Justinian

(*a*) *Justinus.* — On the death of the emperor Anastasius the captain of the guard was Justinus, a man of peasant birth from Tauresium, near Bederiana in Dardania (near the modern Üsküb on the borders of Albania). His great reputation among the troops and the clergy impressed upon the eunuch Amantius, who administered the imperial treasury, the expediency of proposing him as emperor, in spite of his being very illiterate and hardly able to read or write. The newly elected emperor, now an old man, had sometime previously invited his nephew Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus to the capital and had given him a brilliant education. The latter became the support, the counsellor, and the co-regent of his uncle. Accomplished in every subject which could win him the love of the clergy, and indeed of the Pope himself, the enthusiasm of the people, and the reverence of the Senate, he was orthodox, lavish in providing games for the populace, and courteous towards the highest classes, although he ventured to marry an ex-ballet dancer, Theodora, daughter of a bear-leader. His influence can be traced back to the year 518; from

520 onwards he is actually designated monarch (for example, by Leontius of Byzantium). Vitalian, his most dangerous rival, had been put out of the way at a banquet on the advice of Justinian. So, too, the completely coherent policy in Church and State which aimed at gaining the West, and therefore had concluded peace with Pope Hormisdas (519) and reconfirmed the resolutions of Chalcedon (Vol. IV, p. 208), bears so clearly the stamp of Justinian's individuality that we must certainly term it his doing. Again, the provisions of a bilingual edict (issued in 527 by the two emperors, and found in 1889 on the borders of Pisidia and the Cibyratis) which protect the property of the churches against those enemies of all landowners, the passing or permanently quartered troops, show the same zeal for order as the Novels which Justinian subsequently issued in his capacity of sole monarch. Only in less important departments, such as in the barbarous types of the coinage, which later were retained by Justinian himself until 538, is Justin's complete want of culture observable.

(*b*) *Justinian I.* — On August 1, 527, Justinian took over the sole government of the empire, which remained under his guidance until November 14, 565. The emperor, whose mother tongue was Latin, and whose family bore a Thracian name (Sabbatius), has been claimed as a Slav. It is said that his original name was Upravda, which was translated into Latin as "Justinian;" Istok (Slavonic for a fountain) and Biglenissa (Slavonic *bieli* = white) are alleged to be his paternal and maternal names. But the "Life of Justinian" by Theophilus (which was rediscovered in the Barberini Library at Rome by James Bryce) is the only authority for these late and incorrect Slavonic name-forms. At best they supply evidence for late Slavonic legends about the name of Justinian (who founded the churches of Prizrend and Serdica on Servian and Bulgarian soil); but more probably they are mere inventions of the Dalmatian Luccari (1605) and his countrymen. There is thus no foundation for the story of Justinian's Slavonic descent. We may, on the other hand, with complete confidence recognise in him a Thraco-Illyrian, who, born on the frontiers of the decaying Thracian and the expanding Illyrian nationalities, bears a Thracian name, and shows the vigour peculiar to the Illyrian, that is, Albanian, nationality.

Gentle and forbearing, but proud of these as of other qualities; full of self-restraint toward his enemies; simple almost to asceticism in his life; singularly conscientious in his work, for which he rose in the middle of the night (hence called *βασιλεὺς ἀκοίμητος*, the sleepless monarch); endowed with the highest sense of his imperial dignity, which seemed to give him the power of producing legal commentaries, theological disquisitions, and schemes for military operations; a jealous despot, often vacillating and irresolute, but always supported by the activity of his fertile intellect, — Justinian towered above all his immediate predecessors by his peculiar talents. In the graceful head with the small mouth and strong lips, the straight nose and the soft expression of the eyes, which are represented in the mosaics of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo and San Vitale at Ravenna, we should rather see a cleric or a simple official than the great emperor, who showed creative genius in the fields of jurisprudence and architecture, who worked great reforms in the administrative sphere, but also in military and theological matters achieved ephemeral successes greatly to the detriment of the empire and the army.

Justinian performed a permanent service when he settled the principles of jurisprudence, thus completing the work of Constantine. The latter effected the first great reconciliation between the old civilized world and Christianity; his New Rome with all its creations was the fruit of that union (cf. p. 29). But Christianity, so far as its governors the priesthood were concerned, remained obstinately hostile to the legal forms and ideas of the ancient State; the legal ideas or the Mosaic code appealed to the priests more nearly than the Roman law, and the masses must have shared this feeling. In this way religion and the judicial system became antagonistic one to the other; the judge, who gives sentence according to "pagan" law, becomes alien to his people until he prefers to be alien to his law, which nobody values. Ignorance asserts its dominion everywhere. But the legal conceptions of individual peoples grow dim before the knowledge of Roman law; if that knowledge is strengthened, these peoples are no longer any obstacle to the despotism of the Roman law. Justinian had the deepest regard for this "infallible power;" he therefore tried by consolidating it to destroy Oriental influences for good and all. Tribonian, a Pamphylian from a remote corner of Asia Minor, was the man who helped him in this great task. An active thinker, the greatest scholar of his time, who was competent to write on the nature of fortune and the duties of sovereignty as well as on the harmonious system of the universe; as much in his element when president of the various committees for recording the law as when treading the marble pavements of the emperor's palace at Byzantium, completely unscrupulous in pursuing his private aims; — these are the characteristics of the man who was the soul and the most active instrument of legislation. The colossal task of collecting all imperial ordinances (*constitutiones*) in one new single work (*Codex Justinianeus*) was carried through, thanks to the efficiency of the imperial chancery, in less than fourteen months. Antiquated ordinances were omitted, whether superseded by new laws or merely nullified by the practice of the courts. Chronological arrangement within the separate titles facilitated reference. After April 16, 529, all legal procedure throughout the empire had to conform to the ordinances of this collection. With praiseworthy consistency special decisions (the *quinquaginta decisiones*), by which the old law was expounded, were given on doubtful cases and disputed points.

After these most difficult questions, and with them some useless matters, had been settled, Justinian appointed a committee to make a collection of the old jurists and a book of extracts from them. Tribonian, the president of the committee, supplies with pride some hardly credible figures, which should give us a clear idea of the mere physical labour: 2,000 books with 3,000,000 lines were compressed into 50 books with 150,000 lines. Professors and practitioners extracted in three large divisions the decisions which were before them, and in doing so cited the names and titles of the works on which they drew. Contradictions could not be entirely avoided; professional commentaries were to be forbidden, since they encroached on the sovereign's rights. This collection of the Digest or Pandects was invested with the authority of law on December 30, 533.

The next task was to ensure that future lawyers should be educated on the lines of these new sources of jurisprudence; the Institutes, which contained the principles and essential elements of preliminary legal study, had to be brought into harmony with the form which the sources of jurisprudence now assumed.

This was accomplished by Theophilus, a teacher of law in the school at Constantinople, and Dorotheus from the law school of Berytus, of course under the supervision of Tribonian, and with special use of the best existing text-books, above all the Institutes of Gaius. Antiquated expressions which might deter students were expunged, so that the "new Justinians," as the young lawyers were now called (instead of "Two-pounders," as formerly), might not be discouraged.

The necessity now presented itself of revising the ordinances (Constitutions) once more, for there were many ordinances left among them which, owing to the legal lore now collected and available, must have seemed superfluous or contradictory. A second edition (the only edition now extant) was therefore prepared in continuation of the Digest.

Finally, the legislative activity of Justinian himself did not cease with the conclusion of the great work; it continued until the death of Tribonian, in 545, and found scope in the "Novellæ," which, composed in Greek or Latin (some bilingually), are preserved far more completely than the earlier ordinances incorporated in the Codex Justinianeus, and are extant in private, though not in any official, collections.

The simplification of the professional work of lawyers, the introduction into jurisprudence of Christian principles instead of Mosaic law, the establishment of complete legal uniformity (with which view the old law school at Athens was closed on account of the attention there devoted to Greek law), and special attention to the interests of the small citizen, were the leading aims of Justinian and his scholars. The predominance of the rich was broken down by the grant of special privileges to the soldier caste, by laws concerning the succession to landed property, by giving the wife the right to inherit, by usury laws (in dealing with countrymen only four per cent was allowed), and by measures in favour of debtors (thus by the *beneficium inventarii* the liability of the heir was limited by making an inventory to the amount of property left). At the same time the Christian duty of protecting the poor was emphasised, the relaxation of the *patria potestas* aimed in the same direction, and the remains of the old family state were destroyed. Consideration for the weaknesses of inferiors, in imitation of the Divine mercy, was laid down as the guiding principle of the new jurisprudence, and thus as much opposition was shown to the old Roman law with its doctrine of "reward and compulsion" as to the Mosaic code; a phrase employed in another connection, which speaks of the "contemptible and Jewish sort," is very significant of the attitude of the emperor.

The *Nika* riots helped Justinian to crush the still existing popular organisations and to establish a perfect absolutism. Hitherto the parties of the Hippodrome had been organised as Demes (δῆμοι) in civil and military divisions, and still received some sort of popular representation and took some part in the election of the emperor, even of Justinian. Precisely as the Hippodrome in its collection of works of art (the bronze horses, and Heracles Trihesperus of Lysippus, the ass of Aktion, the Wolf and Hyena, Helena, and a number of other works of art stood there) had become the successor of the Roman forum and the Greek Agora, so it resounded with echoes of the political importance of the forum. The civil divisions stood under Demarchs, the military divisions under Democrats; thus the Democrat of the Blues was the *domesticus scholarum*, the Democrat of the Greens *domesticus excubitorum*. This military organisation rendered it possible to employ the Demes

occasionally to defend the walls. The rule of whichever was temporarily the stronger party (under Justinian that of the Blues) produced an intolerable state of affairs. The impartiality of Justinian, who punished alike misdemeanants of either colour (January 11, 532), led to the union of the two parties (their cry "Nika" = victory), to the burning and destruction of the imperial palace, of the library of Zeuxippus and the church of St. Sophia (January 13). On the 16th and 17th of January renewed fires reduced many buildings to ashes and street-fighting raged everywhere. Hipatius, nephew of the emperor Anastasius, was proclaimed rival emperor, and only the firmness of Theodora prevented Justinian from taking to flight. Negotiations with the Blues and the massacre of the Greens by Belisarius in the circus (where from thirty thousand to fifty thousand victims are said to have fallen) ended this last struggle of Byzantine national freedom.

Justinian had magnificent schemes of foreign policy. He frankly declared at a later time (in the "Novels") that he cherished confident hopes of winning by the grace of God the sovereignty over those territories which the ancient Romans had once subdued as far as the boundaries of either ocean, but had subsequently lost through their carelessness. Hilderic, king of the Vandals, had submitted to the influence of Byzantium, and had coined money with the head of Justin I, but had been deposed on May 19, 530, on account of his unwarlike nature and his sympathies with Byzantium. The repeated intervention of Justinian on behalf of Hilderic was rudely rejected by the newly elected Gelimer; nevertheless, in view of the Persian war, and the want of a naval force and adequate supplies, a punitive expedition seemed impossible. But the hatred of Arianism finally forced on the war. Belisarius was given the command of the fleet, which set sail at the end of June, 533. Although the voyage was necessarily prolonged, and laborious efforts were required to prevent the dispersion of the vessels (painting the sails red, hanging up three lanterns), Belisarius entered Carthage on September 15. By the middle of December, 533, the entire Vandal power was overthrown. At the end of March or beginning of April, Gelimer, the last Vandal king, surrendered; his timidity and irresolution had in the end largely contributed to this event (cf. Vol. IV, p. 245).

The reintroduction of the Roman fiscal system and the stern suppression of Arianism had made the Byzantine rule irksome; but it was consolidated by the timely repulse of the Mauri (Berbers), and by the prosperity of Carthage, which now, with its palaces, churches, and baths of Theodora, became one of the most splendid cities of the empire. Byzantium now possessed a Latin province, for Latin had remained the diplomatic language, and the official language for petitions to the Romans, even among the Vandals. The province comprised Tripolitana, Byzacena, pro-consular Africa (Zeugitana), Numidia, Mauretania Sitifensis, while in Western Africa only a few places, such as Cæsarea (Cherchel) and the impregnable Septem were Byzantine. Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands were annexed. The result of the conquest was, however, not so lamentable as Procopius represents it, when he depicts in bitter words the depopulation, impoverishment, and misgovernment of Africa. The administration of Africa became important in determining the primitive form of the Byzantine military province, since it showed the necessity of a union between the civil and military authorities, which had been separated since the time of Constantine the Great. Solomon, for example, was civil and military governor (535 and 539; *magister militum* and *præfectus prætorio*); it

cannot be decided how far the other seven civil under-governors (*præsides*) and the four military under-governors (*duces* and *comites*) were combined under him. Even in modern times the numerous remains of Byzantine forts, which were garrisoned by frontier troops (*limitanei*), testify to the emperor's solicitude for Africa. Leptis Magna and Sabrata (in Tripolitana), Capsa and Thelepte, Ammaedera, Chusira, De Laribus, Mamma, Kululis in Byzacena, Carthago, Vaga, the great fortress of Bordji-Hallal, Sicca Veneria in pro-consular Africa, Theveste, Bagai, Thamugadi, Lamfona in Numidia, Sitifis in Mauretania Sitifensis, are only some names out of the long list of newly founded and restored fortresses. One hundred and fifty towns rose from their condition of desolation and ruin. Justinian had become in Africa "the Avenger of the Church and the Liberator of the nations;" and his general Belisarius, the "glory of the Romans" (as he is styled on the commemorative coins), could display in his triumphal procession the costly vases and robes, the gorgeous chariots, and the golden ornaments which had found their way into the Vandal treasury from successful raids. Mosaics on the walls of the imperial palace glorified the conquest of Africa.

The conquest and annihilation of the East Gothic Empire in Italy lasted fully eighteen years (536–554; cf. Vol. IV, p. 474). Here two religious motives co-operated, at least at the outset of the struggle. The year 554 saw finally an expansion of East Roman power over the Spanish peninsula, where a small province was formed, with Cordova as the capital (cf. Vol. IV, p. 492). On the other hand the Persian wars (531–532, 539–562) brought little glory and success; the first ended with a treaty, which imposed annual payments on Byzantium. The second treaty, of 562, contained the same condition, rendered less bitter by the cession of Laristan to Byzantium. Meanwhile waves of nations surged round the walls of Anastasius. Zabergan, the head of the Kotrigures,[1] struck panic into Byzantium in 558; his tents were pitched at Melanthias (Buyuk Chekmadje), eighteen miles from Byzantium. The treasures from the churches in the neighbourhood had already been put into places of safety, and fear filled the trembling spectators on the walls. But Belisarius was victorious, and the defeated Kotrigures were attacked on their retreat by their hostile brethren the Utigures (Uturgures in Old or Great Bulgaria). The fortresses, which had been planted over the wide Byzantine dominions, proved unpractical; they required too many garrisons, instead of diminishing the necessity for troops.

Far more profitable are Justinian's peaceful achievements. Procopius devoted a whole volume to the architectural achievements of Justinian. We are told by him how the emperor favoured numerous towns with his royal consideration; he sent Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus to Dara, and younger men to Zenobia. A recently discovered inscription from the Syrian Chalcis reveals there also the work of Isidorus. The instructions of the emperor are minute in the case of the Church of St. Mary at Jerusalem, where the site and the dimensions are attributable to him. The Church of San Vitale in Ravenna, with its mosaics (cf. *supra*, p. 38), which perhaps represent a glorification of the two natures of Christ, must have owed much to Justinian; it displays Asiatic influences on Italian soil (cf. *infra*, p. 62). The Church of St. Sophia, which was built by

[1] Kuturgures or Kotrages, a Hunnish tribe which lived between the Don and the Dnieper; according to J. Marquart = Black Bulgaria; not the inner Bulgarians, who were settled in Moldavia and Bessarabia.

Justinian, stands at the end of a long chain of development, in which the Syrian rotundas of Basra and Esra as well as the churches of St. Sergius and Bakchos play a part; we must observe also the development of the domed basilica of Asia Minor (Binbirkilisse, Kodja Kalessi, and Adalia) and the Syro-Egyptian transverse nave with its cupola. Justinian brought to Byzantium the architects Anthemius and Isidorus from Asia Minor; they combined rich Eastern motifs with a single magnificent building (cf. p. 50), which again became the model for others.

To commerce Justinian devoted his fullest attention. The wars with Persia are certainly to some extent commercial wars, with the object of ousting Persia from the silk trade. Trading interests and religious motives led to an alliance with the Goths of the Crimea. The alliance with the Axumites (Vol. III, p. 554) must be criticised from this point of view. A treaty had been made with the emperor Justin which in 525 induced Elesbaas (or Caleb) of Axum to make a campaign against the Jewish king Joseph dhû Nuas (Novas) of the Himyares (ibid. p. 251). The immediate cause of the renewal of relations between Byzantium and Axum was that the reigning king of Axum (his name was hardly Adad, as Malalas and Theophanes state, but, according to a coin, Dimean, converted by the historians into a Himyarish king Damian) had vowed to become a Christian if he conquered the Himyares, and that after his victory he applied to Justinian for a bishop. Finally the introduction of silkworm breeding from Serinda[1] gave a great stimulus to the Byzantine silk industry. After that time silk making, which to the great detriment of the Syrian factories was treated as a monopoly, turned to good account the traditional methods of Persia and China.

The ecclesiastical policy of Justinian was influenced by his ambitions and also by his great theological talents, which actually created new dogmas. He wished to gain the West, and therefore put himself on good terms with Rome (cf. p. 38), a policy which incensed Syria and Egypt. These conciliatory efforts of the emperor drove the Monophysites to leave the Church; and schism was further provoked by the theological leanings of Justinian, who wished himself to decide questions in the Church, although at that particular time the struggle of the Church to win independence was finding loud expression. Facundus, bishop of Hermiane, preached vehemently: "It is better to remain within the assigned limits; to transgress them may ruin many and will help none." A clear contrast was made between the reigning emperor and his predecessor Marcianus: "Never has the pious and good emperor believed that he, a layman, can repeal with impunity that on which the holy fathers have decided in matters of faith." Gentle measures and force were alike unable to restore the unity of the Church. The clever and marvellously far-seeing Empress Theodora recognised more clearly than Justinian himself that the roots of Byzantine strength lay in the East; but the interference of Rome had prevented any abandonment of the resolutions of Chalcedon (cf. p. 38), and the violent measures taken against the Monophysites in Alexandria could not be counterbalanced by the most subtly devised diplomatic revival of the old Henotikon (p. 33). This was Justinian's most serious mistake. Provinces which were, both in politics and in culture, the most important supports of Byzantium were compelled to leave the Church; and the overtures which he

[1] Probably Chinese East Turkestan, Khotan; cf. Vol. II, p. 146.

made to them, though sufficient to incense the West, were insufficient to appease their dissatisfaction.

The military energy of Justinian attained no definite results, and the frittering away of his forces in ambitious efforts entailed heavy loss. But the importance of Justinian's reign lies in other fields. The true function of the Byzantine Empire, as the focus of Western and Eastern intellectual powers, was largely his creation. The art of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt blended on Byzantine soil into one uniform whole. Western law, reconciled with Christianity, spread over the world and prevented reactionary legislation. The political constitution of Roman times was extended and improved until it embraced all spheres of human activity. The splendour of an Oriental court spread its brilliancy over the throne. The theological disputes of the world, in which the last remnant of liberty of thought had taken refuge, were decided by the secular sovereign himself; but here he encouraged the separation of West from East. With Justinian, Byzantium attains her position as the home of old traditions and the foremost civilized power, a position she maintained for centuries.

(*c*) *The Writing of History in the Age of Justinian.* — Procopius of Cæsarea (490–563) is not only invaluable as the historian of the Justinian age, but in his mixture of irreconcilable elements is an admirable illustration of Byzantine degeneracy. A native of Greek Syria, he showed a thorough receptivity of Greek culture, only betraying in his language that he had been educated on the outskirts of the Hellenic world. A sceptic towards Christianity, he lived in an artificially archaic superstition, cherishing the ideas of Herodotus about dreams and portents. He was impressed with the grandeur of the Roman world and the necessity of ruling it by law; he wished to keep up the old ordinances and to place more power in the hands of the upper classes. He therefore hated the barbarian on the throne, Justinian (in contrast with Anastasius the Roman), who ruled according to his own caprice, subverted old ordinances, and in his legislation gave preference to the lower strata of the population (cf. p. 40). Classical antiquity (Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius) lived anew in this vigorous Syrian author. He far excelled his ancient models both in the variety of the sources which he used, and in his ethnographical studies, which had become indispensable for the mixed population of Byzantium. His "History of the Wars"[1] is based on extensive inquiries and the personal experience which he had acquired as private secretary (after 527) and — after 533 — as assessor (πάρεδρος) of Belisarius. His "Secret History" — composed in 550 — agrees mainly with the "History of the Wars," although he relates in it everything which his hatred of Justinian and Theodora suggests, and all that the vulgar gossip of the court offers him, on the model of Suetonius. He disclosed no new facts, but insinuated everywhere the meanest motives. The treatise on the buildings of Justinian, written certainly by order of the emperor (560), contains such highly coloured praise of Justinian, that we may fairly suspect the author of an ironical intention. The book, which caused great satisfaction, brought him the prefecture of Constantinople.

Menander, who was intended to study jurisprudence, had begun at an early age to lead a desultory existence, and to devote his attention to the disputes of the

[1] In eight books, begun 545–546, the first two books completed and published in 550 and the eighth in 553–554.

factions in the theatre and the dances of the pantomimes, such as he describes in his splendid preface. It was only on the accession of the emperor Mauricius, the guardian of his people and the muses, that Menander began to realise his own powers and to write his history, treating the period 558–582; he conveys important information, especially about the embassies of Zemarchus to the Turks. Nevertheless, he did not think he could afford to challenge comparison with the brilliance of Procopius. His descriptions are plain and unadorned but excellent. How vivid, for example, is his picture of the three tents in which Zemarchus (Zimarch; Vol. II, p. 159) dined on three successive days: the walls hung with bright silken tapestry, holy relics in various forms, golden vessels, the Turkish ruler on a golden couch supported by four gilded peacocks, silver figures of animals on his chariot, in no respect inferior to the Byzantine. Menander's special merits lie in his love for painting miniatures and his comprehension of great events.

The poet Agathias of Æolis felt himself to be in his historical works (552–558) the successor of Procopius as an artistic exponent of current history and the ancient historical style. Quite different was the position of John Malalas, who addressed the mass of the people in his "Universal Chronicle" (reaching to 565, perhaps 574), and produced the greatest effect by a popular work of the first rank composed in a homely Greek dialect. Not merely his Syrian countrymen (the Johns of Ephesus and Antioch, of Nikiu and of Damascus), but also the Greek historians (the author of the "Easter Chronicle," Theophanes, Georgius Monachus, Cedrenus indirectly), and even Slavs (to whom the presbyter Gregory gave a translation in 900) and Georgians made use of this invaluable monument of Byzantine popular wit.

It is important, not merely from the critical standpoint, to indicate these sources for the history of Justinian's age; they give us a full picture of the intellectual movement of the time, in which the higher intellectual classes still appear as patrons and guardians of all classical treasures, but also of a time when the masses in the modern sense, with fresh life pulsing through their veins, struggle for their share in culture, and create their own homely picture of the world in a Greek language which had assimilated Latin and Oriental elements. Thus the "motionless" Byzantine life must be relegated henceforth to the sphere of historical fable no less than the "unchanging" character of Egypt and China.

(*d*) *From Justinus II to Phocas (565–610).* — Neither the nephew of Justinian, Justinus II (565–578), whom the senators proclaimed as his successor, nor Tiberius (578–582), the captain of the palace guard, who, at the recommendation of the empress Sophia, was raised to be co-regent in the lifetime of Justin, could continue on an equal scale Justinian's dream of empire. Tiberius was the first genuine Greek to mount the Byzantine throne, which, since the overthrow of dynastic hereditary succession, — leaving out of consideration the Isaurian Zeno I, — had been occupied by Romanised barbarians of the Balkan peninsula. This is a significant event; it illustrates the growing importance within the empire of the Greek nationality. This nationalist movement is traditionally connected with the emphasis laid by Mauricius on the use of Greek as the political language.

Justin, it is true, refused to pay tribute to the Avars (Vol. II, p. 157), a people who, after entering Upper Hungary through Galicia, had occupied in Iazygia, between the Theiss and the Danube, the homes of the Gepidæ, in Pannonia those

of the Lombards; and who exercised a suzerainty over Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and later over Moldavia and Wallachia. But after the loss of Sirmium in 581 the northern districts were lost for Byzantium. The Lombards, in a rapid victorious progress, conquered in Italy during the year 568 Forum Julii, Vicenza, Verona, and all Venetia with the exception of the coast. The next years saw piece after piece of the Byzantine dominion in Italy crumble away: in 569, Liguria and Milan (without the coast and Ticinum), and Cisalpine Gaul; 570–572, Toscana, Spoletum, Beneventum, Ticinum, and the future capital Pavia; 579, Classis. These Lombards, behaving otherwise than the East Goths, broke with the old traditions of the empire; they did not recognise the Byzantine suzerainty, and founded an entirely Germanic State on Roman soil, so that in these years the West Roman Empire was more completely destroyed than in the traditional year 476. On the scene of war in Persia alone did the year 581, so disastrous for Byzantine power in Europe, bring a victory to Constantine, the defeat of the Persians under Tamkhusrau at Telâ d' Manzalat (Constantine).

In the first half of the sixth century a new and powerful empire had been formed in the East, with which Byzantium was bound to cultivate good relations, — the empire of the Turks. The name of the Turks first occurs in an inscription of 732 A. D.[1] This inscription was set up by a Chinese emperor in honour of a Turkish prince; but outlying fragments of the Turkish race, as early as the fourth century B. C., at the time of Alexander's Scythian campaign, can be traced on the Jaxartes, where the brother of King Karthasis simply bears the Turkish designation *kardâshi* (= his brother); in fact, the main body of the Turks was known to the Greeks of the seventh century B. C. by caravan intelligence, as the report of Aristeas of Proconnesus shows (cf. Vol. II, p. 136 *et seq.*; Vol. IV, p. 273). The branch of the Turks which then became powerful was connected with the Hiung nu (cf. Vol. II, p. 139); its home in the sixth century A. D. was the east coast of the Chinese province Kansu, near the southern Golden Mountains. The embassy of a Turkish vassal (Maniak) came to Byzantium (cf. Vol. II, p. 159); in 568 and 576 Greek envoys stayed at the court of the chief of the northern Turks, Dizabul (or Silzibul; Chinese, Ti teu pu li), at the foot of the northern Golden Mountains (the Altai), and concluded a treaty with them. Menander furnishes a detailed account of these embassies and of the ensuing treaties, which gave the Byzantine Empire a good base in Central Asia.

Mauricius (582–602), the victorious general of the Persian war, became also the successor of Tiberius. He was of Greco-Cappadocian birth (nominally of an old Roman stock). A second Persian war brought many successes in the field,[2] but disappointing terms of peace (591). Mauricius, who himself had risen to the throne by a military career, must have seen the difficulties which beset the Byzantine provinces of Italy and Africa from the separation of the military and the civil powers. Thus the military governors of these two provinces (*magistri militum per Italiam* and *per Africam*) were granted the new and magnificent title of exarch,[3] coupled with extraordinary powers. The creation of exarchs was the

[1] Heikel found this (1890) in Mongolia in the valley of the upper Orchon, and Thomsen deciphered it; cf. Vol. II, pp. 136 and 158.

[2] Victory of Philippicus over the Cardarigan Ormaz IV at Solachon, 586, death of Maruzâs at Martyropolis, 588, and of Nebôdes there in 590.

[3] The title "exarch of Italy" occurs for the first time in a letter of Pope Pelagius II, 584, "exarch of Africa" first in a letter of Gregory I, 591.

starting point for the further organisation of the military provinces (Themen; cf. p. 63).

Mauricius, on the other hand, was not in a position to protect the northern frontier of the Balkan peninsula, which Avars and Slavs continually inundated. Not only did the North become completely Slavonic, but invading Slavonic hordes settled even in Greece, who were not, it is true, so numerous that, as Jakob Fallmerayer (1790–1861) would maintain,[1] they completely swamped the descendants of the old Hellenes and created a Slavonic Greece; but a considerable intermixture of races can be proved. The Slavs undoubtedly were the ruling power in Greece during the years 588–705. Hellenism was still more driven into the background in consequence of the plague of 746–747; as the emperor Constantinus VII Porphyrogennetus says, "The whole country (Hellas) became Slavonic and barbarian."[2] We have weighty testimony for this change. (1) John of Ephesus (585), who for the years 577–582 relates of the Slavs: "They ruled the country and lived in it as independently as in their own. This state of things lasted four years, so long as the emperor was at war with the Persians (until 582). In this way they obtained a free hand in the country, so far as God allowed them. They are still quietly settled in the Roman provinces, without fear or anxiety, plundering, murdering, burning; they have become rich, they possess gold and silver, herds of horses, abundance of weapons, and have learnt the art of war better than the Romans." (2) The "Chronicle of the City of Monembasia" (now in Lampros' Ἱστορικὰ μελετήματα, Athens, 1884), which gives a good picture of the Slavish rule from 588–705, and of the small Byzantine remnant, governed by a strategus, still left on the east coast of the Peloponnese. (3) The Travels of Wilibald of Eichstätt, from the years 723–728, in his life composed by the Nun of Heidenheim, where Monembasia in the land of the Slavs is mentioned (*Monafasiam in Slavinica terra*). In addition to this evidence — leaving out of consideration the place-names, which, in case of districts, rivers, and mountains, show the existence of much Slavonic property by the side of Hellenic — we have the accounts of the ecclesiastical historian Evagrius of Epiphania (*circa* 593), who records a devastation of the whole of Hellas by the Slavs; of Menander; of Thomas the Presbyter of Emesa, according to whom the Slavs in 623 attacked Crete and the Greek islands; and lastly, the collections of miracles of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica. There are exact accounts of the names of the Slavonic tribes which took part in the invasion of 581 (not merely in that of 676): the Drogubites (Dragowiči), Sagulates (according to the manuscript, Sagudates), Belegezetes (Velegostiči; cf. "Velestino" in Thessaly), Baiunetes (Vojniči), Verzetes (Vurzači), Runchini, Strumani. These tribes later withdrew to Russian territory. We find the Drogubites in the time of John Cameniates (*circa* 904) still round Thessalonica, and in the time of Constantine Porphyrogennetus as tributaries of the prince of

[1] Fallmerayer relied for his theory of a complete extirpation of Hellenes in Greece by Slavs on the fragments of Athenean history from the Anargyren monastery, where he alleged it ran that "Athens lay waste for some four hundred years" (*διὰ τετρακοσίους σχεδὸν χρόνους*). When the fragments were published it was shown that the words ran "for three years" (*διὰ τρεῖς σχεδὸν χρόνους*), and, according to the correct application of the account, it refers to the years 1688–1691! Finally, the fragments have been carefully edited in our century, notably by Pittacis, and represent an extract from the equally modern Chronicle of Anthimus. Thus, thanks to Karl Hopf, the assertion of a four hundred years' desolation of Athens and the complete extirpation of Hellenism is now quite untenable.

[2] *ἐσθλάβώθη πᾶσα ἡ χῶρα καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος.*

Kiev. In the time of Nestor, who still knew that they had once formed an independent State, they dwelt between Pripiet and Düna. The Sagulates appear still later in the country of Thessalonica. The Belegezetes inhabited Thessalian Thebes and Demetrias, and were industrious agriculturists. The Baiunetes are inhabitants of the country of Baina (Vaina), near the town of Radowich in Macedonia; kindred names appear also in Russia (district of Vojniči). The region of Verzetia, in Macedonia or Thessaly, over which in 799 a prince Akamir reigned, is called after the Verzetes. The Runchini dwell on a tributary of the Strymon, the Strumani on the main river. Thus there is a considerable list of settled Slavonic tribes in the north of Greece. In the Peloponnese we know of the Milenzi (Μιλιγγοί) and Jezerzi ('Εζηριταί) on the Eurotas; the Maniazi (Μαινῶται) in the southern Taygetus.

The capabilities of the Slavs had been already recognised by Justinian in his military appointments. Dobrogost was in 555 at the head of the Pontic fleet; in 575 Onogost became a patrician. Priscus, the conqueror of the Slavs, who defeated the general Radgost and took captive King Muzok in 593, availed himself of the Slav Tatimir to convey the prisoners. A Slav, Nicetas (766–780), mounted the patriarchal throne of Constantinople; descent from a distinguished Slavonic family in the Peloponnese is ascribed to the father-in-law of Christopher, son of the emperor Romanus I Lacapenus; but the Slavonic descent of the Armenian emperor Basilius, asserted by the Arab Hansa, is obviously as incorrect as the fable of the "Slav" Justinian related by Theophilus.

We must see in these expeditions of the Avars and Slavs a true national migration which flows and ebbs. Capable generals, like Priscus, inflicted heavy reverses on both nations; but on one occasion only the outbreak of pestilence in the Avar camp saved Constantinople, and the demands made on the army increased enormously. It mutinied and raised to the throne the centurion Phocas (602–610), who put Mauricius and his five sons to death. But this arrogance of the army led to popular risings, especially in the native country of the emperor, Anatolia and Cilicia, then in Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and above all among the Monophysites. The Persians attempted to avenge Mauricius, and a peace with the Avars had to be concluded at any price. But the Byzantine standard of government had long been too high to tolerate permanently on the imperial throne an incapable officer of low rank who dealt with insurrections in the most merciless fashion. Priscus, the general, allied himself with the exarch Heracleius of Africa, and the latter became emperor. The age of Justinian had ended in murders; the dissolution of the empire would soon have followed had not the sword rescued it.

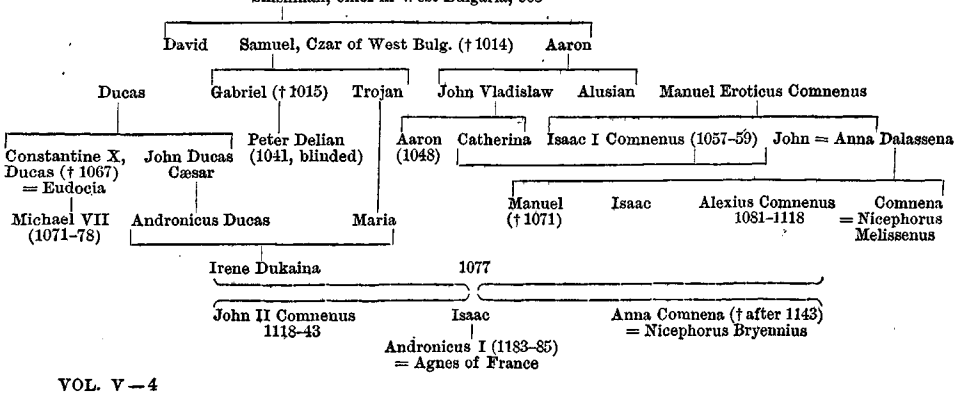
D. The Oriental Elements of Byzantine Culture

Constantinople (= Byzantium = New Rome) was, like Old Rome, divided into fourteen districts; even the seven hills could, to the satisfaction of some Byzantine students of history, be rediscovered, if required, by the exercise of some imagination within the limits of Constantinople itself. The old patrician families, who had lived on the Bosphorus since the days of Constantine, might, as regards the games in the circus, which were accurately copied, cherish the belief that no alterations had been made in the customs of Old Rome. The military system, the strength and pride of the Romans at a time when the army no longer consisted of Italians,

or even of subjects of the empire, still remained Roman at Byzantium. The only difference was that in the seventh century the word of command became Greek; and in this connection the old word "Hellenic" might no longer be employed, having degenerated into the meaning of "pagan." The old traditions of the Roman Senate, extolled more than five hundred years before by eloquent Hellenic lips (Cineas) as an assembly of kings, were cherished in the New Rome. The East Roman Senate preserved a scanty remnant of the sovereign power, since it claimed the formal right of ratifying a new emperor. The political ideal of the Byzantine Empire was Roman, only diluted into an abstraction by a tinge of cosmopolitanism. Huns, Armenians, Khazars, Bulgarians, and Persians were employed in the army. The employment of such mercenaries and constant later intercourse with the governments of Arabia and Persia, helped largely to give the Byzantine Empire in intellectual and ethical respects the stamp of an Oriental empire. Not merely that the imperial office was conceived as a mystery, which might only come into publicity on extraordinary occasions amid the most splendid and most ridiculous pomp — even the Western feeling of personal dignity slowly died away, and occasional corporal punishment was quite consistent with the exalted position of the Byzantine nobles. The stiffness and pedantry of the State based on class and caste, in the form which Diocletian had given it, had precluded any new stimulus from below. The upper classes would have remained in the ruts worn deep by the lapse of centuries, devoid of every powerful incentive, had not religious disputes offered opportunities for the assertion of personal opinion, while the intrusion of Oriental influences, the revival of Oriental ideas on art and law, caused an agitation like bubbling springs in standing pools.

Not merely did the Asiatic governors possess a higher rank than the European; even Orientals, especially Armenians, acquired an ever increasing importance at court and in the army. Amongst the leaders of the latter, Manuel (under the emperors Theophilus and Michael III) and John Kurkuas (940–942, commander-in-chief against the Arabs, "the second Trajan") are especially famous. Even the pearl diadem of the East Roman emperors repeatedly adorned the brows of Armenians (Bardanes [Philippicus], Artavasdes [† 743], Leo V, Basilius I, Romanus Lacapenus, John I Tzimisces), and once fell to an Arab (Nicephorus I). A granddaughter of Romanus I married in 927 the Czar Peter of Bulgaria. The Ducas family and the Comneni prided themselves on their relationship to the Czar Samuel of West Bulgaria, an Oriental in spite of his European home.[1] In the

[1] Shishman, chief in West Bulgaria, 963



veins of the empress Irene, after 732, wife of Constantine V, there flowed Finnish blood; she was the daughter of the chief (Khakhan) of the Khazars. The khan of the Bulgarians was made, under Justinian II († 711), a patrician of the empire, as was a Persian of the royal house of the Sassanids. The Byzantine general, with whose battles the shores of the Black Sea echoed, and whose glory an epic of the tenth century rapturously extols, Basilius Digenis Acritus, was son of the Arabian Emir Ali of Edessa by a Greek wife. The family of the Arabian Emir Anemas in Crete was in the service of John Tzimisces, while George Maniaces, who reconquered Sicily (1038), bears a Turkish name.

In order to obtain an idea of the strange mixture of Oriental and Western life, let us consider the appearance which Constantinople itself would present to a stranger in the time of the emperor Justinian.

As we skim over the glittering water of the Bosphorus in a Byzantine *dromond*, we see, rising above the gentle slope of the Nicomedean hills, the snowy peaks of the Bithynian Olympus, a fitting symbol of Asia. But on our left hand the mighty capital with its palaces and domes enchains the eye.[1] From behind the strong ramparts which guard the shores, between the long stretch of the hippodrome and the various blocks of the palace, Hagia Sophia towers up, its metal-covered cupolas glittering like gold in the sunlight. In the gulf of the Golden Horn our boat threads its course through hundreds of *dromonds* and smaller vessels; when safely landed, we must force our way through the motley crowd, and reach the church of St. Sophia through a seething mass of loose-trousered turbaned Bulgarians, yellow and grim-faced Huns, and Persians with tall sheepskin caps. Forty windows pour floods of light on the interior of the church; the sunbeams irradiate columns gorgeous with jasper, porphyry, alabaster, and marble; they play over surfaces inlaid with mother-of-pearl; they are reflected from the rich golden brilliance of the mosaics in a thousand gleams and flashes.[2] The want of repose in the ornamentation, the deficiency of plastic feeling, and the prominence which is consequently given to coloured surfaces are emphatically Oriental; not less so are the capitals of the pillars, stone cubes overlaid with ornament, in which we must see a reversion to the traditions of Syro-Phœnician art, and the pattern of the mosaics, where the after-effect of a style originally Chinese, and later Perso-Syrian, is seen in the network of lozenges.

A walk round Constantinople confirms this impression. By the side of the golden throne of Theodosius huge Egyptian pylons tower up; we pass by immense water-tanks constructed in the Syrian fashion and glance at the columned cisterns, which are of Egyptian origin. If we enter the house of a noble we find the floor, according to the immemorial tradition of the East, paved with glazed tiles; the furniture covered, so far as possible, with heavy gold-leaf — a revival of Assyrian fashions, which through Byzantine influence reached even the court of Charles the Great (Charlemagne; cf. p. 61). We notice on the silk tapestries and carpets strange designs of animals, whose childishly fantastic shapes might be found in the Farthest East. The products of the goldsmith's craft, pierced and filled with transparent enamel, point also to Oriental traditions, no less than the extravagant splendour of the nobles and their wives who inhabit these rooms. Gold, precious

[1] See the illustration of "Constantinople shortly before and shortly after its Capture by the Turks" in Chapter II.

[2] See the explanation of the picture "The Enthroned Christ," Vol. IV, p. 202.

stones, or transparent enamel glitter on the long tunics of the men, on their richly ornamented *chlamydes* and even on their shoes, while their swords are damascened in the primitive Assyrian fashion. The ample robes of the women are thickly covered with embroidery; broad sashes encircle their waists, while narrow embroidered capes hang down from their shoulders. These fashions recur at the court of the later Carlovingians, who are only shown to be Germans by the fashion in which they dress their hair.

The immense imperial palace is a city in itself, a city of marvels. The inhabitant of the rustic West who visited the Cæsars of the East were amazed, as if the fables of the East had come to life. The golden spear-heads of the body-guard carry us back in thought to the old Persian court (see the picture on page 146 of Vol. III); the splendid colours of their robes are borrowed from the East. A mysterious movement announces some great event: the clang of the golden bell and the deep-toned chant of the priests herald the entry of the Basileus. If an envoy was admitted to an audience in the imperial hall, his eye would be caught by another relic of the Persian court, the golden plane-tree, which rose high into the air behind the throne; artificial birds fluttered and chirruped, golden lions roared round the throne; in the midst of all that bewildering splendour sits immovable a figure, almost lost in costly robes, studded with gold and jewels, more a picture, a principle, or an abstraction than a man, — the emperor. Every one prostrates himself at the sovereign's feet, in the traditional Eastern form of adoration, the *proskynesis*. The throne slowly moves upwards and seems to float in the air. Western sovereignty had never before attempted so to intoxicate the senses; the gorgeous colouring and vivid imagination of the East (see explanation to illustration, Vol. III, p. 288) were enlisted in the cause of despotism. If we go out into the street again we hear a stroller singing a ballad which the populace has composed on the emperor in Oriental fashion.

This composite art of Byzantium thus represents a decomposition of the Greco-Roman style into its original Asiatic elements, and a fuller development of these in a congenial soil. The wonderful Greek sense of form was gone, and the style of the Roman Empire had disappeared, if it ever existed; the concealment and covering of the surfaces, the Oriental style of embroidery and metal plates, had become the Byzantine ideal.

In other respects also the intellectual life shows effeminate and Eastern traits. The authors make their heroes and heroines burst into tears or fall into fainting fits with an unpleasing effeminacy and emotionality, only explicable by Oriental influences. Not only the novelists but even the historians, with that lavish waste of time peculiar to the Oriental, describe their personages in the minutest and most superfluous detail. This habit of elaborate personal descriptions was a tradition of Greco-Egyptian style, due to the same craving for the perpetuation of the individual which produced mummy portraits on the coffins of the dead, and caused wills to be adorned with the testator's picture. In the domain of *belles lettres* the fable and the adventurous travel-romance of the Indians were interwoven with late Greek love stories, so that motifs which first appear in Indian fables spread thence to the West, where they can be traced down to Boccaccio's Decameron. Byzantine architecture shows close dependence on the Arabian models. The emperor Theophilus (829–842) had his summer palace built at the advice of John Grammaticus, who was well acquainted with the Arabs, on the model of the

Caliph's palace at Bagdad, while in the palace of Hebdomon the decoration of the Arabs was imitated.

Foreign words found their way in numbers into the Greek language, often denoting Oriental commodities. The Arabic names for beer (φουκκᾶς), for fortune-telling books (ῥάμπλιον, Arabic rami), for a wick (φατλιον, Arabic fatila), for safety (ἀμανάτη, Arabic amanat), were adopted at this time. With the Persian imperial mantle for the coronation (Mandiya) and the ordinary imperial mantle (Skaramangion), the Persian names were also borrowed, although the name for the pearl diadem, which Arsacids and Sassanids had also worn, does not appear.

The West faded out of the Byzantine range of vision, while the nations of the East attracted more attention. Procopius of Cæsarea († 563) relates strange notions as to the appearance of Britain. When the Book of Ceremonies, which treats of the procedure with foreign rulers, mentions the princes of Bavaria and Saxony, it states that the country of the Niemetz belongs to them. Little more was known of the Germans in 900 than the name given them by Magyars and Slavs, and the ambassador of the emperor Otto I sat at table in the Byzantine court below the Bulgarian ambassador. The Eastern countries, on the other hand, came more and more clearly into view. The historian Theophylactus Simocattes drew in 620, presumably through the good offices of the Turks (instructed by the letter of the khan of the Turks to the emperor Mauricius, which envoys had brought to Byzantium in 598), an able sketch of China, congratulated the Chinese, in reference to the Byzantine disputes as to the succession, on being ignorant of such matters, and spoke enthusiastically of Chinese law, praising especially the rule which forbade men to wear gold or silver. The legend that Alexander the Great was the founder of the two largest Chinese cities appears also in his writings.

Thus the new influences which now came into play had long existed in the lower strata of Oriental society, or had their origin in Oriental spheres outside Byzantine national life. Whether or not this Byzantine civilization should, therefore, be termed a mixed civilization, it had at any rate so much vitality that it exercised on other civilizations, in the East and the West, an influence as great as had been that of the mixed civilization of Phœnicia and Nearer Asia; the civilization of Syria, locally more independent, played the part of a broker between the East and the West.

E. The Byzantine Province of Syria as Mediator between West and East

While the southern provinces of the Byzantine Empire maintained in general a brisk intercourse with the East (the enthusiastic East-Roman patriot Cosmas Indicopleustes journeyed from Egypt to India, which he described in vivid colours), Syria especially offered a *jardin d'acclimatation* for Western and Eastern suggestions and ideas, and continued to do so, even after the Byzantine dominion was destroyed in 640 and the Arabs took over the country (Vol. III, p. 303). Greco-Roman culture had been completely victorious there under the Roman Empire; the sound of the old Aramaic national language was only heard in isolated villages. Christianity, as a genuinely democratic power, had adopted the discarded language of the mother country and the people, and soon raised it to the rank of a universal language. The achievements of Greek intellectual life were translated into Syrian.

Syro-Greek writers, whom we can with difficulty classify as true Syrians (with rights of voting as Byzantines), as Syrians of a stock which had long been Grecised, and as Greeks of old descent, stand in the forefront of the intellectual life of Byzantium. Romanus the Melode (*circa* 500), the most celebrated hymn-writer of Middle Greek literature, was a native of Syria. That country produced numerous historians: Procopius of Cæsarea; John of Epiphanea, who knew Persia thoroughly; Evagrius Scholasticus (*circa* 600); John Malalas (Syrian *malâl* = *rhetor*), for whom, although Byzantium was the political capital, Antioch was always the intellectual focus; and John of Antioch. In the domain of grammar, the versatile John Philoponus of Cæsarea, Sergius of Emesa, the zoölogist, and Timotheus of Gaza were busily occupied. Aëtius of Amida, in Mesopotamia, subsequently imperial body-physician, belonged to the same race, although he is said to have begun the study of the ancient physicians at Alexandria. His nearest countryman, Ephraim (306–373), heads the list of Syrian dogmatic theologians, to whom, amongst others, Anastasius, a native of Palestine by birth, belongs as a "precursor of scholasticism" labouring in Syria. Ecclesiastical interests are further represented in the domain of epexegesis by Procopius of Gaza; under this head are counted the friends of the historian Evagrius, Symeon Stylites the ascetic († 460), with his glorification of the monastic life, and the ecclesiastical orator Gregory, patriarch of Antioch. Syria thus played a part in early Byzantine literature which was altogether disproportionate to the number of her inhabitants.

Aristotle was introduced into the schools and expounded; the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato and the sonorous eloquence of pseudo-Isocratean speeches were once more subjects of study; the physician Sergius of Râs'a-in († 536) did especial service in this department. Later writers also (such as Severus of Antioch, John Philoponus, Porphyrius, Sextus Julius Africanus, Eusebius, the Apology of Aristides) were translated; Persian works ("Qelilag and Damnag," "The Fable of Barlaam and Josaphat;" cf. below, p. 55) and Hebrew writings were brought within the scope of Syrian studies. Legends, such as the Invention of the Cross, the Seven Sleepers, and the Baptism of Constantine come from this source. Some "Episodes from the Lives of Saintly Women" were written on the pages of a gospel in Old Syrian. The last story among them contains the temptation of Yasta of Antioch by the scholastic Aglaidas, who, after his suit had been rejected, applied to the magician Cyprianus. The latter is bound, by a compact signed in blood, to a demon, who now undertakes to win over the maiden, but has to acknowledge himself defeated before the sign of the cross. Cyprianus, convinced of the inefficiency of self-acquired wisdom, and impelled by his thirst for truth, then abjures all magic. This legend of Cyprianus, which certainly arose on Syrian soil, has become important for the West in many ways through the effect of the Faust-legend and of the material which lies at the bottom of Pedro Calderon's "Magico Prodigioso."

Syria again was successful in propagating her own culture far to the east and west. Syrian Christians were settled on the coasts of India, on the Himalayas, and in Ceylon, and exercised a deeply felt influence on India. Memories of it are echoed in the Indian epic Mahâbhârata; the legends of the birth of the demigod Krishna and of his persecution by Kansa, the Avatâras system (Vol. II, p. 410), probably an imitation of the Christian dogma of Christ's descent to earth, and the adoration of Krishna's mother, Dewâki, are speaking proofs of it; while the appearance of the Greek astronomer Ptolemy as Demon (Asura) Maya and the numerous

technical terms in Indian astronomy can only be explained from the connection with Alexandria. Whether the Syrian Christians of India really maintained so close an intercourse with the West that King Alfred of England could send them an embassy is still a moot point.

Syrian missionaries penetrated into the mysterious highlands of Central Asia. When China was ruled by the great emperor Tai Tsung (627–649; cf. Vol. II, p. 84), before whose command Northern India bowed, whose help Persia implored (Yesdigerd III, 638, against the Arabs; cf. Vol. III, p. 303), enthusiastic Syrian missionaries appeared there. A tablet, composed (781) in Chinese but containing some lines of Syriac, which was found in 1625 at the famous Si ngan fu (Khubdan in Theophylactus Simocattes), testifies both to the religious zeal of the Syrians and to the tolerance of the Chinese emperor, who had ordered the translation and circulation of the Scriptures, and had commanded a church of the pure faith to be built. "Righteous doctrines have no fixed name; holy men have no fixed abode; each locality has its own doctrines; and the aim of all is to disseminate happiness. The most excellent Alapenn (Olopön) from the empire of Ta tsin (the Asiatic provinces of the Roman Empire) has brought hither his sacred books and images from that distant country, and presented them to our capital and royal city. After having tested the doctrines of this religion, we find it thoroughly excellent and natural . . . it is salutary for all creatures, it is excellent for mankind." Thus the supposed political embassy of the Byzantine regents to China during the minority of Constans II (*circa* 642) turns out to be nothing more than a mission sent by the Syrian Nestorians.

Syrian sepulchral inscriptions were disinterred in 1885 from the soil of the steppes of Turkestan in the vicinity of Issik kul (Vol. IV, p. 213). Just as man in the earliest times paid reverence to the tombs, in order to rescue from oblivion the memory of his dear ones and to form some bond between the existence he knew and the mysterious world beyond the grave, so even the poor Turks of Semirjetchje have since the ninth century utilised the Syrian language and letters to perpetuate the recollection of their departed. From this influential position of the Syrians, who, being then in full possession of Western culture, must be claimed also for the West, it is plain that the alphabet of the Manchu Uigurians and, through the agency of the latter, the alphabet of the Mongols are derived from the Syrian script; the circumstances in particular under which the Syrian-Nestorian script came to the Uigurians are well known to us from the monument of Kara Balgassun.

An equally important rôle was played by the Syrians in the West. Jerome had already said, "Their lust for gain drives them over the whole world; and their frenzy for trade goes so far that even now, when barbarians are masters of the globe, they seek wealth amid swords and corpses, and conquer poverty by risking dangers." As a matter of fact we find Syrians scattered far and wide, not only before but also after the fall of the West Roman Empire. Tyre, the metropolis of Phœnician commerce as far back as the eleventh century B. C., and now in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. the centre of the silk trade, Sidon and Berytus send their merchants especially to Italy (Verona, Ravenna, Naples). Inscriptions in various towns prove their existence in the kingdom of the Franks. We find Syrians in Narbonne, Bordeaux, Vienne, Lyons, Genay, Besançon, Orleans, Tours, La Chapelle Saint-Éloy, Paris. On German soil they appear at Strassburg, Trèves,

Rheinzabern, and in Bavaria; in England at South Shields. They are the carriers of the wine trade and of the Egyptian papyrus trade; they encouraged horticulture and brought plants from their own country, of which only the shallot (a species of onion, so called from the name of the town Ascalon) need be mentioned. They circulated the silk stuffs manufactured in their own workshops; these show Persian patterns, especially the two horsemen as a centre, but the surfaces are filled up in the Syrian fashion (with vine tendrils, vine branches with ivy leaves and grapes), or they chose genuinely Syrian themes (cf. the dress ornament with the nymph in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum at Berlin; also the reliquary in the treasury at Aachen with Syrian ornamentation of the surfaces). Syrian ideas for pictorial ornamentation accordingly reached the West. The Gospel-book of Godeskalk (painted between 781 and 783 for Charlemagne) contains a picture, in the Syrian style, of the fountain of life, with animals, like the Bible of the Syrian monk Nabula produced in 586. Syrians transmitted to the West the story, originating in India, of the king's son who takes no pleasure in pomp and show, and, chafing at the nameless sorrow with which men's hearts throb, flies into solitude in order to atone for himself and mankind by devotion to a new doctrine which may redeem the world. In that story of Barlaam and Josaphat Europe possessed a sketch of the life of Buddha (Vol. II, p. 390) before it became acquainted with Buddhism.

It was from Syrian, not Greek, tradition that the West derived the Alexander legend. Some main features of the earliest form of the Faust legend may, as already stated, be traced back to the Cyprian legends current in Antioch, just as a Syrian romance lies at the root of the Julius story in the Kaiserchronik. After surveying these rich results of Syrian brokerage we cannot be surprised that Syrians were employed by Charlemagne for the revision of the text of the gospels which he himself had planned.

F. Byzantium as the Centre of Civilization for East and West in the Old Byzantine Age

(*a*) *For the East.* — (*a*) *Byzantine Influences on Arabia.* — The East Roman province of Syria still performed the function of an intermediary, even when Syria itself, through the Arabic conquest, no longer recognised the suzerainty of Byzantium. The Arabs even before this had been subject to the influence of the Greco-Byzantine mode of life, especially the Arabs of Khirat (Hira) and G(h)assân (cf. Vol. III, p. 245). Architects who, if not Greeks, were schooled in the art traditions of Greece built on the far side of the Jordan in the territory of Moab, one and a half days' journey east from Jericho, the palace of el-Meschetta (M'schatta) for a Sassanid (the sculptures which ornamented the south façade have been, since the end of 1903, in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum at Berlin). The division of the walls by zigzag lines in high relief is as non-Semitic as the six-sided or octagonal rosettes in the angle spaces. So, too, the vine branches springing from a vase, which rise symmetrically upward and display a wealth of leaves, point to the Oriental embroidery style which was developed in Byzantium. The details correspond as much to Old Byzantine models — for example, the drums of the pillars in the Tchiniti-kiosk — as to Middle Byzantine motifs — for example, the design on the marble panelling of the Panagia church at Thebes. But in their strong yet delicate technique

the reliefs of el-Meschetta resemble only the Old Byzantine art, and date certainly from the fifth or sixth century. The ruin of el-Kastal (Castellum), which lies in the neighbourhood, was, according to a trustworthy tradition, built by the Sassanids; and a ruin to the east of Damascus (Khyrbet el-Beda) may probably be assigned to the same epoch. Just as the Germanic tribes borrowed the expressions for building operations (*Ziegel, Kalk, Pfeiler, Pforte,* and others) from the Romans, so — conceivably from the employment of Byzantine workmen — the Greek word for tiles (κεραμὶς) has passed into Arabic as *qirmîd,* the Greek κῶνος (a cone) has become *qaunas;* indeed the Greek ψῆφος (a pebble), which was used to record votes, seems to be retained in Arabic as *fîçe* (whence *tafaçfaça*). Into this close intercourse, in which the Byzantines appear as the givers, we gain a vivid insight from bilingual and trilingual inscriptions of the period. Southeast of Aleppo in the plain of Jebbûl still stand the ruins of a basilica, in which we can recognise the usual ground plan, the great central nave, the two side aisles, the apse to the east, and the main door to the west. This basilica contains inscriptions in Greek, Syrian, and Arabic commemorating the foundation. The Greek inscriptions inform us that the church of the Holy Martyr Sergius in Zebed was founded on the 24th Gorpiaius (Ilûl) of the Seleucid era 823 (that is, on September 29, 512), and cite Greek and Semitic names, of which the former are somewhat altered for the worse. The Syrian inscription begins: "Praise to the Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghost," and recapitulates the history of the foundation; the Arabic inscriptions reproduce the Greek word οἰκόνομος by the Arabic word *kanama.* We see, then, how every section of the population commemorates the foundation of the church in its own language and script, — the ruling official class in Greek; the mass of the population in Syrian; and the Northern Arabs, who had already penetrated this region and had been Christianised by the Syrians, in Arabic. The most ancient linguistic monument of these Arabs is this inscription of Zebed. Since the fathers still bear Semitic names, but their sons actually the name of the martyr Sergius, perhaps the work of conversion was then proceeding. Another Greco-Arabic inscription from Harrân in Trachonitis[1] dates from the year 568.

The Arabs come on to the scene as a completely uncivilized people of the desert; Byzantine *trade* therefore satisfied their growing needs. For this reason they measured with the Greek pound (Greek λίτρα = Arabic *ritl*), and when they themselves went among commercial nations they called their warehouses after the Greek model (πανδοχεῖον) Funduk (the word has come back to the West from the Arabic in *Fondaco*). Oriental fruits were known to them under Greek names: the Arabic *albarquq,* our apricot, comes from the Greek βερικόκκα (originally Latin *præcoqua*); behind the Arabic word for hazelnut, *bunduq,* is hidden the Greek name for its provenance (κάρυον) ποντικόν. Finally the Bedouins called the sheet of paper after the Greek name (χάρτης = Arabic *qirθâs*). When, therefore, a great power was formed from the Arab tribes, there is, notwithstanding the propagandist zeal of the Arabs, a proof discernible, even in religious relations, of the degree to which the Arabs were conscious of this transference of culture. Omar prays on the steps of the Church of Constantine in Jerusalem, although he declines the invitation of the patriarch Sophronius to perform his devotions in the church. The economic and legal systems of the Arabs were strongly influenced

[1] See the map "Western Asia at the Time of the Caliphs," Vol. III, p. 332.

by Byzantium. They employed at Damascus, Baalbeq, Homs, and Tiberias Greek coins with the simple imprint of the name of the town. When they minted money for themselves, it was struck according to the Greek monetary scale; occasionally, as in the case of the so-called Heraclean Dinars, with Latin inscriptions. They concluded contracts for hire or lease according to the models which Byzantium gave them, and, according to the Roman custom, did not release their sons from their guardians until they were twenty-five years old.

If a Byzantine, after the conquest of Syria by the Arabs, looked down from the old caravan road on the Anti-Libanus upon the paradise, in which Damascus, a vast sea of houses, glittered from amongst a green circle of gardens, he might, at the sight of the cupola-crowned mosques, which were still occasionally built by Greek architects, and which always retained the cruciform structure, cherish the belief that this bright land from the serrated Gebel el-sheikh to the burning desert was yet under the dominion of Greece. This idea would be strengthened if he went into the plain, and saw Arab troops, armed after Byzantine fashion, marching past in Byzantine formation; if he entered the houses in the town and found everywhere replicas of the Roman gateway (*ostium*) and the open courtyard (*atrium*); and if, finally, he visited a Syrian harbour, and saw the Arab ships built on the model of the Byzantine dromond.

Greek artists and workmen exerted in many ways this Byzantine influence on the Arab empire. Thus, as Abd er-rahman ibn Khaldun († 1406) records, the Khalif Walid received at his own request from the Greek emperor in the first decade of the eighth century architects in order to rebuild the church of St. John in Damascus; similarly Greeks were employed to reconstruct the mosque of Medina (according to Tabarî † 923). Christian (and therefore certainly Greek) architects were probably employed on the Kubbet es-Sakhra and on the Jami el-Aksa, which in the central portions resemble Justinian's Church of St. Mary. Most remarkable, however, is the late and distant influence of Byzantine culture in Spain, where Abd ur Rahman III (912–961), according to Makkari († 1631), employed Byzantine workmen. This transmitted civilization is especially evident in the shrine of the mosque at Cordova (cf. Vol. IV, p. 504). The mosaics of this temple, glittering with gold and bright colours, were, according to Edrisi (1164–1165), executed by Greek workmen whom the emperor had sent from Byzantium. The iron gates and the fountains of Cordova, like the bronze fountain of Zahra, are emphatically Greek. Byzantine influence extends even to the smaller objects of art; an Arabic casket in the Louvre with an inscription which mentions Almog ueina (a son of Abd ur Rahman) certainly shows signs of it. So, too, the Byzantines assisted in transmitting Greek science to the Spanish Arabs; the translation of Dioscurides was only carried out by the help which the Byzantines afforded to the Arab scholars engaged upon it, and by the co-operation of a Jewish linguist.

Thus the first movement towards influencing and civilizing the Arabs by Greek culture came from Syria and the Syrian nation, and was perhaps continued from that city which down to the seventh century may be still regarded as the intellectual centre of the Byzantine Empire, from Alexandria. In Egypt, the Arabic art of ornamentation had adopted the universal elements of the late antique, as is shown by the palm frieze, the waving vine shoots, and the acanthus leaf in outline in the Ibn-Tulun mosque at Cairo. Here, too, we may possibly trace local influences, and the effect of the late antique tinged with Byzantinism. The cen-

tral power in Constantinople had often on its own initiative influenced intellectual progress; for example, by the despatch of Byzantine workmen, of whose nationality we are unfortunately ignorant. In many cases this transmission of culture was only rendered possible through the strong imperial power.

(*β*) *Byzantine Influences on Armenia.* — Just as the influence of Byzantinism on the Arabic world came first from Syria, so the Syrian transmission of culture paved the way for the influence of Byzantium on Armenia. The main conceptions of Western civilization, political imperialism (Armenian *kaisr* = *καῖσαρ*) and religious martyrdom (Armenian *maturn* = *μαρτύριον*), may have already reached the Armenians directly from the sphere of Greek civilization, so that there was an early intercourse with Greece in the first three centuries; but Syria supplied the most essential links in the chain.

The founder of the Armenian Church, Grigor Lûsavorič (cf. Vol. IV, p. 217), united it to the Syrian ritual, employed, as Moses of Khorene tells us, Syrian letters for the Armenian language, and nominated the Syrian David as superintendent of all the bishops. Even when we disallow the alleged Syrian origin of the Armenian creed, there remains sufficient to attest the Syrian religious influences, since it is dependent on the pseudo-Athanasian creed. Among the schools attended by young Armenians, Edessa, owing to its accessibility and its splendid library, was given the preference over Constantinople and Alexandria. Monasteries and episcopal palaces were founded in Armenia by Syrians; numerous Syrian writings were translated into Armenian; and Syrian patriarchs stand at the head of the Armenian Church, even though not universally recognised; Syrian bishops are found in Armenia down to the sixth century. Art products, Syrian miniatures, were introduced into Armenia. The miniatures in the Etchmiadsin Gospel-book in the details of the ornamentation (in the employment of plants, and of birds on the sides of a vase) as well as in the representation of scriptural types (in the Message to Zachariah, the Annunciation, Baptism of Christ) are so closely connected with the Syrian Bible of the monk Rabula of 586, that we must assume an older Syrian copy.

Both in politics and in culture Armenia was for a long time less closely connected with Byzantium than with the Byzantine province of Syria. An alliance had certainly been concluded in 323 between the founder of Constantinople and Khosrow II, the son of Trdat the Great. But Valens soon found it more advantageous to make common cause with the Persians (Shapur II) against Armenia (374). The Armenians, who were subject to Byzantine dominion, may have no longer required the Syrian alphabet. But the national union of the Armenian people took place under the auspices of Byzantium. A national Armenian alphabet was designed by the holy Mesrob († February 19, 441, properly Masthots) in Syrian Samosata. Six pupils of the Armenian Catholicus came in 432–433 to Constantinople, in order to master the Greek language. It is possibly the case that, when the Catholicus Sahak (384–386) wished to collect also the Armenians of the West for this national propaganda, a refusal was received from the Byzantine governors. The protest of the Catholicus, and the answer of the emperor, who had countenanced the acceptance of the Armenian alphabet, are preserved in Moses of Khorene, but can hardly be genuine. The consciousness of the necessity for a transmission of culture triumphed over conflicting political and religious interests.

The Armenians borrowed from the Greek almost all their written literature and their church music; in recognition of this intellectual dependence, the emperor Theodosius II and his all-powerful sister Pulcheria († 453) gave these zealous translators both literary and financial help.

The Armenian patriarchs were educated in "Greece," that is to say, in Byzantium. Giut (patriarch from 465–475) emphasises his intellectual dependence on Byzantium, whence he obtained his material requirements, such as clothes. It is recorded of Nerses III (640–661) that he had been educated in Greece. At least two churches and one monastery had been built by Justinian in Armenia, and others restored; and in the post-Justinian era the chief church of Etchmiadsin with its cupolas had been erected; Nerses III even later built a church in the vicinity of the town of Walarchapat, of which some pillars are still erect and show his monogram. These capitals exhibit the corbel of Justinian's age, but Ionic flutings in place of the Byzantine animals, a renaissance, as it were, of older Greek ideas in a Byzantine setting. Even towards the middle of the eighth century, in a disquisition on the question of admitting images into the churches, we find the emphatic statement that, even in the domain of painting, all productions can be traced to the Greeks, "from which source we have everything." It is true that national hatred prevailed for centuries between Armenians and Greeks, so that under the emperor Heraclius († 641) the armies would not encamp side by side; and Byzantine proverbs declared that no worse foe existed than an Armenian friend, while the talented historian Casia drew an alarming picture of the Armenian national character. Yet the influence of Byzantium on Armenian literature and architecture, and the importation of images from that source, give the keynote to the relations between the two nations.

Armenian courtiers, Armenian officers, Armenians in the administrative and the legislative departments at Byzantium had, by correspondence with their homes and their relations, opened a hundred channels through which that higher civilization, as expressed in language, flowed into Armenia. Greek words crowded first into the learned language of Armenia; meteorological phenomena were called by Greek names, so, too, were minerals; mathematics, astronomy, chronology, jurisprudence required to borrow words from Greek. Expressions for the business of Church and State were to a large extent first adopted by the learned class. But soon popular borrowings must have co-operated in that direction, and with the words for man, his qualities and occupations, and for the ideas of nature, town, and country, money, weights and measures, house and home, dress and ornament, arts and games, a strong Greek element was introduced into the Armenian language.

(γ) *Byzantine Influences on Caucasia and Persia.* — Armenian influences first brought Byzantine culture nearer to the Caucasian nations; the Georgians — like the Bulgarians, Servians, Russians, Wallachians — adopted the Greek church music, both vocal and instrumental. The princes of independent tribes were proud of Byzantine titles, as, for instance, the prince of the warlike Alani in the Caucasus, on whom by the favour of Byzantium the title of Mighty Sovereign was conferred; others were styled Archons. Thus here, too, in the East a wide sphere of Byzantine influence was created, which was in many ways, not all of them superficial, imbued with a higher civilization.

Notwithstanding the strong inclination of individual Persian kings towards

Western civilization, the effect on Persia of any special Byzantine, as apart from Greek and Roman, influences can as yet hardly be demonstrated. It has, indeed, been long observed that the palace of the Sassanids at Ctesiphon, which dates from Khosrav I (Vol. III, p. 287), as far as the construction of the façade and the mural decoration are concerned, displays the same round-arched arcades and pilasters as Diocletian's palace, and that the goldsmith's art has remodelled Roman motifs; thus, a dish shows an Eros playing the lyre seated on a lion, but in Oriental dress. But these influences are in reality so universal that it is better to speak of a transmission of the late antique. At most, the trapezium-shaped capitals may be traced back to Byzantium, while the acanthus decoration on a capital at Ispahan still shows the Hellenistic form.

(*b*) *For the West.* — It seems difficult to investigate the early influence of Byzantine culture on the West. So long as the belief prevailed that Old Roman or "Old Christian" art alone fructified the West, it was impossible to submit the monuments to an unbiassed examination. Since we know that Greco-Oriental influences were at work in the West, even before they were transmitted by Byzantium, the "Byzantine" question becomes more complicated. Nevertheless we may consider in this connection the influences of individual Oriental spheres of the Byzantine Empire, so far as they have not been already discussed in dealing with the importance of Syria.

Byzantium and the states of the West bear towards each other in matters of culture the same relation as the left to the right lobe of the brain, or the right to the left half of the body, which are very differently provided with blood. On the one side, we have states which laboriously extricate themselves from the effects of the national migrations and the fall of the West Roman Empire; rustic populations with isolated towns and no commerce; nations which by hard struggles try to build up their own constitution on the ruins of the Roman Empire; monarchies which can alone supply this want, but cannot make head against the conditions of the age; aspects of development which cannot yet create any advanced culture. On the other side is a polity which, after the institution of the genuinely Germanic empire of the Lombards on West Roman soil, appears as the sole heir of immemorial traditions of world-empire; an empire which alone could follow out an imperial policy as distinct from the momentous and yet locally restricted conflicts of the Germanic empires; a well-organised bureaucracy, based on the practical experience of centuries of political existence; a community which possesses a capital of unparalleled magnificence, numerous flourishing cities, and a well-organised commerce, embracing the whole civilized world, which has absorbed all the refinement of Hellenistic Roman and Oriental culture; a church in which were exemplified all the principal types of religious organisation; a communion in which all the struggles for the settlement of church dogmas have been fought out with passionate obstinacy. On this side the Germanic States; on that, Byzantium.

(*a*) *The Influences of Church and State.* — Whether the Frankish coins are stamped with the name of Tiberius and Mauricius, whether the envoys of the emperor Anastasius confers on Clovis (Chlodowig) the consular title, and thus promotes him to be the lawful ruler over his Roman subjects, or whether the negotiations of Tiberius bring treasure and revenue to Chilperich and Gundobad,

or Lombard dukes undertake to assume Byzantine dress, — Byzantium always appears as the old and wealthy civilized power face to face with the poor upstart. The last will of the emperor Mauricius, who divided the East and Italy — with Rome as capital — among his sons, may have been only a dream of the old world-policy; but assuredly Byzantium was not content with idle dreaming. The great landowning families of Italy, from whom sprang the commanders of the Byzantine castles, — the Tribunes, — saw in Byzantium the sun of all civilization; the severance of the provinces of Lower Italy and Sicily, which were now more strongly Grecised, and so had entered on a completely divergent development, met the wishes of their ruling classes. Naples as the port for Rome, and Ravenna, as the centre of Byzantine administration, are the great gates by which Byzantine influence enters Italy; in this connection Istria may be reckoned as a thoroughly Byzantine region, within which religious ideas, political organisation, and art (the cathedral at Parenzo) show the closest affinity with Byzantium. Marseilles, on the contrary, retained its old Oriental connections, and directly transmitted to Western Europe the influences of Syria and Egypt. So also did Montpellier in a less degree.

Byzantine administration, the head of which in Italy, the Exarch of Ravenna, received his instructions in Greek, helped much to spread Greek influence. Still more effective were religious ideas and the influence of the clergy and the monks. We must realise that, while in Ravenna during the first four centuries only Syrian bishops are found, in Rome the number of Greeks and Syrians among the Popes of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries is extraordinarily large: Boniface III (606–607), Theodore (642–649), Agathon (678–681), Leo III (682–683), Conon (686–687), John VI (701–705), John VII (705–707), Zacharias (741–752), are Greeks; John V (685–686), Sergius (687–701), Sisinnius (708), Constantine (708–715), Gregory III (731–741), are Syrians. Greco-Oriental monasticism spread first over Central and Southern Italy, and conquered further regions of the Christian world. The Greek Theodore of Tarsus, from 669 onwards, reformed the Anglo-Saxon Church, and transmitted a rich civilization to England; and in France, as in Italy, this Greek spirit had much effect on the construction and the decoration of the churches. The Greek bank of the Tiber (*Ripa Græca*), the Greek school at Santa Maria in Schola Græca (later in Cosmedin), and the founding of the monastery of San Silvestro in capite by Pope Paul I (757–767), where Greek church-music flourished, may suffice as illustrations of Hellenistic influence in ecclesiastical and commercial spheres. The foreign trade of Byzantium also contributed largely to the spread of the Greco-Byzantine culture. In this connection the Syrians, who, according to Gregory of Tours, mostly spoke Greek, may be regarded as disseminators of Byzantine civilization.

(*β*) *The Influences of Art and Artistic Workmanship.* — The fresher vitality of the East, which had formerly forced Constantine to Orientalise the empire, soon dominated everything in Rome itself. The motifs of Oriental art are to be seen in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore towards the middle of the fourth century, and in the marvellously carved wooden door of the Church of Santa Sabina, which shows the Syrian conception of the crucifixion; finally, also in the transept of the basilica of San Pietro in Vincoli, which Eudoxia commanded to be built in

442. The old Byzantine art had then firmly planted itself everywhere in Italy. The arts and crafts of Constantinople enjoyed so excellent a reputation that the bishop of Siponto, a kinsman of the emperor Zeno, sent to Constantinople for artists "especially skilled" in architecture. At Ravenna, Byzantine craftsmen were employed as early as the time of Galla Placidia (see the illustration in Vol. IV, p. 470). The building operations of Narses and Belisarius in Italy (the bridge over the Anio on the Via Salaria Nova, the Xenodocheion on the Via Lata, and the monastery of San Juvenale at Orte) were certainly carried out by Byzantine workmen. The cycle of mosaics of San Vitale at Ravenna, begun after 539, was executed under the immediate influence of Justinian, in order to glorify the dual nature of Christ (cf. above, p. 42), and in special illustration of a biblical line of thought which was, undoubtedly, of Oriental origin, and found in the West its most brilliant representative in Ambrosius of Milan. The churches of Ravenna reveal to us the importance of Byzantium as linking East and West; these Chinese tessellated patterns, which developed from woven fabrics into mural decorations, appear here just as in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and in Thessalonica.

The palace of Theodoric in Pavia was built after a model in Ravenna. On the other hand, there is less Byzantine architecture in Aix-la-Chapelle than was formerly supposed. The equestrian statue of Theodoric, the marble mosaics, the classical reliefs, came to Aix-la-Chapelle directly from Ravenna, and the palace forecourt (*Chalke*) is found in Aix-la-Chapelle just as in Ravenna and Constantinople; in fact the hall which runs through this forecourt has retained its name (*Cortinea*). But the once prevalent idea of the imitation of Byzantine or Ravennese models in the Cathedral of Aix-la Chapelle has become quite untenable. What is still left after the convincing achievements of Joseph Strzygowski, which demonstrate direct Oriental motives and point out the astonishing resemblance to Weranshehr in Mesopotamia! No one will wish to assert that the *iconostasis* and the galleries are actually Byzantine. A certain eclecticism, which shows itself in the employment of a Byzantine motif in the northeastern screen of the upper story and the panels of the arcades, cannot be termed any predilection for Byzantine designs. Anything that is Oriental must have penetrated the west of Europe by a direct route, that is, by way of Marseilles. The basilica with double choir, such as is found at Erment in Upper Egypt, Baalbec in Syria, and Orléansville in Algeria, appears in Brittany (St. Malo). The circular chapel in Erment, in the Schenute monastery at Sohag as in Tours, the circular basilica in Roccella di Squillace in Calabria and in Sicily, are products of Oriental influence transmitted by the Byzantine Empire, but form no universal current of Byzantine art.

On the other hand, clothing, court manners, minor arts, and tapestry were affected both in the West and at the court of Charlemagne by Byzantium itself. Byzantine gilding at the court of Charles is praised in the poem of Angilbert addressed to Charles, while the Byzantine custom of guarding the women is mentioned by Theodulf. The throne of Charles at his tomb in Aix-la-Chapelle is thoroughly in keeping with the Byzantine gold-plate style. A four-sided wooden platform covered with metal and studded with jewels, also a portable altar (a wooden frame overlaid with plates of gilded lead) show this style of facing. The Byzantine origin of the inlaid tables mentioned by Einhard cannot be asserted with equal certainty. Oriental carpets and silk stuffs were exported in quantities

from Byzantium, which had established a monoply of silks and satins. The courtiers of Charlemagne obtained, according to the "Monk of St. Gall," their silk robes trimmed with purple through Venetian traders from the East, — certainly therefore from the Byzantine Empire. Quantities of woven goods which imitated Persian patterns were sent out from Byzantium over the whole of Western and Central Europe.[1] Even in the eleventh century Byzantium appears as the intermediary for this art industry. The ivory workmanship of Byzantium not only conquered Italy, but its distinctive features appear again in the art of the West. Even in the diptychs Byzantine realism predominates, as, for instance, in the representation of fights between wild beasts and other contests of the arena; but in the upper part the solemn ceremonial dignity of the Old Byzantine art prevails. Even the flat treatment of the reliefs of that epoch points indirectly to Byzantium. Small ornaments of daily use must have been sent out of Byzantium in quantities; in Hungary, as well as at Reichenhall, are to be found those peculiar rings with a drum-shaped casket, the lid of which is ornamented by a row of filigree pearls, and a glass bead in the centre. Byzantine jewelry reached the Swedish island of Oeland (Färjestaden) and West Gotland (Möne). The golden diadem from Färjestaden certainly dates from the old Byzantine era.

(γ) *The Influence of Trade and Military Science.* — Byzantine coins came at that time far into the West and North, and supply strong evidence of the world commerce of Constantinople; we need only instance the finds in Westphalia, Holstein, on Usedom, Gotland, Bornholm. If the Byzantine monetary system, as regards smaller coins, in its recognition of the Oriental local coinages as legal tender and in its special respect for Egyptian drachmas, is true to the main principles of Byzantine imperial administration, the Byzantine gold currency, which was universal in Europe until the appearance of zechins and florins, testifies to the strong position of the world trade and the financial power of Constantinople.

Finally Byzantium's influence was far-reaching in the domain of military history, and certainly affected the empire of the Franks. The successes won by the Byzantines over their enemies, not in great battles, but by a clever policy of delay, must have made a great impression in the West. The cavalry had played the most prominent part in all active operations under Leon, Constantine, and Irene; in war with nations of horsemen, the cavalry regiments (*θέματα καβαλλαρικά*) and not the old legion came to be the backbone of the Byzantine army: they were recruited from Armenians, Iberians, and the inhabitants of Asia Minor. These lancers, who were clad in iron (they wore the iron cuirass or *κλιβάνιον*; the gorget of mail, *περιτραχήλιον*; iron gloves, greaves, and boots), with their short lance, their sword (*σπάδιον, spatha*), their javelin, and their plumed helmet, were the models for the cavalry of the Frank Empire. The name also, *Cabellarius*, the armament[2] and the harness (cf. the Byzantine saddle in the cathedral treasury at

[1] Thus the tapestry No. 84,221 in the Kunstgewerbe Museum at Berlin, the vine shoot with thistle-top blossoms in the cathedral treasury at Aix-la-Chapelle, the sacred tree with the dragon in the Church of St. Servatius at Maastricht, the marvellous rosettes in the shrine of St. Lambertus at Liège, the Amazon hunting a panther in the church at Säkkingen.

[2] The *spatha* of Byzantine origin found on the Thorsberg Moor, now in the Kiel Museum; the short lance in contrast with the long Germanic lances; perhaps also the long knife *scramasax*, *παραμήριον*, which cannot be proved to exist earlier among the Franks; finally, the Byzantine chain armour, likewise in the Kiel Museum.

Troyes), were then introduced. Men armed with bows and arrows after the style of the Byzantine mail-clad horsemen appeared in the levy of the abbot Fulrad (810), whereas the battle-axe (Τζικούριον, *securis*) may be derived from West Roman influence. The ordinary Roman engine for throwing missiles (*onager*, *manganum*) may, however, have come into the Frank Empire, under the name of *fundibulum* through the medium of Byzantium.

Reverence for the culture of Constantinople pervaded the Western world. Church and State, arts and crafts, world-wide commerce and military science, co-operated to guide the rays toward the West. Even for that age the saying holds good, "*Ex oriente lux.*"

G. Heroic Struggles and Barbarism under the Military Monarchy (660–717)

The attacks of the Persians on the Byzantine Empire at the time of the emperor Heraclius (610–641) had torn from the Byzantines not merely Syria (611 Antioch, Apameia, Emesa, 614 Damascus) and Egypt (619 Alexandria), but also the important town of Ancyra (619) in Asia Minor. But it seemed a more terrible blow when in 615 the Holy Places and the Holy Cross fell into the hands of the infidels. Three crusades brought war into the heart of Persia; the battle of Nineveh (December 17, 627) was decided in favour of the Byzantines, so that the Roman provinces reverted to them, and on September 14, 629, the festival of the Elevation of the Cross was celebrated at Jerusalem by emperor and people with great solemnity.[1] The conflict raging in the East made it impossible to retain the Spanish possessions or the territories lying to the north of the Balkans, but the capital itself (626) proved the bulwark of the empire against Avars and Slavs, and the wise policy of Heraclius raised a dangerous foe against them in the shape of the Bulgarians.

It was shown, however, that the Persian danger had become formidable for the reason that isolated sections of the empire, through their ecclesiastical separatism and the formal institution of a Coptic and Syrian national church, no longer remained loyal to Byzantium, and saw welcome allies in the Persians, while in Egypt the orthodox were contemptuously styled the "royalists" (*βασιλικοί*, Melchites). The formula of the One Will ("the God-Man consisting of two natures has achieved all things by one god-like operation") more closely resembled the doctrine of the One Nature of the Monophysites (Vol. IV, p. 208); consequently a reconciliation was effected through the diplomacy of the king, which extended even to the Armenians. The condemnation of the doctrine of the One Will (Monotheletism; ibid. p. 209) by Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, made the situation more confused and shattered the concord, hardly yet established, as violently as the entirely inappropriate attempt at reconciliation made by the emperor in his edict (Ecthesis). Consequently the Syrians (635 and 636) and Egyptians (641–643) fell a prey to the invading Arabs (Vol. III, p. 303) as rapidly as the Roman citizens in the West yielded to the Germanic invaders, although in Egypt the treachery of the governor (the Mokauka) mainly contributed to the surrender of the country. Economic reasons may have co-operated,

[1] Cf. the explanation to the illustration "Khosrū II of Persia," on page 288 of Vol. III.

since the political and social structure of the Arabic empire gave great power to the conquerors.

Constans, the grandson of Heraclius (641–688), whose kinsmen had been castrated according to the Oriental custom, was able to retain Asia Minor and even to exact tribute from the Arab Khalif Muawija; his success was principally due to the transformation of the empire into military provinces (*themata*), which had already been instituted under Heraclius. Great importance attached to the military governors in Africa and Italy, and the critical times had compelled Heraclius to form the capital and the adjoining provinces into a military district (*thema Opsikiòn*); the Thracian *thema* had to carry on the war against the Bulgarians, the Anatolian and Armenian *themata* the war with the Arabs, and the fleet was soon divided into two commands, the *thema Kibyraioton* (south coast of Asia Minor) and that of the twelve islands. The regency during the minority of Constans attempted to end the theological controversy by the Edict of the Typos (648), according to which the subjects of the empire "no longer are permitted to dispute and quarrel anywhere over one will and one operation, or over two operations and two wills." When Pope Martin I condemned this edict (649) at the Lateran Council, and Maximus, formerly imperial private secretary, stirred up Roman Africa against Cæsaro-papism, the emperor banished the Pope to the Crimea, and ordered Maximus to be brought to trial. It was then that the bronze statues of the Pantheon were carried off from Rome by Constans. The island of Sicily, which was strongly Grecised by immigration, was intended to become the base for the recovery of Africa from the Arabs, who had taken it in 647. But an expedition from Syracuse, the capital, only succeeded in capturing Carthage.

Under Constantinus IV Pogonatus (668–685), son of Constans, Constantinople had to defend itself against the Arabs (April–September, 673), which it did successfully, owing mainly to the Greek fire of the Syrian Callinicus; and Thessalonica was attacked by the Slavs (675) and Avars (677). The greatest danger to the empire seemed, however, to be the Bulgarian kingdom under Isperich, in which the Turkish conquerors gradually adopted the language of the subjugated Slavs. In view of all these dangers, the ecclesiastical connection with Rome, which was effected in 680–681 by the Sixth Œcumenical Council in Constantinople, was intended at least to secure moral support. Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) had, it is true, concluded a treaty on favourable terms with the Arabs and had conquered the Slavs; but serious political, military, and economic mistakes (the removal of the Syrian Mardaites to Asia Minor and Thrace, the enrolment of untrustworthy Slavs in the army, taxation) led to the mutiny of one of the generals, Leontius (695–698), by which the sovereignty of the army was once for all established. Under the two generals now elevated to the purple, Leontius and Tiberius III (698–705), Africa and Cilicia were lost. Justinian, who had taken refuge with Isperich's successor Tervel, was brought back by a Bulgarian-Slavonic army; he wreaked an insane fury on his enemies. He fought without success against Bulgarians, Arabs, and the revolted town of Kherson. The Armenian Philippicus (711–713), who was raised to the throne as a rival, and Theodosius II (715–717), successor of the able Anastasius II (713–715), proved themselves equally incapable.

The voice of literature was dumb in that rough age. It produced strong natures,

and a pious superstition led them to battle. Andrew the Apostle comes to the help of the citizens of Patras, borne on his galloping war-horse, and drives the Slavs to flight. St. Demetrius of Thessalonica is the god of the city, who imitates Christ in every detail. He changes the purpose of God to deliver over the town to the opponents; he is the guardian of the city, the "prescient grace;" indeed, he aspired to be the Third Person with Christ and the Holy Ghost. The miracles of St. Demetrius are a valuable source of information for this age, when the Slavs navigated the Greek waters in their primitive boats, interrupted trade and communications, and, accompanied by their wives and children, inundated Pannonia, Dacia, Dardania, Mysia, Thracia, Achaia, and the suburbs of Constantinople itself. The country population streams into the towns, or migrates to lonely capes, and founds isolated settlements (Monembasia, Coron, Calamata, Mantinea in Messenia). Greeks and Slavs grow into a mixed race, which fills the depopulated regions, once more colonises the deserted islands, and even mixes with the Bulgarians in the North. Sword and crosier rule the Greek world, in which old pagan traditions crop up on the surface; science and art are almost entirely silent in the regions of Europe and of Asia Minor.

H. The Renascence of the Empire under the Syrian Dynasty (717–802)

(*a*) *Leo III (the Isaurian) as Legislator.*—Now that the enemies of Byzantium were pressing on, and Byzantium's share in the commerce of the world was shrinking and financial distress widespread, the only salvation lay in a strong government. Leo the Syrian (Isaurian), who had distinguished himself against the Arabs as a general and diplomatist, was raised to the purple (717–741). He entered Constantinople on March 25, 717. Maslama, the general of Solomon (Suleiman, Vol. III, p. 317), appeared before the city on August 15. Leo's unwearying energy, the Greek fire, a hard winter, whose snow covered the ground for one hundred days, caused terrible privations among the Arabs. While the Byzantines could catch fish, the Arabs ate the flesh of baggage animals, skins, or the leaves from the trees. Greek tradition, not satisfied with this account (preserved in Tabarî), made the Arabs feed on human flesh. A severe defeat, which the Bulgarians inflicted on the Arabs, finally caused the abandonment of the siege of Constantinople (August, 718). Byzantium had thus proved herself the bulwark of Christianity. The year 718 may be compared with the year 490 B. C. as an epoch in the history of the world; the withdrawal of the Arabs in 718 is a parallel to the retreat of the Persians after Marathon.

The old fiscal system of the caste-state of Diocletian and Constantine, in which, according to the law of 319, the municipal councillors (Decuriones) were responsible for the entire land tax of their community, had been handed down to the Byzantine Empire. If, according to this arrangement, heavy responsibility on the one hand weighed down the great landowners, on the other hand they had large powers and important influence over their colleagues in the towns. It was a masterly measure of the emperor Leo III when he took that onerous duty, which had increased in the years of insecurity, away from the Curiales, but by so doing he also destroyed their importance for a long period. Henceforth imperial revenue officials were appointed to conduct the collection of the land tax. Imperial officials

henceforward kept the register of male births for the poll tax throughout the empire.

The emperor, solicitous for social prosperity, ameliorated in many ways the position of the country population. Every proprietor of a village community shared the responsibility for the taxes; a deficiency was made up by an additional charge (*ἐπιβολή*), which was imposed upon all. Since all suffered from the bad economy of one individual, a right of pre-emption was allowed to the neighbouring cultivators in event of plots being sold.

Distinct from these small landowners were the free labourers (*μισθωτοί*) and the *adscripticii* (*ἐπανόγραφοι*) on the estates of great proprietors; the former were always free as regards their persons, but became after thirty years bound to the soil. The latter were at once bound to the soil, could not inherit any property, and differed but little (by legal marriage) from the slaves. The Agricultural Act of Leo III (*Νόμος γεωργικός*) radically altered this state of affairs. The country labourers were now divided into those who paid a tithe (*μορτῖται*), and metayer tenants (*ἡμισειασταί*), neither of them bound to the soil. The former were required to render the tenth part of the produce as ground rent; the latter, who worked the soil with the means provided by the owner (*χωροδότης*), shared the produce with him. Village communities owned the soil in common (*κοινωνοί*); private ownership only existed in consequence of a partition of some property held in common.

Abolition of compulsory service and the concession of the liberty to migrate are the great achievements of this legislation. It was profoundly affected by Eastern models. Its resemblance to the Mosaic code as regards the nine sheaves and the period of seven years were noticed long ago; it was assumed that the idea was adopted from the Bible. The discovery of the code of the Babylonian king Hammurabi (who was possibly of Arabian descent), which had been carried off from Sippar to Susa about 1100 B.C., by J. de Morgan in December, 1901, and January, 1902, has supplied another solution. Not merely do metayer tenants occur in the old Arabic and Semitic sphere of civilization (Hammurabi 46), a fact which by itself would prove nothing,[1] but there is a surprising similarity in particular regulations. We may instance the regulations about the restitution of waste land in the fourth year (Hammurabi 30, 44; *Νομ. γεωργ.* I, 12), which, in themselves divergent, still spring from the same school of thought; then the regulations as to the cultivation of land and the felling of timber without the knowledge of the owner (Hammurabi 59; *Νομ. γεωργ.* 1, 2, 7); and those as to the restitution of land which had been cultivated in the absence of the owner (Hammurabi 30, 31; *Νομ. γεωργ.* X, 4), — a provision in contradiction to the right, conceded by Justinian, of acquiring the ownership of a field after two years' cultivation of it. Thus the agrarian policy of the emperor Leo was in particular points influenced by Semitic principles of justice, which had been maintained in a conservative spirit, although the necessity of a reform of the system of colonisation was rendered imperative by the numerous new settlers, especially Slavs. With regard to the free village community, Slavonic influences are certainly to be assumed.

The Rhodian maritime law (*νόμος Ροδίων ναυτικός*; extended in the tenth

[1] See on the point the warning of Jos-Kohler in the "Deutsche Litteraturzeitung" of February 6, 1904.

century by the Tabula Amalfitana), according to which the skippers and charterers in those times of bad trade shared the risks already increased by Slavs and Arabs, recurs in its main principle to an old Semitic idea. We may compare Hammurabi 237, according to which the skipper must make everything good to the charterer in event of an accident through negligence. Some not yet quite intelligible references appear finally in the criminal code, so that even there, in view of the great prominence of the *Lex Talionis* some Semitic influence might be assumed. This victorious increase in the strength of Semitic undercurrents is hardly surprising at a time when the Syrian nationality, from which the emperor Leo himself sprang, was drawing East and West under its spell.

The legislation of Leo handled family life in a spirit very different from that of Justinian's Code, which intruded on the emotional side of the relations between parent and child, when it defined the grounds on which parents might cherish resentment against their children. We see everywhere a delicate consideration and respect for the intimacy of family life. The position of the wife is, with a fine feeling, ameliorated. The power of the father becomes the power of the family, since the mother's consent is needed no less than the father's for the marriages of the children, and since the mother possesses generally the same rights as the father over the children, and, on the death of the father, retains them in virtue of her position as their guardian. The community of property between married couples indicates the high conception of matrimony as a community of life, which may not be degraded by the contraction of a third marriage, and may not be carelessly dissolved by separation without stringent reasons. A noteworthy idea appears at all events in the "Ekloge" (or Selection of Laws). Marriage is allowed only between Christians of orthodox belief, and is much complicated by the extension of the impediment of spiritual affinities (prohibition of marriage between the son of the godfather and the godchild). This was an ecclesiastical notion, which constantly gained ground and soon afterwards, even amongst the Germanic nations, made sponsorship an impediment to marriage even in the Capitularies of Pepin (755–757). The necessity of a Christian marriage contract (*δι' ἐγγράφου προικῷου συμβολαίου*) was a rule certainly borrowed from the Oriental regions of the Byzantine Empire. It is in keeping with the idea of the dignity of marriage, and with the new taste for a solemn and dignified formalism.

Leo, himself risen to the throne as a general, wished to weld together the empire with links of iron; but he had to cure the paralysis produced by the existence of a civil administration which no longer served any useful purpose; in these warlike times the commander in the field could not be hampered by civil authority, however feeble. Thus the commanders of the military districts, the Themata, received also the full civil power. The importance of the Anatolian corps command necessitated its division into the Anatolian Thema (of the Bucellarians), and into that district of the west which embraced Asia, Lydia, a part of Caria and Phrygia I, and was called the "Thracian" Thema, from the regiments on garrison duty there. To maintain military discipline and keep up the learning of the past, which had led to the actual invention of gunpowder (Greek fire), seemed equally imperative. The emperor met these needs, as far as possible, by publishing his "Tactica," a book on military science, in which the author treats of military law and of land and naval warfare, adhering closely to previous works; but the fresh spirit of the reformer does not breathe in this book, and probably, therefore, another Leo (VI; 886–911) is the author.

It required disciplined valour and knowledge to restore the army and the empire to their old position; it was therefore a serious danger that in Syria towns and individuals trusted to images and amulets in time of war. The society in which Leo had grown up at Germaniceia (on the borders of Cappadocia, Syria, and Armenia) must have had close relations with the Paulicians, whose capital Samosata lay so near. Mananalis, near Samosata in Commagene, is the home of that Constantine who, as Silvanus, in 660 revived the sect of the Paulicians (presumably an Armenian form for Paulians, after Paulus of Samosata in the fourth century). Cibossa in Armenia, Phanaræa in Helenopontus, became the headquarters of these sectaries, who imported the primitive Aryan dualism of good and evil into the Christian doctrine, rejected any distinct priesthood, and regarded each individual as a priest; and finally, in their strict conception of the idea of God, refused the worship of the Virgin as well as that of the saints. Their affinity to the later Bogumiles (see below), Patarini, Albigensians, and Waldensians has been repeatedly emphasised; evidently in case of the latter sects it is due to a common descent from the Adoptianist doctrine. The religious convictions of the emperor Leo III were, however, probably influenced by this school of thought.

(*b*) *The Beginnings of the Image Controversy.* — How far had men gone in these centuries of dispute? The worship of the saints had confused the conception of the Deity, as the example of Demetrius of Thessalonica (see above) clearly shows. The belief in miracles brought its most hideous offshoot, superstition, into power. While in some parts of the empire the saints appear like the gods and heroes of antiquity, and hastily concealing their original form, bring victory in battle; in others, attempts are made (as in the town of Pergamos) to win strength by most revolting practices, as, for example, by dipping the hand in a broth of human flesh. The lifeless images of Christ, Mary, and the saints are more esteemed than the living faith. Their importance becomes perfectly clear to the traveller in modern Russia, the heir to the Byzantine Empire, where the eyes are wearied by innumerable icons of the Iberian Mother of God, and copies of the icon on Mount Athos. It had become a universal habit to scrape off the colour of the pictures and mix it in wine, and to honour images with incense, prostrations, and kisses. The old paganism, which still continued in the festivals of Pan and Bacchus and dominated certain districts of Greece (Maina down to the ninth century), was finally prohibited at the Council of 692. But the images which were "not made by men's hands" (*ἀχειροποιήτοι*), as the usual phrase ran, enjoyed the most profound reverence. The old paganism had found its way into Christianity itself. The emperor Leo III, a thinker far in advance of his age, waged a bold warfare against image worship, and by so doing struck a blow not merely at the mass of the people, but above all, at monasticism, which influenced the masses by image worship, and lived to some extent on the trade in sacred pictures.

This great controversy has been handed down to us in a distorted form by later advocates of images, or Iconodules: such were Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople (806–815), and Theophanes, a monk who drew in part from the same sources, and wrote between 811 and 815; he was kept in confinement by Leo V on Samothrace. The "Papal Letters" to the emperor Leo III may afford some idea of the state of feeling, but that is all; they were ascribed to Gregory II (715–731), but

are the forgeries of some later writer, who was badly informed in matters of political geography and topography.

But even from these scanty accounts the energy and moderation of the emperors shine out conspicuously. Unity of religion and purity of religion hover as twin ideals before the eyes of the man who was influenced neither by Judaism nor Islam, but by Paulicianism. The command was issued to Jews and Montanists that they should change their religion; the former submitted, the latter preferred to die. But one of the heads of the Paulicians, Genæsius, after his orthodoxy had been tested, obtained a letter of safe-conduct; the zeal in conversion flagged when his sect came in question. In 726 the struggle for religious purity began: the first edict of Leo had ordered, not merely that the images should be hung higher, but their destruction. And the schools, the hotbeds of superstition, which conducted the education of the young on the old lines, were fated to fall. Tradition affirms that the school in the Iron Market was burnt to the ground, professors, books, and all. When, therefore, a celebrated image of the Redeemer (Antiphonetes) was being carried away by imperial officers, some fanatical women attacked and killed them, — an exploit which greatly delights the author of the pseudo-Gregorian letters. Stronger measures were imperative, not against the masses, but against the educated classes, who supported the struggle for superstition.

The pressure of taxation and enthusiasm for image worship drove Greece and the islands of the Ægean into a revolt, which led to the election of an emperor (Cosmas) and to the advance of the insurgents to the gates of Constantinople (727). The movement was soon crushed by the Greek fire and the superiority of the imperial fleet. At the assembly (Silentium) of the year 729 the patriarch Germanus was sacrificed. He, the supporter of image worship and the monks, retired, and in his place was chosen Anastasius, who now solemnly ratified the ecclesiastical policy of Leo. Anastasius was not, however, recognised by Pope Gregory II, who entered into dangerous relations with Charles Martel. Italy turned against the Iconoclasts; insurrections seemed likely to tear the whole peninsula away from Byzantium, and the papal authority of Gregory II and Gregory III partially supported the anti-Byzantine agitations. Matters were not, however, allowed to go as far as the election of a rival emperor.

An armada was despatched by Leo against Italy, but was wrecked in the Adriatic. Under these conditions Leo, in 733, set about restoring ecclesiastical unity in his empire. He separated Sicily and Calabria (Rhegium, Severiana, Hydrus-Otranto) ecclesiastically from Rome, and placed them under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. The property of the Church was confiscated. In this way the Grecising of Lower Italy and Sicily (cf. p. 65), begun under the emperor Constans II, was carried a step further, and Southern Italy was left in a position to develop on her own lines far differently from the North. The Grecising process was extended further by the immense immigration of Greek monks (estimated at 50,000), who now came over and settled, with their images "not made by men's hands," in the freer atmosphere of the Western dominions of the Byzantine empire. Equally important appears the removal of an old obstacle to development which concerned Illyria. When Valentinian as emperor of the West ruled over Illyria also, it was only natural that Pope Damasus (366–389) should exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this region, the thoroughfare between West and East. But when the Illyrian præfecture was attached to the East under Theo-

dosius, 379, Rome still maintained this spiritual jurisdiction, and the Metropolitan of Thessalonica was appointed the representative of the Apostolic Chair; when, later, Mœsia and Macedonia were transferred to the bishop of Ochrida by Justinian, even then these two provinces remained ecclesiastically one with Rome. This last relic of the encroachment of Roman ecclesiastical sovereignty over the dominions of the Byzantine Empire was now abolished by Leo III, and Illyria placed under the patriarch of Constantinople.

The severance of Isauria from the patriarchate of Antioch, and the subjection of these ecclesiastical provinces to the patriarchate of Constantinople, broke down the barriers between political and ecclesiastical sovereignty, between the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire and the diocese of the œcumenical patriarch. No foreign spiritual jurisdiction was to be recognised within the borders of the Byzantine Empire. This Cæsaro-papism had far more vitality than the programme Βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεύς εἰμι (I am king and priest), which was employed by Leo during the image controversy, but could not be permanently carried out.

(*c*) *The Close of the Reign of Leo III.* — The emperor Leo comes before us as a man in advance of his age. The advocate of a free peasantry, a supporter of the marriage tie, a stern foe to superstition, a champion of the rights of the State against the Church, a military reformer, — his public energy fills us with deep regret that we cannot penetrate his real personality. Could we do so we should doubtless rank him as one of the greatest figures of the Byzantine Empire. Himself his own finance minister, certainly his own commander-in-chief; a man whom the Church celebrated in her chants as her liberator from the Arabs; impelled by affectionate recollections of his home even in the domain of law, which he wished to be administered gratuitously to the poor; finally, in the sphere of religion, a firm, clear-headed character, who represented primitive Christianity enthusiastically and rejected every compromise with paganism, — behind the politician in significant outlines stands revealed the *man* in all his greatness.

(*d*) *From Constantine V down to Irene* (741–882). — The son of Leo III, Constantine V (741–775), whose fondness for the stable probably accounts for the unsavoury nickname of Copronymus (κοπροθέσιον = stable), undoubtedly raised the bitterness of the image controversy to the highest pitch. Perhaps the cheerful strain in his nature (for he loved music, dancing, and feasting, and ordered fruit, flowers, and hunting-scenes to be painted instead of sacred subjects), the gentleness which forgave his daughter Anthusa for worshipping images, the solicitude which procured pure drinking-water for the capital by the restoration of the aqueduct of Valens, and yet showed itself in the mention of Constantine in the Ecloge of Leo and Constantine, were deeply planted in him and were his true characteristics. Yet he was harsh, for he confined Stephanus and three hundred and forty-two monks in the Prætorium, and cruel, for he ordered eyes to be put out, arms, ears, noses to be cut off, and men to be executed and their dead bodies to be dragged through the streets. The treachery of his brother-in-law Artavasdus (from Mara'sh in Commagene, 743), and the opposition of the monks to the proscription of images (which the Council of 754 had officially pronounced), and therefore to the emperor and the Church, had kindled in him a wild desire for revenge. The fanaticism of the freethinker who no longer tolerates the title of "holy," and is deeply incensed

at the exclamation "Mary, help!", impelled him after 761 into a savage war against the monks, in whom not merely image worship but also the "spiritual State" within the State was most clearly personified. The phrase "The monk, not I, is emperor," was wrung from the furious Constantine. There was no statutory abolition of the monasteries, though this has been inferred from the fragment of the patriarch Nicephorus in a manuscript of Theophanes; but separate enactments of Constantine confiscated monasteries and bestowed them without documentary record on laymen (διὰ χαριστικῆς; cf. the *beneficia* of the Teutonic kingdoms), from whom they could again be taken at pleasure.

It was a time of ferment and of agitation; new germs were developing in a rough age of strife; the terrible plague of 745 to 746 had almost depopulated the capital, and therefore Greek settlers were summoned to Byzantium from the islands and Hellas; and Hellas itself and Thrace offered new fields not merely to the imperial colonists from Syria and Armenia, but to the immigrating Slavs themselves. Slavs were then settled in Bithynia (to the number of 280,000) and in Cyprus. Did the celibacy of the monks incense the emperor at this period of depopulation? It is certain that he was deeply indignant when his nobles sought monastic retirement. Skilfully contrived campaigns and breaches of faith were the weapons with which Constantine fought against the Bulgarians. After the sovereigns from the family of the Dulo and other Bulgarians (of whom a list down to 765 is preserved in a Slavonic text with Old Bulgarian phrases), we find rulers whose names attest the prominence of the part played by the Vlacho-Bulgarians (Paganus and Sabinus). Cerig or Telerig (763–775) in the end outwitted Constantine and wheedled out of him the names of all the Philhellenes in Bulgaria, who were then at once put to death.

Constantine's son, Leo IV (775–780), surnamed the Khazar after his mother, carried on the ecclesiastical policy of his father in a milder form. The oath which Leo caused to be taken by his son Constantine is remarkable as regards those who took the oath; not merely the provincial governors, ministers, and senators, and all the soldiers present, but also the representatives of the artisan guilds, and other classes of citizens swore fealty to the future emperor Constantine VI (780–797). His mother, Irene (more accurately Eirene), an Athenian, did not swear fealty to him; she caused keen sorrow to the youth of eighteen when she annulled his betrothal with Rotrud (Rhuotrudis), the daughter of Charles the Great, in 788, and ended the perpetual quarrel with the youth in a savage way by blinding him (797). A tedious contest between the favourites of Irene, a lamentable attitude toward the Arabs, and complete retreat in the question of the image controversy form the salient points in the reign of this unsexed woman (797–802).

The Œcumenical Council of 787 had enjoined the worship of images as a duty, although the State right of supervision was not waived. Hence the image controversy had ended in favour of the image worshippers (Iconodules) and of monasticism, and all the results of Leo's efforts were wiped out. None more sharply criticised this Church council of Nicæa than Charles. An epitome of the "Libri Carolini," composed probably by Alcuin, had been sent to Rome in order to refute the decisions of the council. It may be that the Latin translation of the decrees of the council which Pope Hadrian had transmitted to Charles ("adoration" of images by the employment of the word *adoratio* for προσκύνησις) produced the greatest acrimony, and that owing to it Charles declared that "adoration was

due to God only, veneration to saints;" at all events there is sufficient evidence to recognise that Charles held the same views as the Byzantine emperors Leo III and Constantine V. The objection of Constantine to the invocation, "Mary, help!" and such phrases can be paralleled by similar criticisms on the part of Charlemagne. Thus he stigmatises as blasphemous the phrases of the Byzantine chancery style, "God rule with them," "God entreat the Pope to co-operate," etc. It was, he said, foolish to light before the images candles which they could not see, or burn incense which they could not smell. To the lifeless images, which are only works of men's hands (and therefore not ἀχειροποίητοι), no *adoratio* is due, such as was shown to living men — here the Teuton glances with contempt on the Cæsar-cult of Rome and Byzantium. The imperial synod at Frankfort then united the authority of the State to that of the sovereign, and pronounced against image worship.

The papacy, unchecked by dogmatic variances, had thrown itself into the arms of the Franks. The flight of Pope Leo III to Spoleto and the romantic meeting of Charles and the Pope at Paderborn (where the mail-clad horsemen headed by Charles galloped forward amid the clash of trumpets to meet the Pope) led to the wonderful coronation on Christmas day 800 A. D. in St. Peter's. The legal question of the precedence of the Byzantine emperor, which even Alcuin (799) had acknowledged in a letter to Charles, was not settled by this ceremony, but only shelved; for the view of the Lorsch Annals that the question was settled when the imperial title passed to a female, did not appear to have any legal foundation; this was certainly the reason why Charles was not anxious for this premature settlement of a question which had been so much debated. Possibly some arrangement might have been made with Irene, who, in 798, sent fresh envoys to Charles, "for the sake of peace," even if the plan, which a Byzantine chronicle mentions, of a marriage between Charles and Irene did not stand in the foreground of such a proposed treaty. The story that a Byzantine courtier (Aëtius; cf. below) formed the chief obstacle is a clever invention; for a union of the Western and Eastern empires could not but have exercised a disastrous effect on the Byzantine court life.

J. The Settlement of the Image Controversy; the Severance of the Greek World from Rome

(*a*) *From Nicephorus I to Leo V (802–820).* — Events had taken place under Irene which overthrew all the arrangements of the emperors Leo and Heraclius. This Aëtius, the first minister of Irene (called ὁ παραδυναστεύων), had two *themes* under him, that is to say, he possessed the supreme military and civil command over two provinces. His excessive power exasperated the high officials, and it was from their ranks that the successor of Irene (who was soon deposed) came forward in the person of Nicephorus the treasurer-general (802–817). The Syrian dynasty was overthrown, and a new house came up. The mere fact that a man once more filled the imperial throne of Byzantium made it impossible to maintain the argument, upon which the coronation of Charles as emperor had been based, that there was a vacancy in the empire. Nicephorus received overtures for peace from Charles, and left them unanswered. It was only when Venice, which, having revolted from Byzantium in 806, had returned again to Byzantium in 807,

was punished by Pepin for so doing (810) that Nicephorus sent Arsafius his representative to conclude a preliminary peace. Charles in his letter to Nicephorus rejoiced that it had at last become possible to realise the wish for peace. But when the envoys of Charles reached Byzantium the skull of Nicephorus was already serving the great Bulgarian prince Krum (802–814) as a drinking-cup; Krum had conquered almost all the European possessions of Byzantium, had in particular won Sofia, and after some preliminary successes of Nicephorus had defeated the emperor and his whole army. This Bulgarian Empire comprised at its heart lower Mœsia (between the Balkans and the Danube), extended over the territory of the modern kingdom of Roumania, had absorbed Transylvania, the salt of which the Bulgarians exported to Moravia, and extended to the Dniester, possibly to the Dnieper. The princes lived at Prêslav (Marcianopolis) on the great Kamcija. Islam seems to have been preached in the ninth century; but the influence of the subjugated Slavs, who transmitted their own language and customs to their rulers, and only assumed their name (Bʟgare Βούλγαροι) was stronger. Greek culture soon began to influence the Bulgarians. Even in the eighth century a Bulgarian prince had counsellors who spoke Bulgarian, Slavonic, and Greek. They fought with Greek siege-machines and with Greek fire. Inscriptions were composed by them in Greek, though no longer classical Greek. Thus Omortag (between 820 and 836) explains his plan for constructing a palace and a sepulchral monument (on a pillar of red marble still preserved in Trnowo) after a Greek model.

After the incapable Michael I Rhangabé (811–813) had sustained a decisive defeat from Krum in the vicinity of Adrianople (813), the emperor Leo V (813–820) was able at last, in 817, to conclude peace with Omortag. Leo was successful also against the Arabs; less so in the deposition of the patriarch Nicephorus and in the organisation of the Synod of 815, which revived the almost buried image controversy. The agitation which had once been religious now led to the sharpest persecution, and ceased to be a movement in favour of liberty.

(*b*) *The Phrygian Dynasty* (*820–867*).—Leo V, the "Chameleon," had, in his time, when he accepted the crown, been underestimated by Michael II, the Phrygian (820–829), who gave the hesitating officer the choice, "With this sword I will open the gates of Constantinople to you, or I will plunge it into your bosom." The kingmaker, dissatisfied with his secondary position, had been arrested, but breaking prison he murdered his former *protégé* in the royal chapel, into which he and his companions, dressed as priests, had forced their way. His rival in power, Thomas the Slav, was the instigator of the most dangerous revolt of the subjugated nations against the foreign yoke of Greece. Thomas had raised the lower strata of the empire, such as the Arabs, the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula, the races of the Caucasus and the Armenians, in rebellion against the empire. On the plea of hereditary right, since he professed to be the blinded Constantine, he persuaded the patriarch of Antioch to crown him, and relying on a large army and a powerful fleet, this "pupil of the old devil," as the emperor Michael styled him, was only defeated by the emperor, with the aid of the Bulgarian prince Omortag, in the vicinity of the capital. The terrible shock which this revolt caused to the Byzantine Empire appears clearly from a letter sent by Michael in 824 to the emperor Louis the Pious. Envoys presented the letter accompanied with costly presents, green and yellow silks, Tyrian purple, crimson, and blue stuffs. The

remarkable Papyrus-letter, in the "Archives Nationales" (k. 17, no. 6), coincides with this letter in certain phrases, but it was certainly not despatched until 839; and it was written by the emperor Theophilus to the emperor Louis, to congratulate him on his victory and to advise the arrangement of terms with Lothaire, to whom a Byzantine mission had been sent at the same time.

(*a*) *The Period down to the Restoration of Image Worship* (*843*). — The emperor Michael showed himself by no means capable where Bulgarian help was not forthcoming. The capture of Crete by the Arabs (823), the revolt of the Dalmatian towns from Byzantium, and the progress of the Saracen conquest of Sicily, indicate the critical state of the Byzantine Empire under his rule. Michael's moderation in the image controversy had led the head of the ecclesiastical party of independence, the abbot Theodorus of Studion (752–826), to entertain various hopes, the frustration of which drove that fiery spirit into violent antagonism. An uncompromising enemy of Cæsaro-papism, who did not endure that "our word should be hidden for one single hour," and paid no regard to ecclesiastical superiors or synods, he had already claimed the supremacy of the law and the gospel over the emperor, and had argued that the emperor was not mentioned in the gospels. He now pointed to the government of the Church, which had to decide the divine dogmas, while the emperor and princes had to help them and ratify the decisions. The antagonism of this talented and firm prelate would have been far more damaging to the Byzantine monarchy had not Greek national pride been aggrieved by the constant stress laid on the primacy of Rome (which was to Theodorus the safe harbour of refuge for the whole Church in every storm of heresy); in fact, he smoothed the path for Photius, the leader of the Greek party of independence. Theodorus extols the peaceful monastic world in a biography of the abbot Plato, and by epigrams, in which every useful member of the community, from sick-nurse to abbot, is glorified as an emblem of duty faithfully fulfilled; his addresses contain golden grains of sincerest philanthropy. From them, as from the biography of his mother Theoktiste, and from his letters — "I shall never grow weary of writing," he says, in the last letter of the collection — breathes a full and rich humanity and an inflexible power of resistance which could not be broken by thrice-inflicted imprisonment and scourging. But his lofty conceptions of Church and State ran counter to the stream of Greek development. The monastery of Theodorus remained the seat of varied intellectual labours; and from it the perfected system of minuscules was carried out, as the Tetra-Evangelium of Porphyrius Uspensky (dating from the year 835) attests.

Iconoclasm on the lines of Constantine V was continued under Michael's son Theophilus (829–842), who wished to ensure the victory of his school by the unsparing infliction of imprisonment and branding. At the beauty contest before the nuptials of Theophilus, who wished to award the apple to the fairest, Casia, a maiden who pleased him particularly, retorted to his remark, "Sorrow came into the world through woman," with the answer, "Yet woman is the source of happiness." For this she was passed over by Theophilus. She founded a convent, where her poetic gifts were developed. Discarding the old poetic forms and trusting to the popular style, she ventured to write poetry by *stress* (ictus). Reminiscences of Menander and echoes of the Bible could not deprive her of her own feelings; a self-conscious originality flashes forth in her songs of hatred, "I hate him who

adapts himself to every custom." We can believe that frivolity and laziness roused to indignation this defiant spirit, and that a laborious life amongst learned men had more attractions for it than a pleasant existence in the society of fools.

The feeble Theophilus was consistently pursued by ill-fortune. The Saracenic advance was checked in Asia Minor by a Persian prince (called, as a Christian, Theophobus); an inroad was even made into the Arabian Empire. But to balance this, came the terrible pillage of the town of Amorion (after a siege from the 7th to the 15th of August, 838) by the Khalif Mutasim (Motassim, 833–842). The martyrdom of the forty-two Greeks of Amorion was deeply graven on the memory of the Greeks. In the West, Palermo fell into the hands of the Arabs. The belief in images still flourished in spite of violent measures; the three Eastern patriarchs repeated in a letter of 839 to Theophilus the story of the impression of the face of Mary on a pillar at Lydda. Theophilus, whose panegyrists extol his exertions in the cause of science (for instance, by conceding to scholars the permission to teach), and for the safety and buildings of the capital, rewarded his greatest general, his brother-in-law Theophobus, with base ingratitude, and his last act as monarch was to order the execution of this meritorious servant and kinsman.

The regency for the thirteen-year-old son of Theophilus, Michael III (842–867), was undertaken by his mother Theodora, his uncle Burdas, a strong and unscrupulous character, and the Magister Manuel. The connection of the latter with the monks of the celebrated monastery of Studion seems to explain the order which was given for the restoration of image worship. The Synod of 843, the anniversary of which the Greek Church celebrates as *κυριακὴ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας*, ended the long controversy. All the symptoms of madness appeared in the debauched young emperor Michael III; passion for the circus and for low company (common men, clowns, and jockeys), infatuated extravagance, drunkenness, unrestrained lust, and mischievous cruelty. That malicious delight in turning to ridicule what was sacred to other men (by desecrating the Sacrament and arranging processions of his boon companions attired in episcopal vestments) sprang with Michael from that same mania for outrage which prompted the emperor Caligula to erect his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. He is rather to be compared with Caligula than with Nero, although the latter is the parallel preferred by the Byzantine historians.

(*β*) *The Entry of the Russians on the Scene.* — As a terrible warning of the dangers which threatened a weak Byzantium from the north, the Russians (Slav Rusь, Greek Ῥως, Arabic Rûs, Finnish Ruotsi, probably = the rowers) appeared before Constantinople (July 15, 860, according to the anonymous chronicler of Brussels). These Scandinavian hordes (not Slavs from the Baltic or Goths from the Crimea) had won great fame early in the ninth century. They themselves bore Northern names (Rjurikъ = Hroereke, Olagъ = Helgi, Igorъ = Ingvarr) and gave Scandinavian names to the falls of the Dnieper, which they descended in their boats (ulvorsi = island fall, aeifor = always in front, gelandi = the echoing, varuforos = wave fall, leanti = hlæjandi = the laughing, strakun, Swedish struk = current). Even the treaties of the Russians with Byzantium in 907, 911, 945, and 971 show precisely the same Northern military oath as the treaty of Charles the Bald with Regner, 845, and of Siegfred and Halfdan with Lewis the German.

Otherwise the traces of Northern names and designations are scanty enough. In the name of the town which in Slavonic is called Turow is concealed the name Tury, which came to Russia with Rogvolod = Rag(e)vald; otherwise the Ivor Street in Novgorod and the spot in Kiev where the god Thor was worshipped are, with the "knout," almost the only memorials of the Northern home from which the invaders came.

These Northern heroes had been called into the country by the Slavs, Tchades, Kriviches, and Wesses as the superior national power. "Our country is large and rich, but there is no order in it; do you come and rule and govern over us," said the Slavs, according to Nestor's chronicle. But the Russians appeared savage and boorish, the "most blood-stained" people to the Byzantines who, mistrusting their own strength, ascribed the retreat of the Russians to the dipping of the robe of the Mother of God in the waves of the Bosphorus, as Photius relates, and claimed the credit for the subsequent conversion of the Russians to Christianity. The Russians then made Novgorod and Kiev centres of the empire, and retained their Scandinavian character for a long time in the former city; in the latter, notwithstanding Northern followers (Druschina), they became Slavonic by the year 1000; but in reality they accepted Christianity under Byzantine influence and drew their learning and culture from Byzantium — although not until far later; the peace of 907 was still sworn to by the god Perun (in whom we detect features of the Scandinavian Thor) and Volus (certainly not Basilius). Olga, Igor's wife, was the first to receive baptism, and the entire nation became Christian under Vladimir (980–1015). A section of the crews in the fleet, and later a company of the imperial body-guard, celebrated for their weapons (axe and bayonet combined) were formed out of the Russians: the Varagi,[1] or with Slav nasal Varangi (Βάραγγοι).

(γ) *Cyril and Methodius.* — Byzantium was regarded at that period (863) as the centre not merely of civilization but of Christianity; and Rastilaw of Moravia (then the country on the March, comprising a part of Lower Austria as far as the Danube, and Northern Hungary between the Danube and Gran), requested the emperor Michael III to send him a missionary familiar with Slavonic, and in this way endeavoured to obtain a Slavonic liturgy and a church of Greco-Slavonic constitution. Through the brothers Constantine and Methodius of Thessalonica not merely did the Slavonic dialect of that region (in Moravia slightly blended with German words) become the prevailing dialect for ecclesiastical purposes, but in other respects we can see there the beginning of that complex civilization which we may term Slavo-Byzantine. Eastern elements are prominent in this civilization, as might be expected from its Byzantine origin; but amongst the Slavs, owing to the manner of its transmission, it has been everywhere influenced by the national Church. We have not yet surveyed the extent of the Slavonic debt to Byzantinism. Institutions and forms of government, law and plastic arts, religious conceptions and liturgy, legends and myths, — all flowed in narrow but numerous channels down to the Slavonic nations. And there the differentia of the races down to the present day has been not Teutonism and Slavonism, but Teutonism and Byzantinised-Slavonism.

[1] Old Norse Varinjar, from *Vaeri* guard, therefore = privileged strangers, by which name the Russians designated the peculiar position of their Scandinavian countrymen among themselves.

We derive our information about the life of the brothers from their biography, the so-called "Pannonian Legends;" it is unlikely that these were dictated by Method to a pupil; more probably they were written in Greek by a learned Slav from Bulgaria toward the middle of the tenth century, and translated into Slavonic and enlarged by theological discourses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; further details (especially about the attitude of Hermanrich of Passau) are furnished by the papal letters of the British collection, and the so-called "Italic Legend" composed by Bishop Ganderich of Velletri († 898). The brothers Constantine and Methodius were born at Thessalonica as Greeks, certainly not of a mixed race, in the midst of Slavonic tribes, with whose tongues they became at an early age familiar, so that Methodius actually administered a Slavonic principality in Thessaly, before he retired to Olympus in Asia Minor. Constantine had close relations in Byzantium with Photius, who in 855–856, being then *Asicrit* (ἀσηκρῆτις, a secretis), was sent with him to the Arabs, and went (860–861) as missionary to the Khazars; he then, at the request of Rastilaw in 863, accompanied Methodius to Moravia, and certainly took with him some portions of the Old Testament already translated into Slavonic. The heretical attitude of Photius forced the brothers to break with Byzantium and turn to Rome, where Pope Hadrian II consecrated them bishops in 868; the Slavonic liturgy was at first sanctioned there (by Pope Hadrian II 869 and Pope John VIII 880), although it was afterwards prohibited in the *Commonitorium* of Pope Stephen VI and in his letter to Svatopluk discovered in the monastery of the Holy Cross). Constantine, or as he was now called, Cyril, died in 869; Methodius laboured on the shores of the lake of Platten, extended his influence to Croatia, and died in Moravia in 885. The struggle about the Slavonic liturgy was carried on with much heat by the clergy; the victory of the liturgy, in spite of the restrictions imposed by Pope Stephen VI, enabled the Slavs to outstrip the Germanic nations in the work of organising a national church. We may see here the effect of the spirit of independence characteristic of the Byzantine Church.

The Slavonic national (*glagolitic*) alphabet, invented by Cyril and closely modelled on the Greek cursive character,[1] facilitated the establishment of Christianity among the Slavs. The sphere of glagolitic monuments extends from Moravia and Bohemia (fragments at Prague, portions of the Missal) to Croatia, Istria (island of Veglia, with the inscription in the church of St. Lucia, dating from the eleventh century), and Dalmatia. Subsequently we find a simplified form of the Cyrillian alphabet which was probably composed by Bishop Clement of Drenovica under the Czar Symeon on the model of Greek uncials (oldest inscription: stone from German on the east shore of the lake of Prespa, 992–993; oldest book: the Gospel of Ostromir, 1056–1057).

It was certainly not directly through Methodius and the picture of the Last Judgment ascribed to the Slavonic apostle (by an erroneous identification with a painter), but indirectly through the whole Christianising movement and the influence of Byzantium, that the conversion of Boris, prince of the Bulgarians and of the Bulgarian people, came about. The Bulgarians, standing on a low plane of civilization, retained their barbarous habits and were profoundly superstitious. The Oriental turban was worn by the men, while close-fitting dresses, long sashes

[1] See the plate "Beginning of the Gospel of St. Luke," in the fifth section.

ornamented with gold and silver buttons, and veils for the face were still retained by the women. They employed oxen and sheep as mediums of exchange; slaves worked for them in an oppressive serfdom, or were even sold to Byzantium. Wonder-working stones were hung round the necks of the sick, and the dead man was given his slaves and wives to accompany him to the grave. A deep gulf separated ruler and subjects, of whom even the foremost did not eat at the same table with the prince (Khan, ὀβιγη = oveghü, "Exalted"). The core of the nation was represented by the greater and inferior nobility, the βοΐλαδες (with Greek ending) and the βαγαΐνοι.

(δ) *The Rupture with Rome.* — Boris had clearly seen how necessary it was for his kingdom of Bulgaria to receive the Christianity which he had himself adopted, with an imperial sponsor, under the name of Michael. The question whether to join Rome or Byzantium was more obscure. The persecutions of the pagans, which he himself initiated, and the inrush of eager missionaries of the most various sects (for example, of the Paulicians) into this new domain of Christianity — of lay Christians who professed to be priests and mixed all the superstition of their own homes with Christianity, or of Jews who wished to disseminate their creed — did not conduce to make the new doctrines more popular. To crown all came the teaching of the highest ecclesiastical party of Byzantium, of the patriarch Photius, which must have driven the Bulgarian prince out of his senses; he then received a sketch of the essential nature and features of orthodoxy, a theological treatise on the Trinity, and a history of the seven œcumenical synods and their most influential personalities! — what did the obligation of guiding his subjects to "the conception of truth" mean to him? So much was clear to him, however, that his people, or at any rate he in his own person, should take the leap from their primitive manners to the ideal of the Byzantine court, where no one was allowed to talk too fast, laugh too loud, or speak unbecomingly.

The Bulgarian prince therefore tried the experiment of the West, and Pope Nicholas I, cleverly recognising the needs of a simple race, conceded the Bulgarian's requests, some of which were truly marvellous. The Pope wished to reform the inner man, not to alter reasonable customs or national dress. The war against superstition and cruelty was waged with gentle weapons. The grasp which Rome possessed of the Bulgarian situation, the care with which her representatives suggested a higher civilization, were in striking contrast to the ostentatious erudition of Byzantine theologians, and to the Byzantine insistence upon tedious ceremonies. But the advantage of Rome was thrown away, owing to quarrels of a personal kind. The Pope refused to approve the bishop who was presented to him, and the alliance was broken off.

The discourteous attitude of Rome towards the Greek envoys in Bulgaria, who were simply driven out of the country, and the rejection of the message communicated by them, supplied Photius, who, patriarch of Constantinople since 858, had been deposed at a Roman synod in 863, with the final motive for a rupture with Rome. The theological basis of the renunciation of Rome, the Encyclical of 867 (ἐγκύκλιος ἐπιστολή) so important in the history of the world, was not weighty or burdensome. In the West, men had taught that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son, and by so doing had, according to the view of Photius, denied the monarchical constitution of the Trinity. In conformity with the

Western view the creed had been altered by the admission of the words "and from the Son," against which the confession of faith engraved by Pope Leo III on silver plates bore witness. Further, in order most thoroughly to shatter Rome's claim to this position, Photius, by removing the imperial residence from Rome to New Rome, asserted the transference of the primacy to Byzantium. The consideration that Byzantium had become the centre of ecclesiastical life seemed to weigh heavily; the later decision of the Bulgarian question by opponents of Photius shows that the rights of Rome within the Byzantine Empire were most unpopular. But undoubtedly the weightiest reason was the rejection in the West of so many Church customs which were knit up with the Greek national life. Photius then revealed the deep rift between West and East; it was national, and only brought into relief by the Church dispute. How cordially he was greeted, and how gladly the lower sections of the nation welcomed the defence of their habits of life, is proved by the votes of confidence which the artisan classes afterwards addressed to Photius. Meanwhile the secular power had passed to the Armenian ex-groom and friend of Michael, the joint-emperor Basilius (p. 49), who put Michael to death.

Now first, long after the loss of the Eastern provinces, the Greek spirit had vigorously roused itself and produced among the people the consciousness of national unity.

K. The Middle Byzantine Empire under the Macedonian Dynasty and the First Comneni (867–1071)

The intercourse with the East and the former incorporation of Oriental provinces in the empire, with their great influence on culture, left traces for centuries; Eastern suggestions, Armenian colonists, and natives of Asia Minor played a great part at court and in the State. But the Greek elements had begun to combine; and here too the first attempt at national union found expression in the Church. Learning and education, law and literature, had seen a renascence of the old Byzantine and Greek life, and the whole State became emphatically an expression of Greek intellect.

The divinely appointed rule of the emperor, despotic and unrestrained by law, in things spiritual and secular alike, swayed the Byzantine intellect. The spiritual and secular dignitaries were nominated by him, and a shadowy senate was summoned. The imperial finance-minister (λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ), the keeper of the privy purse (λογοθέτης τῶν οἰκειακῶν), the commandant of the watch (δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλας), and the postmaster-general (λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου), the other excellencies (πατρίκιοι) and the protospatharii, the private secretary (ὁ πρωτασηκρῆτις), the captain of the city (ἔπαρχος, at the same time *præfectus urbi* and *præfectus prætorio*, the magistrate of the capital), the quæstor (κοιαίστωρ, then probably head of the police) flocked round the throne and executed the commands in the various administrative and legislative spheres.

The high military officers ruled the provinces (θέματα) and played an important rôle at court. They were excellently paid: the patricius (commander of a division) received forty pounds of gold (£1,800); the strategus formerly £1,600, after Leo the Wise £1,350; the commander of brigade (turmarches) £550, after Leo £450. Even the pay of the officers (drungarius = major £270, later £220; comes = captain £130; the pentecontarch = lieutenant £90) and of the under-officers (decarchs £45) must be reckoned good, if we consider that everything was found

for them. The army itself was devoted to its leaders, received small pay, but complete board, lodging, and clothing, and was in other respects treated considerately. This is attested not merely by their exemption from taxation, and by the splendid baths at Dorylæon, which could hold seven thousand men — the reputation they enjoyed in the wars with the Arabs as the avengers and saviours of Christianity, and the demand that all fallen soldiers should be declared martyrs, furnish an eloquent proof of it.

There was also a powerful *clergy*, who had immense monastic estates as well as poor monasteries at their disposal, and ruled the people politically also, by using religious controversy for political opposition, and urging the masses to fight through enthusiasm for the cause. From the clergy also came to a large extent the "cloud of humanists, who made verses and turned phrases, who begged and were not ashamed." They found an appreciative audience in the large class of wealthy men who, consumed with thirst for titles, bought for themselves their title, and even a salaried office as a life annuity.

Then the *bourgeois* class; from this were sometimes recruited the ranks of the clergy through the desire for seclusion, sometimes those of the lower officials of court and civil service, by the sale of offices, or the posts once bought became hereditary in the families of the order. The artisan guilds protected the old church customs as inassailable achievements of faith.

Then the *peasantry*, diminished by the attractive power of the monasteries and by the sale of the land, and also ruined by a defective system of credit. All round the capital, in the district called the Province of the Walls, *Latifundia* had been formed, on which peasant serfs worked for the emperor, for patricians and monasteries — a picture of the whole empire. The peasant, once perhaps free, who worked on these estates (*ἰδιόστατα*), could not be evicted, but also did not possess the right of emigration, paid far more than the former tithe of corn; he paid protection-money and blood tithes, he was indeed a serf (*πάροικος*). The diminution of the free peasant class became noticeable from the increase in the mercenary forces, as in the Athens of the fourth century. Thus this prosperous season of the Byzantine Empire is naturally characterised by a constant struggle for the protection, maintenance, and increase of the free peasantry. A powerful effort in this direction was made by the Homestead Act of the emperor Romanus Lacapenus, who passed a law (934) forbidding the "magnates" (*δυνατοί*) to acquire any villages or hamlets from the poor (*πένητες*); they had actually to give back any purchases of land, except in the case of their having raised valuable buildings. As "magnates," were reckoned higher officials and place-holders, members of the superior clergy, and all who had money and position. The old connection between landed property and military service appears further in the resuscitated institution of inalienable military fiefs, the owners of which had to provide equipment and food; and only the heirs, and those who bore a share of military service and taxation might acquire such property. The *workman* class was superstitious, dull-witted, and, notwithstanding Christianity, addicted to the old cults. The lowest section finally was represented by the very numerous slaves, in whom a flourishing trade was carried on. Danilis, the richest lady of the Peloponnesus, presented to her imperial adopted son Basilius five hundred slaves (including one hundred eunuchs) and one hundred slave girls; after her death in 888 the emperor emancipated three thousand of her slaves and settled them in Lower Italy.

The strength of the Byzantine empire lay in the army and fleet. Mercenaries and newly settled subjects occupied a large place amongst the tenants of military fiefs. The imperial fleet under the Drungarius (p. 80; a Teutonic word — the same root is in "Gedränge") was paid from the State coffers; the provincial fleet by the Themata (provinces), and the majority of the ships belonged to the imperial fleet. Tubes for discharging Greek fire were placed on the bows of the dromonds. The fleet was manned by Russian Northmen, who served as mercenaries, at one time also by Syrian Mardaites (cf. p. 65), as barbarians who had settled in the empire and thus liable to service, and finally by the native population of the island province, of the province of Samos, and of the Cibyrrhæotic province. When this latter territory was lost the navy also was ruined, so that in the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century pirates swept the seas. When the necessity of a navy made itself felt in the war with the Norman fleet, the Venetians fought and decided the battles of the Greek emperor.

The core of the Byzantine Empire was Asia Minor, which required to be defended by perpetual war against the Arabs. On the Black Sea it still possessed the Crimea, the starting point for the trade with the surrounding nations, especially with the Khazars. The Pecheneges and Bulgarians enclosed the small part of Thrace and Macedonia which still remained Greek. The Peloponnese, through the attitude of the Slavonic tribes, was only in parts nominally dependent. Dyrrhachium served to secure the communications with Italy. By the side of the independent kingdom of Italy, with Pavia as its capital, Calabria still maintained its position as a Greek province; an attempt was also made by Byzantium to exercise some maritime supervision in these waters. In Sicily, on the contrary, there were but few points still in Byzantine hands.

(*a*) *From Basilius I to Romanus II* (*867–963*). — Basilius I (867–886) laid the foundations for the internal and external consolidation of the empire. He was descended from an Armenian family of military colonists at Adrianople; his mother was called Pankalo and was, according to Tabari, a Slav. In compensation for Sicily which soon became completely Arab (in 878 Syracuse submitted to Emperor Leo, 889 a battle at Mylæ, 902 loss of Taormina), and where only the Byzantine law prevailed, he added to Calabria a second province of Southern Italy, Longibardia. Considering the actual secession of Venice, which had created for herself (cf. p. 73) an invincible position on the sea by the treaty of 840 (Pactum Lotharii) and its ratification by Lewis II (857), it was a master stroke of diplomatic self-control on the part of Basilius I, to regain at any rate a formal recognition of his suzerainty from Venice by sending an embassy, transmitting presents, and conferring on the Doge Ursus Partiacus (879) the title of Protospatharius. Buildings shot up in numbers; according to report more than one hundred churches (Saint Gabriel and Saint Elias with splendid mosaics) and palaces (Kainurgion with pillars — probably Syrian — decorated with vine leaves, and battle scenes). The emperor Basilius was so amicably disposed towards Rome that the learned and indefatigable Patriarch Photius, who in 867 had deposed Pope Nicholas I at a so-called council, was at the eighth Œcumenical Synod at Jerusalem declared to have forfeited his office and was replaced by the patriarch Ignatius. The thought that one single faith ought to govern the Christians induced the prelates of the East, who were under the emperor's influence, to sign a formula of

submission to Rome. A fitting pendant to this ecclesiastical policy was the suppression of the Paulicians by Basilius; they removed under Tzimisces to the Balkan Peninsula and were revived in the sect of the Bogumiles. Perhaps also the persecution of the Jews in Southern Italy by Basilius may be traced to a renewal of the claim of Leo the Isaurian (cf. p. 70) to establish one faith throughout the empire. Glancing over the domain of art we might regard the decorations of the Church of Scripu, built in 873–874, as an instructive allegory of the spiritual movement of that time: an abundance of designs, which attest the presence of a strong vitality, but still, it must be confessed, crude in execution, an echo of the hard struggles of the Byzantine people, from which the old language, altered in many ways, emerged victoriously. The hereditary monarchy, which extended from 867 to 1028, was unusually emphasised in form by the joint sovereignty of the sons (in the case of Basilius I: Leo VI and Alexander; in the case of Romanus II: Basilius II and Constantine VIII); but in fact it broke down through the institution of mayors of the palace (see below).

The learned emperor Leo VI (the Wise, 886–911), who was compared to the emperor Claudius, had a far higher importance than the "wise fool" of the Julian line, whose studies exercised no sort of influence upon his time (Vol. IV, p. 422). It may be that merely utilitarian considerations led the Byzantines of this age to collect all the learning of the past and above all that of Justinian's epoch, but, at any rate, they completely resuscitated it. The process of decay, uninterrupted since Heraclius, seemed checked for the future; even in the descriptions of the provinces which the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus supplied, the sixth century is the authoritative basis, notwithstanding the new organisation by Leo VI. The great code of the Basilica in sixty books, compiled between 887 and 893, was one such renewal. Basilius in his *Procheirus* had restored this basis as much as possible (for example, in the law respecting the property of married persons), and now the entire code of Justinian was revived, not merely as regarded the marriage law, divorce, and the limitation of marriage contracts to the wealthy (cf. p. 40), but also in matters of family law, the power of the father, the law of compulsory inheritance, and usury.

But in a still more significant fashion Leo recurred to the glorious age of Justinian. Cæsaro-papism arose afresh; ordinances were issued as to the admissibility of married aspirants to bishoprics, and the age limits of sub-deacons; festivals were appointed for celebrated preachers, marriage dispensations were granted. A patriarch who opposed his wishes, Nicholas, a friend of his youth, whom he had honored with the title of a trusted councillor, was compelled by the emperor to hand in his resignation, as he refused to bless the emperor's fourth marriage, and even excommunicated him (907). It was then quite obvious that the emperor settled the rank and the precedence of the prelates. The dioceses formerly subordinated to Rome were now recovered: Nicopolis, Stellas, Sicily, Stygmon, Cephallenia, Thessalonica, Dyrrhachium, Dalmatia, were finally separated from Rome and made subject to Byzantium. Conformably to this change, these countries were regarded as new provinces (themata) and as such enrolled in the new list of *themes*. Even then the generalisation of Constantine Porphyrogennetus that the empire was split up into governorships, and that the emperor had not, therefore, his old power, might hold good for the emperors, with the exception of the greatest. Wealthy families, especially on the frontiers of the empire, collected followers, transformed the peasants into soldiers, and founded Byzantine feudalism.

Theological interests drew Leo into church meetings as an official orator; scholastic attainments led him to imitate Latin verse in a macaronic vein. Much certainly has been fathered upon him which he did not compose, but brought on him his bad reputation. On the other hand, when we consider the great attraction of the successes of his father Basilius and his commander-in-chief Nicephorus Phocas, as well as the reference to the capture of Theodosiopolis, and the predominant position of the Arabs, it is almost certain that Leo is really the author of the "Tactics" (p. 68). Leo employed pagan Magyars as "executioners" against the Christian Bulgarians, but hardly with success; the Czar Symeon was justified in reproaching him with this violation of Christian fellow-feeling.

A commercial question, that of burdening the trade between Greece and Bulgaria with heavy tolls and of diverting it from Constantinople, induced Symeon (893–927) to wage war on Byzantium. The appointment of a Bulgarian patriarch in Achrida (which from this time down to 1767 was the intellectual centre of the western Balkan countries), and the assumption of the imperial title (car, carь, originally cêsarь, later Сьsarь = Cæsar) over the Bulgarians (917) and the Greeks (924), clearly revealed his plans. He told the emperor, "This is an empire which has come to me!" In his opinion the Bulgarians usually coveted the land of others, the Greeks ceded their own. Symeon, who before his accession had lived in a monastery, to which his uncles also withdrew, wished to elevate his people by the introduction of Greek learning; he had himself read Demosthenes and Aristotle at Byzantium in his youth. He projected a reference book (Sbornik) which comprised treatises on theological, philosophical, and historical subjects, and was translated into Russian in the eleventh century, and he caused an epitome of the Greek law to be prepared. Grigori then translated Malalas (p. 45), his cousin, Todor Dutsov, copied manuscripts in his monastery, John the Exarch described in his preface to the Sestodnev (Hexameron) the residence of the Czar, in which the splendour of Byzantine architecture and painting, and the glittering gold of the robes of the princes and nobles, contrasted so sharply with the straw cottages of the country. Fresh strength and a recently adopted culture had here to be overcome. The Turkish and new Slavonised people of the Bulgarians thus formed at that age of international consolidation the very heart of Slavonism and became its champions in virtue of their military and political capabilities.

The Magyars (Hungarians = Huns and Ugrians?) seemed to Leo the most suitable allies against Symeon. The race is in its germ Finno-Ugrian, since its numerals and words for ordinary objects of life are identical with those of the Finnish-Ugrian Vogules (arrow in Vogule, *nal*, Ostiak, *natl*, Magyar, *ngil;* dog, Vog. *amb*, Mag. *eb;* horse, Vog. *lôx, lû*, Mag. *ló*). From their far distant home on the Isim, Irtish, and Om, where Aristeas of Proconnesus, the authority of Herodotus (cf. Vol. II, p. 146 *et seq.*, and Vol. IV, p. 273) describes the forefathers of the Magyars, the Jyrkes, on their hunting expeditions, the Magyars had come in the course of nearly fifteen hundred years into the country between the Caspian and the Black Seas, into the region between Kuban and Don, where fishing might be combined with the chase. They had then settled, about 860, in Livadia, between the Don and the Dnieper, where they fell under the influence of the Khazars and adopted numerous Turkish words (*e. g. kende*, in Khazar *kender-khan* = the king, at whose side stands a high legal officer, *dsila* = γυλᾶς, perhaps = Gyula). The Khazars, who adopted Judaism soon after 860, then ruled over an

empire which stretched from the Jaik to the Dnieper and Bug, from the Caspian Sea and the southern slopes of the Caucasus to the middle Volga and the Oka. The Magyars, pressing on further, came to the country of Atelkuzu (*Atel* = Turkish, *itel* = river, *Uzu*, Dnieper), where they ruled the Slavs and sold them into slavery (*oger* = bloodsucker), but also came under Slavonic influence, which affected their customs and language (the heads of the seven tribes are called *voevod*, *βοέβοδοι* = Voivoden).

In the war with the Bulgarians the Magyars were at first successful; but on the way home they suffered a disastrous defeat and were now attacked by the Pecheneges (Patzinaks) on the Dnieper, whom the Bulgarians launched at them, thus imitating the Byzantine system. Their families, which remained behind on the steppes of Bessarabia, were crushed or captured; the whole nation thereupon decided in 896–897, under the rule of Arpád (890–907), to march further to the West, and so immigrated into their present home, separated into North and South Slavs, and made great expeditions through Europe. With this event concludes the second national migration. Old native sources were first worked up in the thirteenth century into the untrustworthy "Gesta Hungarorum" of the anonymous notary of King Bela IV, so that the passages in Leo's "Tactica" and Constantine Porphyrogennetus are more valuable; so also the Arabic accounts which are attributed to Muslim ben Abū, Mûslim al Garmî (in 845), *e. g.* the account of Ibu Rusta, writing in 912–913.

The terrible sacking of Thessalonica by the renegade Leo (from the Syrian Tripolis, 904) showed that the navy was still unable to fulfil its duties of guarding the seas. The lamentations of the patriarch Nicholas (p. 83), with which the Church of St. Sophia resounded, testified to the weakness of the empire. It is interesting to note that, in spite of these Arabian plundering expeditions, fairly good relations were maintained with the Arabs at Constantinople, who, according to the testimony of that patriarch, were allowed to possess a mosque and to profess their religion without let or hindrance.

The foolish provocation given to Symeon by Leo's successor, Alexander (912–913), who insulted his envoys, renewed the war between Symeon and Byzantium; the latter was besieged in 913. The new Great Bulgaria now comprised the Balkan Peninsula from Mesembria to Rhodope, from Olympus to the mouth of the Calama with the exception of the strip of Macedonia on the sea, towards Servia as far as the united Drin, the white Drim, the Ibar, and the Save. Wallachia, parts of Hungary, and Transylvania, completed the immense empire.

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus ("Born in the Purple"), 912–959, early turned his attention to learned studies. His restoration of the old university (cf. p. 26) went hand in hand with an eager revival of the old learning in the domains of history, geography, agriculture, natural history, and medicine. At that period the taste for collecting literary treasures was widely prevalent, as is shown by other collections (for example, that of old epigrams by Constantine Cephalus) which Constantine had not initiated; but his influence did much to mould the characteristics of this "encyclopædic age." The connoisseurs of antiques (such as Basilius of Neocæsareum) dedicated their works to him. Court etiquette (in the work *de Cœrimoniis*), military and civil administration, but also popular poetry, as his collection of *Acclamationes* (songs of welcome to the emperor) proves, met with his warm appreciation. He had the consciousness, in spite of all the learn-

ing of past ages, that the language could not be cramped and stationary, but that it ought to develop continuously and in keeping with the present. He showed the same taste for history as his grandfather Basilius I, and continued the work of Theophanes, but in an inflated and boastful style.

In his age the Byzantine system of *Mayors of the Palace* was developed. It is beyond any doubt that we may thus designate the position of the Basileiopators, who ultimately bore the imperial title (thus, Stylianus Zautzes, 894). The fact that in the Frankish Empire the post of the mayor of the palace grew out of the royal civil service which was concerned with the administrative duties of the royal household, and in Byzantium out of the post of commander of the foreign guard (Hetariearch), cannot establish convincingly any difference between the mayor of the palace and the Basileiopator. More distinctive is the fact that the Carolingians only rose to be viceroys, but the Byzantine commanders to real imperial dignity by the side of the Armenian dynasty; in fact, the latter formally took the second place.

Romanus I Lacapenus (919–944 co-emperor), the son-in-law of Constantine, reduced the latter not merely to the second, but, by the coronation of his own three sons, actually to the fifth place; and, unlike the Carolingian mayors, abandoned even the outward semblance of respect for the ruling dynasty. In Bulgaria, after the conclusion of peace in 924, and after the death of Symeon in 927, the recognition of the Bulgarian patriarchate and the marriage of Maria, granddaughter of Romanus, with the Czar Peter, produced friendly relations with Byzantium. The solidarity of Islam was broken up by an alliance with the emir of Melitene (928). Armenia, which was bound to East Rome by so many private ties, and had become a great power under the powerful Ašot (915–928), was now brought into a political alliance; and amity was established with the Russians after their severe defeats by the commercial treaty of 945.

The glory of acquiring new relics, especially that of the image of Christ, which had been brought from Edessa to Rome, cast a halo round the usurped crown of Romanus; the latter knew also how to employ the Curia for his own purposes; he won its friendship, ostensibly by a "union" (920), and really by the enthronement of Theophylactus, his horse-loving son, as patriarch. It is hard to say how far Romanus may have entered into financial negotiations with the senator Alberic, the protector of the Curia, for the transferrence of imperial rights. Finally, Constantine VII, by the agency of the sons of Romanus, freed himself from the father, and then from the sons.

(*b*) *The Empire at the Height of its Power under Nicephorus II Phocas, John Tzimisces, and Basilius II (963–1025).*—Even if little that is complimentary can be said about the talents of Constantine as a ruler, as a man he stands far above his son Romanus II (959–963), who at the age of nineteen had married Theophano, the beautiful daughter of a poor innkeeper. Joseph Bringas, the moving spirit of the government, confided the war against Crete to the experienced Nicephorus Phocas, who conquered the island in 961 and brought it back to Christianity. He had already captured the Cilician towns and Aleppo, when the news arrived of the death of Romanus II. Theophano was to act as regent for his infant children Basilius II and Constantine VIII. Nicephorus then marched to the capital and had himself crowned emperor, not without the co-

operation of a bastard son of Romanus Lacapenus, Basilius, the president of the Senate.

Nicephorus II (963–969) was a silent ascetic with a fiery soul, who practised the virtue of self-suppression not only through the privations of a soldier's life but also in the monastic cell; rude, rough, and ugly, but surrounded by all the charm of victorious campaigns, the idol of his troops, he became the husband of the most seductive and most delicate of women, the empress-widow Theophano, who thus secured for herself the successful general. He carried on the crusade against Islam with the fanaticism which is peculiar to the Cappadocian race from which he sprang; the fallen were to be reckoned martyrs (cf. p. 81). Everything must be subservient to the purposes of the war, of the army, and of the navy, which alone Byzantium possessed, as the emperor boasted to Liutprand. The coinage was debased as a means of relieving the finances; restrictions upon the acquisition of land in mortmain, perhaps also a limitation of the right of pre-emption to individuals of the same status as the vendor, were all tried as a means of restoring solvency. The wide stretch of frontier facing the Arabs had become with its fortresses (el Awassim) a military frontier, which urgently needed settlers. Patience was required; the Jacobitic immigrants were, according to the emperor's word, to remain exempt from all annoyance on the score of dogma (Chalcedon). The emperor had, it is true, made more promises than the clergy of Byzantium wished to keep; in spite of everything the Syrians were dragged into the capital for religious tests. No monk ever formed so rigid an ideal as this emperor, who would have wished to lay all the riches of the world at the feet of Theophano, but had himself absolutely no wants. The home for which he sighed was Lavra on Mount Athos, founded by Athanasius in 968 at his instigation; there retirement from the world was possible in the strictest form, in the spirit of the old Oriental monasticism, in the spirit of Abbot Theodorus of Studion.

As a part of official salaries was kept back by Nicephorus, as Cæsaro-papism threatened to revive in its harshest form through his policy, since without the emperor's consent and command no episcopal election could be held, and no See occupied, and as an almost extortionate advantage of the corn monopoly was taken by the government, the whole empire was in ferment. Theophano took measures to ensure that a palace revolution under the young Armenian John Tzimisces should find the bedroom of her husband open; and Nicephorus was put out of way. The empress Theophano was banished by the patriarch. John Tzimisces was compelled to devote half of his entire fortune to the impoverished peasantry in the metropolitan *thema*, by the enlargement and furnishing of a great hospital in Constantinople. On this condition he was recognised as emperor, and was crowned in 969 in the Church of Saint Sophia. Tzimisces conducted the war against Russia with brilliant success, since he liberated Bulgaria. But he did not restore the empire to the Czar Boris II, who was released from captivity; Bulgaria remained henceforth under Byzantine rule. Only a small piece of Macedonia and Albania had passed in the year 963 under the rule of the Shishmanids, and now remained independent. Tzimisces obtained great successes against the Arabs under the leadership of the Fatimites of Egypt; he conquered Syria and crossed Lebanon. The East was then thoroughly stripped of its treasured relics. He died on the march home, and there are grounds for suspecting that he was poisoned.

The kingmaker of that time, the eunuch Basilius, proclaimed Basilius II (976–1025), then twenty years of age, as independent sovereign. The sense of the duties of a ruler completely changed his character, and moulded a youth addicted to every form of license into a firm and almost ascetic man.

The West Bulgarian Empire under the Shishmanids, with Prespa, later Achrida, as the capital, still stood unbroken; in fact, it had been considerably extended under Samuel (976–1014). Not merely had the Byzantines received a severe defeat (991) — even the more southerly Adriatic coast was abandoned to Bulgaria, the northern coast with the Dalmatian islands went to the Croat Kreszimir I, and Servia became a vassal State of Bulgaria. But the defeat of Samuel on the Spercheius, and still more the capture of fifteen thousand Bulgarians effected on the Belasitza Mountian (1014; south of the passes of Klidion and Kimpolung) decided the fate of the Bulgarian Empire. The prisoners were blinded; one in every hundred was left with one eye to guide the others home. Basilius was called from this deed Bulgaroktonos, — slayer of the Bulgarians. We can understand that the Czar Samuel, to whom this pitiable army was sent, was heart-broken at the sight.

In the year 1018 Basilius made his entry into Achrida, where the splendid royal treasure, gold-embroidered robes, and a crown of the Shishmanids set with pearls, fell into his hands. The Bulgarian nobles, who retained their privileges, could now rejoice in Byzantine titles. The fiscal system was for the moment left in its present condition, — a measure of corn, maize, and millet for each yoke of oxen. Finally independence was guaranteed to the Church of Bulgaria; its first archbishop was a Bulgarian, though it may be noticed that his successor, Leo, was a Greek. Although at first the extent of the archbishopric of Achrida had been fixed at what it was in later years, the emperor, on the request of the Archbishop, re-established the diocese on its old scale, such as it was under Czar Peter, notwithstanding that Greek dioceses, especially Thessalonica, were prejudiced thereby. The high estimation in which the new subjects of the empire were held was clearly shown by the intermarriages of noble families with the royal Bulgarian house of the Shishmanids. Thus Basilius was loyal to the principle which he had announced in his proclamation of 1020, — "Although we have become lords of the country, we have maintained its privileges as inviolable." Bulgaria was linked to Byzantium only by a personal union. For the acquisition of a new province, West Bulgaria with Servia, by this energetic policy of reconciliation, and for the victory of the Greek spirit over the Bulgarian, Basilius offered his thanksgiving in the Church of the Mother of God at Athens, to whom costly vessels from Achrida were dedicated.

In social matters Basilius followed in the steps of Romanus I Lacapenus, checking most stringently the formation of large landed estates. He extended the list of the magnates, who were prohibited from acquiring a village or hamlet (cf. p. 81), by adding to it the members of the body-guard, abolished the right of the magnates to acquire a title by forty years' possession, and introduced a rule requiring the production of the original title-deeds. In fact, he confiscated large estates in Cilicia and Cappadocia, commanded a speculator in land to pull down his mansion, and allotted the ground among small proprietors. The whole burden of military service was, at least for some decades, put on the shoulders of the magnates and great landed proprietors in such a way that the rich neighbours

were responsible for outstanding taxes of the small farmers (ἀλληλέγγυον). His attack on the system of large estates was essentially a national attack, aimed by the European element in the empire at the ring of noble landed proprietors in Asia Minor. He had, perhaps, been counselled to draw the attention of the wealthy to personal anxieties and divert it from politics by heavy taxation. Basilius by unwearying exertions had acquired districts of Armenia in Asia Minor and given them back as fiefs, and had strengthened the garrisons and fortresses in every direction. The wide extent of his acquisitions may be inferred from the new bishoprics of Keltzene. He treated the Armenian Empire, which he annexed in 1021, with the greatest leniency, so that the Armenian historian Matheus Urhaçi extolled his mercy and kindness.

Under Basilius the Byzantine Empire attained not only its greatest territorial expansion, but also the zenith of domestic influence and prosperity.

(*c*) *The Prelude to the Disruption* (*1026–1071*). — The reign of Constantine VIII (1026–1071), in spite of his patronage of favourites, still showed the capability of repelling foreign foes, such as the Pecheneges and Arabs. His daughters, Zoë and Theodora, had some influence on the succession. An old senator, Romanus Argyropulus, was married to Zoë, and reigned as Romanus III (1028–1034). His rôle of a crowned philosopher was ill suited to him. A remorseless persecution of the Syrian schismatics, which aroused bitterness even in the lay circles of Byzantium, drove many Syrians into the country of the Arabs. His own expedition against the Saracens ended disastrously, after he had rejected the khalif's proposals for peace. Nevertheless, the celebrated general Georgius Maniaces (cf. above, p. 50) won Edessa.

Zoë seems to have put the emperor out of her path in favour of her paramour Michael, who, as Michael IV (1034–1041), exercised the sovereignty in name alone; he was the brother of John, a eunuch and head of the orphanage, who became the real monarch as imperial chancellor. At any rate the sense of the responsibilities of his great power had such effect on Michael that he was able to protect the empire against invasion. In him a zealous theologian and philosopher, who courted the society of the Theosophists, once more mounted the Byzantine throne. The Ptochiotropheion, the hall which he built in Constantinople, was a sort of refectory for the devout poor. He succeeded, with the help of large mercenary forces, in repelling the attacks of the Saracens. The traditional recapture of Athens after a revolt against the emperor is ascribed to the northern hero Harald Hardraada, son of Sigurd; but the story springs from the erroneous interpretation of a Runic inscription on the gigantic lion in the arsenal at Venice. Thus the beautiful reflection of Athenian greatness in Icelandic ballads fades away to nothing. But it is certain that Harald fought gloriously in the years 1034 and 1035 against the Saracens on the coast of Africa and in Sicily, and against the Bulgarians on the Balkans. A yearning for his own country drove him back to the north, even when the emperor Constantine did not wish to let him go. Danger seemed threatened by the revolt of the Slavs, whose privileges, dating from Basilius, were no longer respected. A grandson of Samuel, Peter Deleanus, was proclaimed Czar of the Bulgarians, and the Albanian population now joined them, owing to the oppressive burden of imperial taxation. But the brilliant defence of Thessalonica and the treachery of another Bulgarian

prince enabled Michael to crush most remorselessly the ecclesiastical independence of Bulgaria.

The arrogance of Michael V Calaphates (1041–1042) led to the proclamation of the princesses Theodora and Zoë as empresses; and in 1042 Zoë married Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1054). The rebellion of the general Maniaces, who had reconquered Sicily in 1038, suddenly ended by an accident, most fortunate for Constantine, which cost Maniaces his life. A second danger was not lessened by the settlement of Pecheneges within the borders of the empire, since by that expedient the inner connection between the Christianised and the pagan members of that unruly race was not broken down. The appointment of Greeks to Armenian bishoprics, after the incorporation of the second part of the Armenian Empire, provoked the bitterest hatred of the Armenians towards Byzantium, since with this policy a confiscation of the property of the Church was evidently connected. The Armenians, or some of them at least, looked to the Seljuks as their liberators.

This defection became all the more important when the Oriental Church isolated herself and completely broke away from Rome (1054). Pope Leo IX had indeed cherished the hope that the Greek and the German emperors, being, as it were, the two arms of the Church, would annihilate the Normans. But the title, already acquired by the Church of Constantinople, of the "hotbed of heresy" and the contention of the patriarch Michael Cerularius that he was the true ecumenical patriarch, the sovereign over the churches of the whole world, and that the Pope, on the contrary, was only the bishop of Rome, had made bad blood. In spite of the honest efforts of the emperor Constantine to bring about a peace, the Roman legates deposited on the altar of the Church of St. Sophia a bull of excommunication against the patriarch Cerularius; the Synod, then convened, retaliated by condemning the bull and its author. Thus the split between the churches was made irrevocable.

At Constantinople Monomachus then revived the old university for the study of law, philosophy, and philology. The moving spirit of this restoration was the author Michael Psellus. Deeply influenced by the poetry and philosophy of the ancient Greeks, especially by Homer and Plato, he possessed a wonderful mastery of the Greek language. It is hardly astonishing that a supernatural knowledge was attributed to him, when we consider his comprehensive and by no means dryly encyclopædic mastery of the most diverse subjects. He donned the monk's dress and withdrew from the whirl of the capital and its intrigues to the Mysian Olympus, where plane-trees and cypresses lifted their heads towards heaven and the songs of birds sounded from the bushes. Then once again returning from the solitude, which could not appreciate his genius, into the crowded life of the court, he used his pen as a weapon, which he sold. He served under a succession of emperors, and became first minister under Michael VII Parapinaces. This brilliant and unscrupulous scholar-politician is one of the most interesting products of Byzantine development.

After the death of Constantine IX Theodora assumed the government, which she administered wisely with the help of the priest Leo Paraspondylos until the unconciliatory attitude of the patriarch Cerularius led her into violent opposition against the Church. The Armenian dynasty became extinct with this empress, who transmitted the crown to the general Michael VI Stratioticus (1056–1057).

The rich landowner who was then chosen, Isaac I Comnenus (1057–1059), resisted the claims of the Oriental Church, but retired himself into the monastery of Studion and intrusted to his friend Constantine X Ducas (1059–1067) the heavy responsibility of the throne, for which he had no special qualifications, as the result showed. Magyars, Pecheneges, Uzes were pressing forward on every side. The decline of Byzantine prestige was reflected in a scheme for uniting the churches. Gagik of Armenia tore up the deed of union, delivered a successful speech on the Armenian faith which was commended by Constantine, and contrived the murder of the patriarch of Cæsarea as a heretic. Ani, the old royal city of the Armenians, then fell into the hands of the Seljuks, and the Armenian nation was almost broken up.

The empress-widow Eudocia at least attempted, by the choice of the general Romanus IV Diogenes (1067–1071), to effect a military reorganisation. The neglect and delay of the last years was to be retrieved suddenly, and an army formed with worthless soldiers. In doing so Romanus had not only the Turks to withstand, but also the whole body of courtiers and officials, who immediately undermined his position by gibes: "He expects to check the enemy's charge with a shield and to stab him dead with a cloth-yard lance, and every one claps his hands and shouts 'Hurrah!'" The empire, of which educated classes thus ridiculed earnest efforts, was committing suicide. The treachery of Turkish mercenaries, the incompetence and treachery of Byzantine officers, allowed the battle at Mantzikert (cf. p. 33) to end so disastrously for Romanus that he was completely defeated and taken prisoner. He was, it is true, soon released, only to fall on his return into the hands of the cruel John Ducas, who raised his nephew Michael to the purple, and put out the eyes of Romanus. The battle of Mantzikert marks the definite disruption of the possessions of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor. In the wild competition of local pretenders for the imperial crown, fomented by mercenary officers and Turkish machinations, the latter proved the most effective factor in the founding of the Sultanate of Iconium. The prosperous era of Byzantium was then dead and gone.

I. The Pause in the Disintegration during the Reign of the Comneni (1071–1185)

(*a*) *To the Death of Alexius I.* — The feebleness of the emperor Michael VII Ducas Parapinaces (1071–1078), who in his difficulties applied to Pope Gregory VII (1073) for help against the Turks, offering to renew the old union between Rome and the daughter Church of Constantinople, as well as the foolish attitude of the emperor Nicephorus III Botaneiates (1078–1081) towards the Normans, complicated the position of Byzantium, which in any case was sufficiently critical after the battle of Mantzikert. The part played by the Turks on the accession of Nicephorus was significant: troops of the Sultan of Iconium, who had been won over by the adherents of Michael VII, were to fight against him, but the Turkish captain of the mercenaries of Nicephorus persuaded them to retire. Both there and in other places Turks turned the scale by their troops, which they hired out to the emperor and the pseudo-emperors.

Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) succeeded in capturing Constantinople

through the treachery of a German mercenary officer Hanno. A clever diplomatist and consummate general, Alexius would have been able to confront the Turks with great force, had not a new foe arisen in the person of the Norman duke Robert Guiscard, who allied himself with Pope Gregory VII. Calabria had already fallen to the enemy, and the Balkan Peninsula was the prize to which Guiscard's ambition now aspired. Robert conquered large portions of Illyria. Alexius tried by large sacrifices of money to win over the emperor Henry IV, who indeed only turned against Robert's ally, the Pope. Church treasures were sold, and the connection of Venetian with Byzantine interests was adroitly used in a struggle against the common foe. The Venetians, with whom a formal treaty was concluded in May, 1082, brought their ships to replace the Byzantine fleet, which had been ruined by the loss of the provinces in Asia Minor. This treaty guaranteed to them the widest commercial rights, extending to all parts of the empire, — immunity from tolls, harbour dues, and other imposts, and an independent quarter in the port of Pera. This marks the beginning of the Venetian colonial dominion in the East and of the supremacy of Byzantine culture, and above all of Byzantine art, in Venice (cf. p. 62). In return for these trading advantages it was hoped that valuable allies had been secured for the service of the empire by Byzantium. The Venetians had to pledge themselves to fight on behalf of the possessions of their allies; in 1111 the Pisans also were pledged to allow those of their citizens who were settled in Byzantine territory to share in defending the empire against attacks. The aggressive policy of the Normans was ended temporarily by a victory of Alexius and the death of Guiscard (1085), when the most powerful Norman prince Roger adopted a policy of compromise with Byzantium.

Serious dangers threatened the Byzantine Empire from the Pecheneges (1088–1091; p. 85); Alexius had already sustained a defeat from them. He contrived to prevent a second reverse by buying over another Turkish race, the Cumani (also Uzes; Hungarian *Kunok*, Russian *Polovzen*), who first appeared in Russia in 1055, and in 1065 expelled from Atelkuzu the Pecheneges, who had earlier ousted the Hungarians (p. 84). The Cumanian language happens to be known to us through the existence of a Cumanian glossary.

The partition of the Seljuk Empire in 1092 (Vol. III, p. 356) gave Alexius some hope of driving out the Turks, not indeed alone, but with help of the West. The letter, still extant, which the emperor addressed to Count Robert I of Flanders may well contain many inaccuracies of translation, but in any case Alexius asked for help, and, among the many motives which impelled the Crusaders, his appeals may have been effective. In 1095 the petition of Alexius for the protection of the Holy Church was read at the Council of Piacenza; and Pope Urban II (1088–1099) issued a proclamation on November 27, 1095, at Clermont (as we see from the similar letter to the Flemings) for the liberation of the Eastern churches. The question of union was not then mooted — from idealistic enthusiasm on the part of Urban, and from shrewd calculation on that of Alexius.

The learned daughter of the emperor, Anna Comnena, who consulted oral and written sources to write the history of her father (1069–1118), the narrative poem "the Alexiad," relates in her artificial style, based on Thucydides and Polybius, marvellous things about the feeling in Byzantium. Instead of mercenaries who

required to be paid, fiery champions who paid themselves; instead of helpers for the emperor, warriors greedy for their own profit and despisers of treaties — it was with horror that men looked on the migration of Western barbarians, who plundered the Greek islands and coasts. The "more upright" (ἁπλούστεροι) formed the minority among them, while the "poorer," who wished to rob, were in the majority. The personal charm which radiated from Alexius and reflects itself most vividly in the accounts of the Crusader princes, as, for example, in the letter of Count Stephen of Blois, helped to lessen the difficulties; even Godfrey de Bouillon, who at first was extremely hostile to the emperor, could not escape this influence and took the oath of fealty. The mass of the people had openly made Alexius, the "worthless," the "treacherous," responsible for all losses and disasters, and repeated disdainful epigrams, such as Alexius uttered about the struggle of the Turks and Franks, "as important as if two dogs were biting each other."

The Norman Bohemund, son of Robert Guiscard, had at first submitted to the emperor a plan for making himself an independent sovereign, but in the end he took the oath of fealty. After the conquest of Antioch he wished to keep this most important town in his own hands. He could only do this if he appealed for help to the authority of the papacy against the heretics of Byzantium. Urban II, however, in the councils of Bari and Rome, advocated the reconciliation of the churches. His successor Paschal II (1099–1118) first attempted by his papal legate to support Bohemund, who himself came to Europe in order to make capital out of the current prejudice against the Greeks and to divert the dangerous attacks of the Byzantine emperor on Antioch by a crusade of Europe against Byzantium. But he could not raise the mighty storm which, in his own words, was necessary in order to uproot the lofty oak, although he preached from the pulpit in Chartres that the crusaders against Byzantium would obtain the richest towns, and often forced the conviction on minds irritated against the emperor that a successful crusade could only begin with the war against Byzantium. Owing to the energy of the Comneni a full century was still to elapse before these ideas were matured. In the peace of 1107–1108, which followed on a severe defeat near Durazzo, Bohemund was forced to renew the oath of fealty for his sadly diminished principality of Antioch, which was to become again Greek, — ecclesiastically so at once, and politically after Bohemund's death (1111). On the other hand the promise of the subjection of the Crusaders by Alexius had less importance. The severe defeat of the papacy in 1111 (Vol. VI) induced Alexius then to offer the papacy protection and union in return for the imperial Roman crown, which offer Paschal II declared possible under the proviso that Alexius subjected himself (the members to the head) and abandoned his obduracy.

(*b*) *The Extent and Population of the Empire.* — In 1100 the East Roman Empire embraced the Balkan Peninsula, including Bulgaria, as far as the Danube. Servia, Bosnia, and Croatia had been lost. The southern Crimea was subject to Byzantium; the southern coast of the Black Sea, with Trebizond, was only taken from Gregory, prince of Georgia, in 1107, and he was enfeoffed with it in 1108. The islands of the Ægean Sea, Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus were Byzantine. This sovereignty was, it must be acknowledged, only nominal in many places. A rebellion caused by the pressure of taxation still surged in Crete and Cyprus; in

Rhodes the pirates were the virtual rulers. The charter of the monastery of Christodulus on Patmos, dating from April, 1088, shows how that island was a wilderness, overgrown with thorns and treeless, without any buildings except a miserable chapel inside an ancient temple. Even this deserted rock was incessantly harassed by attacks of Turks and Christian pirates, who had driven St. Christodule from Mount Leros in the vicinity of Halicarnassus to Cos, and finally to Patmos. The old naval provinces of Asia Minor, from which the fleet was recruited, had fallen into the hands of the Turks as far as the Sea of Marmora. The Turk Tzachas, formerly in the Greek service, had with the title of emperor ruled from Smyrna not merely over the surrounding country, but also over Chios, Samos, and the greater part of Lesbos, which only became once more Byzantine after 1092. Under such conditions we must consider it merely a faint echo of the times of greatness (cf. the map "Western Asia at the Time of the Caliphs" on p. 332 of Vol. III), if the phrase "the fleet is the glory of Romania" is still heard.

The population was a motley mixture. Traders flocked together from every quarter of the world, not merely into the capital, but to the October fair at Thessalonica and to Halmyrus. The great traveller, the Jew Benjamin of Tudela († 1173), testifies to this state of things at Byzantium under Manuel: "merchants from Bagdad, Mesopotamia, Media, Persia, Egypt, Palestine, Russia, Hungary, the country of the Pecheneges, Italy, and Spain." The Greek population had then revived, and lived in crowded villages and towns. Arcadia, Lacedæmon, Astypalaia, Achrida, Joannina, Castoria, Larissa, Platamuna, Cytros, Dyrrhachium, Chimara, Buthroton, Corcyra, are mentioned as Greek towns by the Arab Edrisi, who wrote at the commission of Roger II. On the western slopes of Parnon, between the modern towns of Lenidi (*ναὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου Λεωνίδου*, deed of 1292) and Hagios Andreas lived the Tsakons, descendants of the old Laconians (*ἐξ Ἀκωνίας*?); it was here that the population with its ancient names had retained the greatest purity.

Slavonic immigrations had almost submerged the old Greek race. Jewish colonists, Albanians, and Wallachians pushed their way into the Greek peninsula. A province of Thessaly was called Great Wallachia, and we find Wallachians in the army. The cities of western Italy began slowly to plant their colonies in the crevices of this tottering empire. The disintegrating force of this luxuriant foreign growth must not be underestimated when we consider the progress of Byzantine decay. It is not the profit-making powers of trade that we must consider, but that of the colonial system, which ventured to work in the sinking Byzantine Empire with its own surplus of capital and surplus of hands. The system of forced labour, which employed the former Byzantine serfs as if they were full slaves, created for the Italian communities those riches which we should never comprehend as a result of the Levant trade alone.

(*c*) *Dreams of Empire down to the Death of Andronicus* (*1185*).—John II Comnenus (1118–1143), also called John the Handsome, averted by his moderation the ambitious efforts of his sister Anna (cf. p. 92) to place on the throne her husband Nicephorus Bryennius the younger; he also fought with success against the Pecheneges (1122), Servians (1123), and Hungarians, and in Asia against the Seljuks (1126–1137) and Armenians (1137). The treaty of 1108 was

renewed, in 1137, with Bohemund I, successor of Raimund of Poitou,[1] on the terms that Antioch should be surrendered to the Greek throne, but that a territory on Turkish soil, Haleb and the petty towns on the upper Orontes (still, however, to be conquered), should be ceded to Raimund as a hereditary fief. The action of the emperor against Antioch was sharply censured by Pope Innocent II in the bull of 1138; the Latins were ordered to withdraw from his company and his service. The Byzantine clergy then felt the widening of the gulf which separated them from the papacy. "The Pope is Emperor and no Pope," said a Greek who was staying at Monte Cassino; and the Archbishop of Thessalonica bluntly rejected the claim of Rome "to send her orders thus from on high," since the Greeks, "to whom the knowledge of science, the learning of their masters, and the brilliant intellects of Hellenism were useless," thus became slaves. Gentle and wise, never enforcing a death penalty, thrifty, since he curtailed the luxury of the court and left behind him a well-filled treasury, John enhanced the glory of the empire and extended its frontiers. Only Italy was definitely given up; Naples, the last possession of Byzantium on Italian soil, became Norman in 1138. The attempt to withdraw from the iron grip of Venice proved a failure, since the latter proceeded to ravage the islands.

The ideas of West European chivalry united with Byzantine culture and statesmanship in the person of the fourth son of the emperor John, Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180). We cannot indeed appeal to the testimony of the ever laudatory hack-poet Theodoros Prodromos, who wrote witty and pleasing verse on everything which could bring money to his purse; but we have better authorities in the historians Cinnamus (a soldier skilful in his profession) and Nicetas Acominatus, who continued the work of Anna Comnena. The rash daring with which the emperor, escorted by two faithful followers, made his way through a dense Turkish army, charged alone with the standard against the Hungarian ranks, and after the crossing of the Save did not actually burn his boats but sent them back; his return with four Turks bound to his saddle-bow; his acceptance of a challenge to single combats in honour of his wife; and the skill with which, in the lists at Antioch, he hurled two Latin knights out of their saddles,—all this brought him nearer to the Western chivalry. He seemed to be an Occidental among the Greeks. And in admirable harmony with the whole picture is his German wife, Bertha of Sulzbach, sister-in-law of Conrad III, who, in defiance of the stately etiquette of the Byzantine senate and court, gave expression to her joyful admiration of her heroic husband. Even the superstitious liking for astrology, which the emperor defended in a treatise of his own composition, forms a natural pendant to this. Natives of the West received high posts in the army and the government. The great Western shield and the long lances were now introduced into Byzantium.

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[1] Robert Guiscard of Apulia, † 1085
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Bohemund of Antioch (after 1098), † March 7, 1111
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Bohemund II, * 1108, † Febr. 1130
= Elise, d. of Baldwin II of Jerusalem, † c. 1136
|
Constantia
1136 = Raimund I of Poitou, son of William of Aquitaine, † June 29, 1149
|
Bohemund III, † 1201

The way seemed paved for a reconciliation between East and West, and at this price the Roman and Greek Churches, according to Manuel's view, might be united under a Roman primate. Pope Alexander III lent a willing ear to these proposals, so long as he found himself in conflict with Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1161). Then the cardinal-presbyter William of Pavia spoke quite in the Byzantine spirit of the oppression which the tyranny of the barbarians had brought on the Church since the name of emperor had been arrogated by them. In this sense the sanguine spirit of Manuel was understood, when he wished in the year 1175 to win the co-operation of the West by a new crusade. But the Greek clergy were quite opposed to the union, and the parallel of the wandering sheep was indignantly repudiated by the Greek Church with the remark that it had not added anything to the creed (cf. p. 80). The clouds in the West lowered threateningly. Barbarossa at the end of 1177 wrote to the emperor Manuel that not merely the Roman *imperium*, but also the Greek Empire, must be at his beck and nod and administered under his suzerainty. In the theory of the two swords there was no room for a Greek empire; Frederick even offered his services as an arbiter in Greek ecclesiastical disputes. Thus in the West, twenty-seven years before the annihilation of the Greek Empire, political doctrines were started which simply denied the existence of the Greek imperial crown.

It was of little importance, then, in view of the failure to win over the Curia and to conduct successfully the diplomatic war against the Western empire, that Manuel had his own party in Rome, Venice, Dalmatia, and Hungary, or that he hoped to gain the crusading States by great undertakings on their behalf, and the good-will of the Latins generally by trade concessions, or the education of Ragusan nobles at the cost of the State. The calamitous defeat near the sources of the Mæander, at Myriocephalon, 1176, which Manuel sustained at the hands of Izz ed-dîn Kilij-Arslan (1156–1193; Vol. III, p. 372), was, it is true, quickly retrieved by two great victories, but the intense energy of Manuel was broken. The ascendancy of Barbarossa and his own defeat show that his life-work as a statesman and a soldier had not been successful.

Under Alexius II (1180–1183), a minor for whom his mother Maria of Antioch governed, the smouldering hatred of the Greeks for the Latins burst into flame. The unscrupulous exactions of labour-service and money imposed by the Occidentals were terribly revenged on May 2, 1182. Andronicus (I) Comnenus, the Alcibiades of the Middle Byzantine Empire, stirred up this rebellion and, as a liberator, occupied the highest place in the empire in 1183, first as co-regent, and after the murder of Alexius (1184) as sole ruler. A favourite with women, of infatuating personal charm, an orator whose flood of eloquence no hearer could resist, an admirable general, a distinguished administrator of the empire, whose great landowners and feudal nobility he remorselessly attacked, he was the most exemplary ruler, and the most unscrupulous of men in his private life. Once more the administration was to be altered, bureaucracy terminated, and the refractory grandees crushed with iron strength and condemned for high treason. But when the avenging massacre of the Latins at Thessalonica (August 24, 1185) and the restriction of the games exasperated the people, Isaac Angelus, who had been spared during the proscription, was chosen emperor on September 12, 1185, after turbulent meetings of the electors. Thus ended the era of peace in which "every man sat quietly under the shade of his own vine and fig-tree," in which

canals and aqueducts had been planned, taxes lessened, and the population of the empire amazingly augmented. The scenes after the fall of Andronicus, when the mob robbed and pillaged in the palace, the arsenal, and the church, as if in an enemy's country, throw a lurid light on the condition of the capital.

M. The Decline and Fall of the Empire under the House of Angelus (1185–1204)

The reigns of Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195) and his brother Alexius III (1195–1203) mark the complete decline of the empire. The mob and the capital play the chief rôle. The weakness of the government, which could no longer ward off plundering inroads, was apparent to all its subjects. The collection of taxes on the marriage of Isaac II weighed especially heavily on the Bulgarians and Wallachians. Peter and John Asên, two brothers of the old stock of the Bulgarian czars, who had grown up among the Wallachians and were familiar with their language and beloved by the people, took advantage of political discontent and religious enthusiasm to stir up revolt; Peter became Czar of the Bulgarians and Greeks (1185). The new empire was supported by the Servian prince Nemanja. The alliance with Frederick I Barbarossa did not indeed lead, as had been hoped, to a recognition of the imperial style, and the Servian king Stephen II Nemanja was defeated by Isaac in 1194, while John was murdered in 1196 and his brother Peter in 1197; but nevertheless Calojan (1197–1207) was able to rule over a realm which extended from Belgrade to the lower Maritza and Agathopolis, from the mouths of the Danube to the Strymon and the upper Vardar.

The imperial army of Isaac, whose commander Alexius Branas proclaimed himself emperor, was defeated by Conrad of Montferrat, with a force composed of Franks, Varangians, Turkish and Georgian merchants. The non-Greeks already decided the destinies of Byzantium. The army, which already was mostly non-Greek, was strengthened by colonists and Hungarian mercenaries abroad. The defeat of Adrianople, as well as the crusade of the emperor Barbarossa, showed the complete feebleness of the generals and the army. Of the former dominions of the empire Macedonia and Thrace were in the possession of the Bulgarians. Corfu,[1] Cephallenia, Zacynthus were held by Margaritone of Brindisi, who was first an admiral of Tancred's, then a private on his own account. A tribute of fifty and later of fifteen hundredweights of gold was asked by the Emperor Henry VI for the territory from Dyrrhachium to Thessalonica. The fabric of the empire was cracking in every joint. Archons rose up in particular towns and districts and exercised a completely independent sovereignty. Where imperial officials, "privileged pirates," still governed or appeared, they only extorted taxes for Byzantium, for themselves, and for a retinue of rapacious underlings, so that — as in the period of the *taille* under Louis XIV — the inhabitants preferred to leave the fields uncultivated and fled.

Archbishop Michael Acominatus of Athens, a native of Asia Minor, unfolds a thrilling picture of that age of misery. He gallantly defended the Acropolis against the Archon Leo Sgurus of Nauplia and pointed out the privileges of his residence, which no one now respected. Although Athens still retained a reflection

[1] From *κορυφός* instead of *κορυφή* = rocks; Corifus in Liutprand as early as 968.

of her renown, so that the king of Georgia sent there yearly twenty youths for education (amongst them the Georgian poet Lota Rustavell), and although the Englishman John of Basingstoke, later archdeacon of Leicester, praises his ever-to-be-remembered Athenian instructress Constantina as a model of learning, yet the pupils of this Greek culture, of which Acominatus — if we believe his lament over his rustication in Athens — detected little trace, are for the most part aliens.

Alexius III in 1195 ordered his brother Isaac to be blinded and Isaac's son Alexius to be imprisoned. The fear he entertained of his brother-in-law, Philip of Suabia,[1] is shown by the treaty of 1198 with Venice, by the terms of which the Venetians were forced to pledge themselves to protect Byzantium even against the German king. The rights of the Venetian consul (Bagioulos = Bailo; thus in Theodore Lascaris) were then fixed. As he exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Venetians, we may date from this treaty the origin of consular jurisdiction. Alexius III was, notwithstanding, foolish enough to infringe the treaty on his side. Continual demands for tolls were made of the Venetians, and alliances with Pisa and Genoa formed a leading feature of Byzantine policy.

The young Alexius (IV) fled by way of Rome to the court of Philip, who then sent envoys to Venice, where princes were already collected in considerable numbers for the Fourth Crusade. The prospect of reward, the consciousness of supporting the legitimate heir, and hope of ecclesiastical union induced every one to vote that Alexius, who promised military support to the crusade, together with provisions and the expenses of the fleet, should be raised to the throne. The Venetians made use of the crusading army to effect the capture of Zara. They also received from the emperor elect the guarantee of a trade monopoly. Thus it was proposed that outstanding disputes should be definitely settled by installing a friendly emperor. Byzantium fell on July 17, 1203. Alexius III fled, and Alexius IV was placed by the Latins at the side of his father Isaac, who was now released from prison. Disputes partly between the Latins and Mohammedans on account of the mosque which Isaac had built for the latter, partly between the mob and the colonists, formed the prelude to the vast conflagration which devastated Constantinople from the 21st to the 24th of August. But Alexius IV could hardly meet his financial obligations, much less dissuade the Greeks from their hatred of the Latins. For him also the day came when the demands which were presented to him nettled his pride, and the words of Enrico Dandolo the Doge, "Shameful wretch, from the mire we raised you: into the mire we shall push you back again!" cast a terrible light on his position.

The national reaction brought to the front Alexius V Murzuphlus (the Stammerer), who ordered Alexius IV to be strangled in his dungeon, and expressly declared his readiness to die rather than support the expedition against the Holy Land or promote the promised union of the churches. Then the Occidentals

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[1] Andronicus Angelus

Isaac II Angelus, to 1204 = Margareta of Hungary — Alexius III

Alexius IV, † 1204 — Irene, † 27 Aug. 1208, 1197 = Philip of Suabia — Manuel — Anna = Theodore Lascaris, † 1222 — Irene = Alexius Palaiologos

decided on the partition of the empire; three-quarters of the booty fell to the Venetians, one-quarter to the Franks. The Venetians retained their old commercial privileges. Each party appointed six electors for the election of the emperor, who received a quarter of the empire. The other parts, as already agreed, fell to the Venetians and the Franks. The Church of St. Sophia and the election of the patriarch were given to the nation, to which the emperor did not belong. The division of the fiefs and organisation of the feudal system rested with a council of twelve members. The capture of the city was proposed for another year, and the consent of the Pope was obtained. On April 12, 1203, some towers were stormed by the crews of two ships; a city gate was burst open by Peter of Amiens, and while Byzantium was burning the emperor fled, having vainly called on his citizens to resist. Even Theodore Lascaris, newly elected in St. Sophia, was forced to escape across the Bosphorus. Unparalleled horrors of devastation, pillage, murder, and rape raged through the streets. The foreign colonists took the bitterest revenge. Two thousand citizens fell, and the terrible scene was only ended by the eclipse of the moon on April 16. Never before can so many monuments of classical antiquity have been destroyed as then. All the statues of bronze in the Hippodrome were melted down and coined into money. There perished then the works of art in the Hippodrome (p. 40), also the colossal statue of Hera of Samos, the obelisk of brass with the female figure turning at the slightest breath of wind, Bellerophon with Pegasus, the eagle and the snake, the sphinx, river-horse and crocodile, the charioteers, Paris handing the apple to Aphrodite. Only the splendid horses of Lysippus were rescued by the Doge Enrico Dandolo and conveyed to Venice.

N. Byzantine Influences on the West and North from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century

Byzantine culture, especially art, exercised in this as in the preceding period (cf. pp. 55–63) a widespread influence on the West. Greek artists are frequently mentioned in our authorities as transmitting this influence to the West. It is obvious that the East still held an intellectual sway over Illyria and Dalmatia, that ancient debatable land of Western and Eastern civilization. Ragusa supplies a striking proof of this in Greek surnames and expressions (*δρυμὼν, drmun* = fenced in coppice, *προίκιου, prochivium* = dowry, *ἐκταγιατικά, sportula ectagi*). The great field, then, for Byzantine influences is naturally Italy. It is true that we have no traditional information about the founding of the monastery at Grottaferrata by Greek monks, or of that of the abbey of San Silvestro e Martirio at Orvieto. We can prove by inscriptions that Greek painters (Theophylactus 959, Eustathius 1020) worked at the frescoes of Carpignano at Otranto (one delicately executed and one rather rough figure of Christ). If we disregard the vague tradition which speaks of architects being summoned from Constantinople to Venice by the Doge Pietro II Orseolo in the year 1000, in order to remodel San Marco, we find in Leo of Ostia a quite trustworthy account of the employment of Byzantine artists by Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino in 1066. Apparently the walls of the apse and the vestibule of the basilica were ornamented with mosaics, and the floor with tessellated marble, by Byzantine artists; in fact, we can prove that a complete

school of arts and crafts was set up by Desiderius under the influence of Byzantium. According to the chronicle of the monk Amatus of Monte Cassino Desiderius also called in Arab artists from Alexandria. We cannot be surprised that Byzantine costumes were retained in the decorations of the Church of Sant' Angelo in Formis, which Desiderius built. The Byzantine influences in the baptistery of Parma certainly go back to the twelfth century. Greek painters (for example, a certain Kalojohannes) are mentioned in the year 1143 as working in the neighbourhood of Padua. In connection with the cathedral at Pisa the Greek architect Buschetos may be named, and to him may be referred the cruciform shape, the unusual length of the transepts, and the polychrome decoration of the exterior. The transmission of funds for the completion of the cathedral is expressly mentioned by the emperor Alexius I in the year 1099. The direct export of works of art from Byzantium to Italy is proved by a series of bronze church gates, on the bronze plates of which designs are executed in low relief overlaid with silver. Such gates we find in the Church of St. Paul outside Rome, cast in 1070 by Stauracius, others by unknown founders for Amalfi, Monte Cassino, Sant' Angelo in Formis, and San Michele on Mount Gargano, San Salvatore at Atrani near Amalfi, at Salerno, and in the Church of St. Mark at Venice.

Byzantium created two complete provinces of art on Italian soil. This is attested not so much by our literary authorities as by the works themselves. Of these provinces, Venice was one; Southern Italy and Sicily formed the other. The first summons of Greek mosaic artists to Venice can be proved to have been given in 1153 to Marcus Indriomeni. But the Church of St. Mark, altered from a basilica into a domed building on the model of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the whole Venetian style of church architecture with its Byzantine splendour of gold and marble, and the Doge's palace with its bright upper walls, show us how Byzantium has supplied here the essential forms of Venetian art, and how these were gracefully combined with Gothic and Arabic models. In the case of Sicily, with its large Greek population, its Greek liturgy, its Greek law (for example, the strong influence of the Ekloge of Leo and Constantine), and the Greek Chancery of its Norman kings, it is of course obvious that there existed countless ties of union with Byzantium. The permanent residence of Byzantine artists in Messina is attested by edicts of the archbishops of Messina. Numerous silk-weavers from Corinth, Thebes, and Athens were brought to Palermo in 1154 by King Roger of Sicily, in order that the "celebrated art" might spread to the West. We may assume bronze workers from Byzantium for the gates of the Capella palatina, and can prove their employment on the great bell of the cathedral (Bion 1136). The following instances show the direct influence of Oriental art: the churches of Palermo (San Cataldo, La Martorana, San Giovanni egli Eremiti), Santa Trinità di Delia, and in southern Italy Bari, Trani, Canosa, Siponto; the mosaics of Celafù, Palermo, Monreale, the splendid carving on the pillars of the cloisters of Monreale, and those of Atrani, Bari, Trani, and Canosa.

Greek merchants and artists, Greek monks, Greek envoys, and Greek princesses travelled along the Danube, on the old Byzantine trade route. The merchants brought Greek textiles, ivory carvings, goldsmith's work, book bindings, and enamels. Greek painters and architects evinced proofs of old artistic skill; Greek envoys negotiated family alliances, such as the marriage of the Byzantine Theophano with Otto II (972); and an elaborate court ceremonial was introduced by

the Greek princess and her suite. As before (cf. p. 63), artistic woven fabrics were sent in quantities from Byzantium to the West. Amongst them we may mention in the first place the purple-violet silk adorned with lions couchant and pomegranate-laden branches, which may be seen in the shrine of St. Anno at Siegburg. This was manufactured in the State workshops of Byzantium between 921 and 931, "under the rule of Romanus and Christophorus, the most Christian lords." We know further of the purple-red silken stuff with lions placed face to face and one above the other in their natural colours, woven under Constantine VIII and Basilius II between the years 976 and 1025, which is now in the Industrial Museum at Düsseldorf. Then there is the damask-silk with the representation of a fight between a griffin and an elephant in the monastery of St. Waldburg near Eichstädt; the yellow damask-silk from the chasuble of St. Willigis, now in St. Stephen's Church at Mainz; the tapestry with the rosettes in the shrine of Lambertus at Liège; the bright-green satin-silk with the tree of life and the eagles from the chasuble of St. Gerhard (933–1022) at Hildesheim. The abbot Rothing of Fulda in the eleventh century ordered a fabric to be woven in the Greek style.

The delicate ivory carvings of Byzantine artists were still esteemed in the West. The diptychs in the Green Vault at Dresden and at Hanover, the reliquary of the cross at Cortona, the triptych of Harbaville in the Louvre, the covers of the gospel-books belonging to Count Stroganov and the Barberini Palace, show the appreciation of the West for Byzantine productions. German masters had already imitated Byzantine models, as is shown by the ivory carvings of the Echternach book of gospels with the Byzantine Christ (dating from the years 983–991, intended for the court of Theophano; now in the museum at Gotha), with which the delicately executed border designs of a Byzantine goldsmith are in striking contrast. Byzantine goldsmiths' work influenced the gold ring of Lorsch. Abbot Salmann of Lorsch (972–998), an abbey the façade of which bears a surprising resemblance to that of the Doge's palace at Venice and the Tekfur-Serai in Constantinople, introduced book bindings of Byzantine origin. Byzantine enamel work was well known and popular, as is shown by a description of the process of smelting and of glass mosaic in the book of the monk Theophilus (Rogkerus von Helmarshaufen ?), who even made a portable altar with a Greek inscription (in the cathedral treasury at Paderborn). The introduction of works of art thus afforded the opportunity for introducing a new style of art. First of all by Greek monks (at Burscheid, Hildesheim, Reichenau). It is true that the attempt of a Greek portrait-painter to paint Hedwig, the daughter of Henry I of Saxony, failed owing to the endeavours of the princess to present as ugly an appearance as she could, and thus to render her marriage with Prince Constantine impossible.

Painting in general first influenced the West through the medium of Byzantine illumination. This in some essential principles furnished a model for the Rhenish school of painters (Trèves, Reichenau), which in other respects must be considered as under the influence of early Christian and Syro-Egyptian art (cf. the Egbert Psalter of Trèves about 980, in which Greek models are followed in colouring and arrangement of figures). In the eleventh century, on the contrary, Regensburg, so far as the style of colour and form in dress and figure was concerned, had become a stronghold of Byzantinism, exhibiting everywhere Oriental patterns, in the Sacrament-book of Henry II, in the Book of Scriptural Extracts in the Munich library, and in the Vota-Evangeliarium of Niedermünster with its

flat style and Byzantine foliage. Salzburg then made similar copies, as the custodian Berthold shows in his manuscript account of the foundation of St. Peter's. The Thuringian and Saxon school of painting undertook to develop Oriental motifs. The illuminated manuscript of the abbess Herrad of Landsperg shows Byzantine types in the Nativity, the Annunciation, and other scenes. The miniatures of the Gospel-book at Goslar and of the Halberstadt Missal, and the Byzantinised frescoes in the churches at Newerk and Frankenberg, date from the period subsequent to the Latin sack of Constantinople, when art treasures in profusion were disseminated over the West. Westphalia (Soest) must have become a focus of such influence, which expressed itself in the course of the century in pictures (wall paintings in the Church of Maria zur Höhe; panel picture in the Berlin Museum) and Antipendia (museum at Münster). The genealogical tree of Christ from the root of Jesse, Christ as judge of the world, the prophets and patriarchs on the wooden ceiling of the central nave of St. Andrew's Church at Hildesheim, are deeply imbued with the Byzantine spirit.

We may assume that Italy early adopted the Byzantine technique of painting, and, by the thirteenth century, the Byzantine tradition of landscape drawing. Eastern influence is far less conspicuous in the domain of architecture, to the earlier period of which seems to belong the choir chapel of Lorsch, which we have already mentioned. The chapel of St. Bartholomew's Church at Paderborn was certainly built under Bishop Meinwerk (1009–1036) by Greeks. We see in the art of the Ruthenians — for instance, in the Franciscan church of Halicz — how Byzantine ideas contended on the soil of modern Austria-Hungary with Western tendencies.

Influences of Oriental sculpture can be seen in Quedlinburg, Bamberg, Strassburg, and Rheims. Links of connection can be traced between Byzantium and Southern France, for example, at Toulouse (sculptures on the portal of St. Sernin) and Vézelay. The relations of Byzantine with Spanish art are obscure, notwithstanding the investigations of Lamperez. The tomb of Princess Constantina, a daughter of John III Vatatzes, which has been described by G. Schlumberger, belongs to a later era.

An imperishable impression was made upon those natives of the West who visited the enchanted city in the East, and saw the splendour of its churches and palaces, by the court ceremonial, which bound even the emperor in its chains. Just as at an earlier period the imperial dress (the crown with the cross, and the coronation shoes), so now the court ceremonial of the West, had been in many ways (especially after the marriage of Otto II with Theophano) affected by Byzantine institutions. The customs of the East were copied both in earnest and in jest; court dwarfs even appeared in the West, such as are proved to have existed at the time of the murder of Nicephorus Phocas in the tenth century, and of Constantine Manasses in the twelfth. There is, however, room to doubt the statement, confidently as it is made, that changes were produced in Western strategy owing to the force of Byzantine example. It is true the triple-attack theory, which the emperor Leo's "Tactica" advised, was subsequently adopted for the French and German battle array; and for the two flank divisions, a formation first demonstrable under Henry IV at Nägelstädt in 1075, an Eastern model is equally presupposed. But the alleged observance of this rule by mercenary commanders (Sartius ?) in the case of Italy in 940 must be compared with a real appli-

cation of it in the engagements of 921 and 990 by France, and in those of 1075, 1106, 1128, and 1167 by Germany, besides which the fact of the appearance of the triple-attack system in 843 forbids us to look for its source in the "Tactica," supposing that this treatise is the work of Leo VI (cf. p. 68).

In conclusion, we may point out how the enlightenment of Byzantium spreads over the Slavonic world (cf. p. 77) as far as the Finno-Ugrian races and the Carelians and Mordwines. On the other side, Byzantine suggestions reached Moravia and Bohemia (between Neuhof and Rabstein), where the stone-masons make crosses whose arms taper from the centre to the ends.

O. The Latin Empire (1204–1261)

(*a*) *The Divisions of Empire.* — The residence of Alexius V was at Tzurulon; farther to the west was the seat of the sovereignty of Alexius III at Mosynopolis. Leo Sgurus (cf. p. 97) had pressed on to Thessaly. The cousin of Alexius III was lord of the despotic monarchy of Epirus from Naupactus to Dyrrhachium, Cephallenia, Zante, Ithaca, Santa Maura, Baxo. In Asia the grandson of Andronicus I, Alexius Comnenus, with the help of his brother David and Queen Thamar of Georgia, had founded the empire of Trebizond, which embraced the coast district of Pontus and Paphlagonia and the Crimea. The Venetians received a strip of country from Adrianople to the Propontis, the coast from Perinthus to Sestos, the islands of the Ægean Sea with Crete, a large portion of Morea with the harbours of Modona and Patras, the coast from the Ionian islands to Dyrrhachium. The *Podestá* (*despotes*) of the Venetian colony in Constantinople became an imperial dignitary and exercised the rights of a sovereign. For the kingdom of Thessalonica, westward of Nestus, King Bonifacio had to fight against Leo Sgurus and his ally Alexius III. He easily succeeded in the case of Athens and Thebes (both intrusted to Otto de la Roche), but in the case of the Peloponnese, only with the help of Godfrey of Villehardouin and William of Champlitte. The successes of the emperor Baldwin's brother Henry, the most pleasing figure among the Latins, and of Louis of Blois against Lascaris are important, until, finally, the boundless hatred of the Greeks for the Latins cemented an alliance with the Czar Joannisza of Bulgaria. The emperor Baldwin was taken prisoner in the battle of Adrianople (April 15, 1205). Fire and sword then did their work. The prisoners were sacrificed to the gods, towns like Philippopolis were levelled to the ground. Then Henry, the new vice-regent of the empire, after August 20, 1206, styled emperor, tried to use the ill-will of the Greeks toward the Bulgarians to effect a peace between Greeks and Latins. Theodore Vranas, a friend to the Latins, became lord of Adrianople and Didymoteichos. The most gifted of the "Romans," the hope of the Greek nobility and clergy which had assembled in Nicæa, Theodore Lascaris, crowned emperor in 1206, was now the mark of friend and foe. Since he was threatened on the one side by David Comnenus, who in the summer of 1206 had become a vassal of the Latin emperor, and on the other hand by the Seljuk Sultan Ghayâth ed-dîn Kai Khusrau of Iconium, who had received Alexius III, he had not shrunk from calling in the help of the Bulgarian scourge of the Latins. After the murder of Joannisza before Thessalonica (October 9, 1207) his empire split up (Boril or Boris II in Trnowo, Strêz in Prosek, and Slav or Esklas in Melenicon).

May 2, 1210, saw the parliament of Greece meet in the valley of Ravennika near Zeitun or Lamia. The following was the result of the arrangement and confirmation of the territories. The French were left as the virtual possessors of Greece proper; the prince of the whole of Achæa was William of Champlitte († 1209). The twelve lords of Morea (*μορέα* = mulberry-tree, the land of mulberries, primarily applied to Elis than to the whole peninsula) are thorough Frenchmen: de Bruyères in Carytena, de Rosières in Acova, Aleman in Patras, Valaincourt in Veligosti, Nivelet in Gheraki, Tournay in Calavryta, Lille of Charpigny in Vostitza, Tremouille in Chalandritza, Neuilly in Passava ("Passavant," from the war cry), William in Nikli, Luke in Gritzena, Godfrey of Villehardouin in Misithra.

Athens and Thebes are under Saint Omer and Otto de la Roche; Amphissa is in the possession of the Stromoncourts. The Lombards had occupied Macedonia and Thessaly with Eubœa, where the dalle Carceri had settled; the Pallavicini resided in Bodonitza in Thermopylæ; on the other hand, Venice had chosen the islands for herself, and possessed a colony and the patriarchate in Constantinople. The Flemings, lastly, were in possession of the capital and the empire. In the capital, under the first emperor Baldwin, the Greek element had been momentarily thrust into the background, while his statesmanlike brother Henry clearly saw the necessity of bringing Byzantine into close touch with the government.

The island of Cerigo was under the Venieri, Cerigotto under the Viari, Tinos and Miconos under the Ghisi, Andros under the Dandoli, Zia (Ceos) and Serfene (Seriphos) under the Giustiniani, Michieli, Ghisi; under the Sanudi were Delos, Gyaros, Syra, Thermia (Cythnos), Sifanto (Siphnos), Polycandro (Pholegandros), Nio (Annea), Naxos, Paros, Milos, Cimolos, Antiparos. Marco Sanudo, the judge of the Venetian colony, had conquered seventeen islands and planned to make Naxos the seat of the government, which extended over the "Duchy of the Dodecanesos." On Santorin (*Sancti Herini* in the year 1207 in Enrico Dandolo, derivation from St. Irene, Thera) and Therasia the Barozzi ruled; on Namphio (Anaphe), the Foscoli; on Scyros, Sciathus, Chelidromi, Scopelos, Amorgos, the Ghisi; on Negroponte (*στὸν Ἐυριπον*), the dalle Carceri, Peccorari, and the Verona; on Lemnos, the Navigajosi; on Nicaria (Icaria), the Beazzani; the Quirini on Stampali (Astypalaia); on Scarpanto (Carpathos), Nisyros, Piscopia, and Calchi, the Gavalas. The result follows that the Greek Empire had now only kept Lesbos for itself, and the empire of Romania possessed only Chios and Samos.

(*b*) *The Mixture of Civilizations.* — The stratum of Frankish knights and Italian colonists was imposed upon the Greek, Slavonic, and Armenian settlers of the Balkan Peninsula. It was a strange mixture of nationalities, of social and political institutions. A vivid picture of this absorption of two foreign civilizations is presented to us by the chronicle of the Morea, composed in its most ancient form in the Greek vernacular after 1300. The writer of the chronicle was certainly a true Frank, no half-Frank or Gasmule,[1] since otherwise he would have had Greek sympathies. No modern writer has more thoroughly recognised the spirit of this racial mixture than Goethe in the third act of the second part of "Faust," where in the palace of Faust and Helena he is describing Misithra. The

[1] Son of a Frank by a Greek wife, probably Basmule, from the corresponding roots *βας* [cf. bastard = fils de bas] and *μοῦλος*, mulatto, mulâtre.

THE RUINS OF MISTRA IN LACONIA

(From photographs by Rohrer, Athens)

Greek spirit and the Frankish spirit were indeed long opposed one to the other. There were at first but isolated instances of mixed marriages; but slowly and surely the Frankish feudal system with all its expressions forced its way into the Greek life and language. We then find: ὁμάντζο = hommage, παρλαμᾶ = parlement (also βουλή or συντυχία), λίζιος = lige (liege), κόντος = comte (count), ἡ μπαρουνία = baronie, πρεσαντίζω = présentir, ρεβεστίζω = revestir, παραοφρίζω = paroffrir, κομεντούρης = commendore, ριτζίστρο = régistre, κοντόσταυλος = conte stabulum. The court life (κούρτη) of the Frankish principalities was magnificently developed. Godfrey II of Villehardouin was always followed by eighty knights with golden spurs; eight hundred of the flower of the chivalry of Western Europe lived at the court of William II of Villehardouin. Twelve families were lords over the Greek and Slavonic peasants in Morea. The πάροικοι, serfs, became *parigi*, *rustici*, who were forced to perform labour service on the *latifundia* of the Frankish knights. Through the strict enforcement of Frankish feudalism the last relics of a free peasantry disappeared from Greece.

Frankish castles rose up on the spurs of mountain ranges and on hills which fell away precipitously on every side. Misithra first of all, built on an outlying ridge of Taygetus with an octagonal wall of circumvallation, and guarded by strong towers;[1] then Acova in North Arcadia, on a hill 1,914 feet high, which commands the valley of the Alpheus, and with it the high road of the peninsula of Carytena; and lastly the most complete medieval fortress, Gritzena, between Ira and Ithome, vast battlemented lines of walls, behind which rise round and pointed towers. Churches were erected in a peculiar early Gothic style. We may instance Sancta Sophia in Andravida, and Isova above the left bank of the Alpheus, where Gothic lancet windows are inserted in the plain windows of the former Greek church, and eight-ribbed capitals falteringly express some artistic capabilities. A stirring life of jousts and tournaments was developed; troubadours came on the scene, and the singing matches of the palaces aroused the echoes of the valleys. The Franks, with their superiority in military science, were responsible for the introduction of many new military terms: κάστρον, σάγιττα, βούκκινον = buccina, σκουτάρι, scutum, γαρνιζοῦν = garnison, τριπουτσέτο, trébuchet, φλάμουρόν, flammour, ῥογατόροι, from roga, mercenaries, κουρσατόροι, cursatores, σέντζιον, siège, παρτοῦν, pardon, ἀσεντζεύω, assiéger, διαφεντεύω, diffendere (also Armenian difentel), ἀσεντζίζω, asseggiare, ἀππλικεύω = applicare, ἀμιράλης = French amiral, from Arabic amir, ἄρματα, armes, κουγκέστα, conqueste. The modes of address: μανθάμα, madame, νθάμα, dame, μίσιρε, mesire; and titles: ῥόϊ, roi, ῥηγίνα, reine, βικάριος (also Armenian bikar), ντζενεράλ, vicar général, πρίνκιπας, princeps, passed into Greek. In compensation the Frankish knights in Morea after a few decades spoke the Greek vernacular: this is proved by the general statement of the chronicle of the Morea, but also by the exclamation of Godefroi de Brières in the battle of Boula Lagos, 1259, "We speak one tongue."

But the thought of the terrible sack of Constantinople in 1204 had sunk too deeply into the hearts of the Greeks to allow them to be won over by this. The deep religious difference prevented the hatred of the Latin movement from slumbering, more especially among the monks and the clergy. The latter now

[1] The name is derived from μυζήθρα, cheese, μυζηθρᾶς = cheese monger, contracted later into μυστρᾶς; cf. the engraving, "Ruins of Mistra in Laconia," where at any rate in the first line buildings of a later Greek period are discernible; French influences can also be traced.

seemed to be real supporters of the Greek nation. The letter from the clergy to Theodoros Lascaris, in which they urge him as the lawful monarch to enter Constantinople as soon as possible, shows that the Nicæan dynasty which had fled to the Asiatic side of the empire were regarded as the legitimate rulers of Byzantium. Thus the house of the Latin Empire was built on shifting quicksands. Morea might indeed long appear to the West European chivalry as a training ground in knightly practices and attract the younger generation, but the Latin Empire itself had fallen so soon as the fact was realised in the West that it was less competent than the Greek Empire had been to provide the Crusades with a base of operations.

The new ground for Frankish chivalry became naturally the theatre for adventures, just as Byzantium itself was an enchanted land. In a Greek region which was saturated with Frankish culture a Greek composed the epic of Belthandros and Chrisantza. The epic of Lybistos and Rhodamne sprang more directly from the soil of a Greco-Frankish mixed civilization. Rhodes, or rather Cyprus, must have produced these verses instinct with warm feeling. Less importance attaches to the translation of French romances such as "The Old Knight," or an Italian adaptation of "Flore and Blancheflur" (Phlorios and Platziaphlora).

The West, carried on by religious fervour, chivalrous valour, the joy in cheerful daring and success, introduced its organisation into the other parts of the former Byzantine Empire. Armenia, whose monarch Leo II styled himself "King by the grace of the Papal Chair and the Emperor," consciously copied the feudalism of the West, and, long after Roman feudal expressions and institutions had acquired their right of domicile, as in Greece, and French barons filled all the offices at court and played a more important rôle than the native nobility, at last the really French family of the Lusignans (1345 and 1370) mounted the Armenian throne.

The exceedingly prosperous middle class of the West established itself firmly in the domains of the former Byzantine Empire. The splendid position of Tyre had remained still unimpaired. The heights of Lebanon, still rustling with forests of cedar and cypress, looked down upon a busy life, thriving trade, and flourishing industries. Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans had their own quarters; their trading colonies, under the authority of a magistrate, were grouped round the custom-house and warehouses, where the goods of Western Asia and China were stored. Flotillas, called in Arabic caravans, fetched away twice yearly to their homes the rich merchandise, as well as the produce and fruits of the fertile soil. To the Italian colonists were assigned rich tracts of ground (*casalia*) in the open country, where Syrian peasants cultivated sugar plantations and vineyards and planted oranges, figs, and almonds. In the towns themselves, especially in Tyre, purple-dye works and glass manufactures still flourished. Silk factories satisfied the Western craving for luxury with costly white stuffs. Italian towns sprang up in Armenia, the Venetians owned an entire quarter in Mohammedan Haleb. In this way were created colonial empires on the widest scale, which made the fullest use of the native population.

P. The Empire of Nicæa

Theodore I Lascaris, first as despot in Nicæa, then as emperor, thoroughly learned the art of playing off the different powers one against the other, and of

employing for his own ends Seljuks, Bulgarians, and Franks. The battle at Antioch on the Mæander (early summer, 1211) had reduced the Seljuks to great straits; it had been largely decided by the single combat between the emperor and Kai Khusrau (p. 103). The Duke of Naxos, Marco Sanudo, his son-in-law, was captured. The successor of Lascaris was his second son-in-law, John III, Ducas Batatzes (1222–1254). He obtained in 1224 Adrianople, and in 1234 the king of Bulgaria, John Asên II, as allies against the Frankish State, and by a successful arrangement with Demetrius Angelus of Epirus (Thessalonica) he reduced that country to the condition of a province.

Without any doubt all who made any pretension to higher culture in Byzantium had fled from the barbarism of the Latin Empire to Nicæa, to the court of that Theodore II Lascaris, who, in spite of bodily infirmity, showed an extraordinary vigour of mind. The first step toward a complete revival of Greek life was taken from the soil of Asia Minor. Nicephorus Blemmydes, the greatest scholar of his age, had brought up and educated the crown prince Theodore. Before his accession Theodore seemed gentle and impressionable, meek when blamed by his master, and inclined to the tranquil life of a scholar. As emperor (1254–1258) Theodore II Lascaris appears fully conscious of his powers, strong in spite of his infirmity, and keenly aware of the isolation of Hellenism ("the Hellenic element can only look to itself for help and must draw upon its own possessions"). He retained his gentleness and solicitude for friends, more especially for his counsellor Georgios Mutzalon, but with stern resolution refused to "be humble, or relax the vigour of his rule." He suppressed the Slavonic movement under the Czar Michael Asên, after a brilliant campaign, by the peace of 1256.

Michael Palaiologos[1] as "Despotes" took over the regency for his son John IV Lascaris until he was proclaimed on January 1, 1259, as co-emperor.

Q. The Neo-Byzantine Empire

On August 15, 1261, Michael VIII Palaiologos made his entry into Constantinople. The "grievous sickness" of the Latin world, as the Greek Nicetas puts it, was checked; "the noblest member," the "child of sorrow of the Roman Church," was lost "to the discredit of the Latin name;" as Pope Urban IV (1261–1264) asserted, Michael needed all his strategic abilities to hold his ground against the Latins of the Morea, against Epirus, the Servians and Bulgarians, and against Charles of Anjou. Not merely did he in a war against Michael II Angelus of Epirus obtain possession of Joannina, 1265, and at the beginning of April, 1281, checkmate Charles of Anjou by the battle at Berat (Albania), but he showed a masterly diplomatic skill, which played the Genoese off against the Venetians, roused enemies on every side against Anjou, and excluded the Curia from the war against Byzantium. A union with the papacy was intended to effect the expulsion

[1] Alexius III, Angelus
|
Irene, 23 Febr. 1200. — Alexius Palaiologos
|
Andronicus Palaiologos
|
Michael VIII, Palaiologos, * 1227, † 11 Dec. 1282 — Martha, 1258, accused of witchcraft
= Theodora Ducaina (for her issue see p. 110)

of the Occidentals from every Byzantine region, to annihilate the Western barbarians, and prevent any attack in the future. The Sicilian monarchy and the Curia were struggling for Byzantium, and the first to profit by this struggle was Byzantium. Compared with that time (1261), when William of Villehardouin proclaimed a crusade against Byzantium and the Pope commanded the cause to be preached in France, Poland, and Aragon, and wished to devote to that end a tax for three years imposed on the young clerics, what a change was now visible (July 6, 1274)! The creed of Greeks and Latins was once more sung in common, and the Greek envoys were sent to announce in public places the participation of the Greek emperor in a crusade! The union of the two churches had been accomplished by the recognition of the papal primacy, and of the doctrine of the Double Procession, and of the use of unleavened wafers in the sacrament, — a result which, as Pope Gregory X said, "no one had considered possible without secular compulsion." The Greek clergy certainly resisted strongly any union under such conditions, but Michael knew how to suppress them. The patriarch of Bulgaria and the primate of Servia also submitted, and were now, by ecclesiastical incorporation in the Roman Empire, once again more firmly linked to Byzantium. The powerful alliance which Charles of Anjou concluded at Orvieto on July 3, 1281, in order to renew the Latin Empire, seemed to involve considerable dangers; it was intended, with the help of Venice and Philip of Courtenay (the titular Latin emperor, son of Baldwin II and son-in-law of Charles), and with the co-operation of the Curia, to "restore the power of the Apostolic Chair." Charles had already ordered the siege train for the investment of Constantinople and fixed the mighty expedition for 1283, when the Sicilians rebelled against these heavy impositions on March 30, 1282 (the "Sicilian Vespers"); Peter III of Aragon, who had been crowned at Palermo, had sympathised with their cause. Michael was thus saved from the lord of Italy, Burgundy, and Provence, to whom Pope Martin IV (1281–1285) proffered a willing submission.

Andronicus II (1282–1328) gave the empire a new ecclesiastical organisation and turned his attention toward the orthodox clergy. The sinking empire had not been spared the scourge of mercenaries; the firebrands of the Catalans seemed more to be dreaded than the Turks, even when the hidalgos secured a permanent home for themselves in Athens and Thebes (1311). Some light on the panic caused by these adventurers, and on the high honour paid to valiant defenders, is cast by the mission of the rhetorician Thomas Magistros, with the monastic name of Theodulos, who, in the name of the city of Thessalonica, petitioned the emperor between 1314 and 1318 to bestow some distinction on the general Chandrenos. At that time probably Joseph, a monk, of a noble family in the island of Ithaca, produced his great encyclopædia of knowledge. A marriage ode, ornamented with valuable illuminations, in honour of the wedding of Andronicus II (with the daughter of Stephen V of Hungary?) gives us a vivid picture of the court costumes of that day. Michael VIII wears a round crown set with pearls, the courtiers, white caps with stripes as badges of rank; the ladies have plaited tresses or long waving hair.

Byzantine art at this period of temporary recovery once more produced great results; thus the mosaics of Kachri-Djami, formerly Moni (τῆς χάρας = fuori le mura), with their lives of the Lord and of the Virgin, represent faces which are natural and individualised, Peter appearing as an Egyptian. The figures are full

of movement as if an admixture of Western blood had also revived art, quite differently from the contemporary miniature painting (Book of Job; Barlaam and Josaphat in Paris). A counterpart to this varied life meets us in the host of itinerant poets, men of high intellectual powers, who, like Manuel Philes, put well-rounded laudatory verses at the disposal of any who satisfy their hunger and thirst and clothe them with a mantle of Russian fur. A stratum of useless idlers, who think themselves too good for real work, corrupt parasites who by their cringing contaminate their patrons — they are typical of this age in Byzantine history.

Andronicus III (1328–1341) was freed from the Bulgarian peril since the Servian prince Stephan V (IV) Uroš (3.; 1320–1321) defeated the Czar Michael of Bdyn (Widdin) at Belbuzd (Köstendil; June 28, 1330). But in its place came the danger of the Servian Empire which Stephan Dusan (1331–1355) now founded. This comprised large portions of Macedonia and Illyria, and also included Epirus, which had been taken by Andronicus from the house of Angelus (1334–1335). Andronicus was more fortunate in the acquisition of Chios (1329), Lesbos (1336), and Phocæa (1340). The infant John V (1341–1376 and 1379–1391) and the Megas Dux (high admiral) Alexius Apocaucus were soon opposed by the grand servitor John VI Cantacuzene, who, aided by the Bulgarians, Turks, and John Angelus, the governor of Epirus, entered the capital on February 3, 1347. We may believe it was less on his own account than in the interests of the common welfare that the Cantacuzene resolved to become emperor of the Romans and to withstand that immense complication of adverse circumstances. He was a level-headed, upright statesman at a critical period.

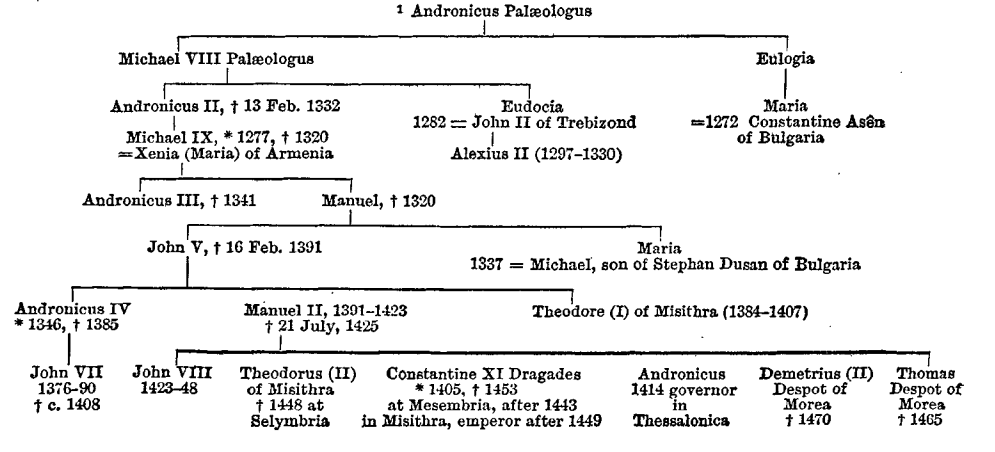
The position of Byzantium had become deplorable. Disconnected fragments of the Balkan Peninsula and a few islands composed the "Empire." The district of the capital and Thrace (a triangle extending from Sozopolis past Adrianople to Christopolis) formed the core. Thessalonica with Chalcidice, portions of Wallachian Thessaly and Albanian Epirus, and the principality of Misithra represented three more disconnected provinces, in parts completely surrounded by Servia. Of the islands, since 1269, Ceos, Seriphos, Sifanto, Sicino, Polycandro, Nio, Scyros, Sciathos, Chelidromi, Lemnos, belonged to the Greek Empire; as did after 1310 Scopelos, from 1333–1346 Chios and Samos, from 1337–1357 Cefalonia, Zante, Ithaca; and Lesbos permanently. Stephan Dusan was crowned "Czar of the Servians and Greeks" in 1346. With the help of the Venetians and Servians on one side, and the Turks on the other, the two emperors waged war on each other. It was John VI who paved the way for the Osmans into Europe.

Asceticism, meanwhile, in its most fanatical form had created a home for itself on Mount Athos in the monastic community, which soon became a national sanctuary for the Greeks. The Hesychast (quietist) controversy originated with the Omphalopsychites (navel-souls), and represented a reaction of the national Greek theology against the intrusion of Western scholasticism. The victory of the Hesychasts implied schism with the West. The Hesychast system is the last successful development of Greek mysticism. It may be traced back to Simeon the Younger (963–1042), who asserted the doctrine of the vision of the Uncreated Light as well as that of the Divine Presence. The West Greek Barlaam of Calabria, who wished that the Aristotelian proof, based on reason, of the existence of God should alone be taken into account, expressed himself most emphatically

against the mysticism of Athos. This Eastern practice of contemplation was attacked also by Gregory Acyndinus with the arguments of Thomas Aquinas, but defended by Gregory Palamas, who, about 1347, thanks to the support of John Cantacuzene, played a prominent rôle, and entered into relations with the Czar Stephan Dusan. There are links connecting the old sects of the Paulicians (p. 69) and the Bogumiles with the Palamites, whose influence again extends to the Russian sect of the Strigoliki. The victory of Palamitism, to which in any case John Cantacuzene, a passionate lover of theology, contributed, widened enormously the gulf between the East and West, but cemented more firmly the ecclesiastical unity of the Greek world. This religious mysticism was now confronted in the very country itself by an ethical counter movement. The Idiorhythmic monasteries, in which each man lived after his own way, and might acquire property of his own, then arose; the monarchical monasticism of the past made way not for a democratic but an aristocratic constitution, in which the two *Epitropi* were merely an administrative committee of the *synaxis* of fifteen brethren. The ethical aspects of the common life were developed. An interest in the classics and philosophy showed itself and increased appreciably.

Manuel II (1391–1423) lived to see, after the conquest of Bulgaria by the Turks, a systematic blockade of Constantinople. The assistance afforded by the West met with various successes, but the terrible defeat of Nicopolis by Bajazet I (described by John Schiltberger of Munich; cf. Vol. VII, p. 216) ended the crusade. The Morea became tributary to the Turks; but the French relief expedition under Marshal Boucicaut (p. 131) effected the liberation of the capital. The emperor a French pensioner, who wrote poems on Franco-Flemish carpets, the patriarch a Russian pensioner: such was the situation of affairs when the Mongol Timur (Vol. II, p. 182) destroyed the empire of Bajazet (1402). The Emir Mohammed I maintained peace with Manuel after 1413, who with his son[1] established order in the Morea, but quarrelled with the Venetians, who deprived him in 1419 of Monembasia.

The tactics of the Turks in welcoming Byzantine claimants to the throne were now adopted by the Byzantines against the Turks, but, it must be confessed, with so little success that Byzantium only with difficulty repulsed a dangerous attack in 1422. For the first time in the East cannon were now employed by the Turks.



A terrible devastation of the Morea followed. Indisputably a highly gifted and skilful stylist, who wrote spiritual songs and church hymns, and vindicated Christianity against Islam in twenty-six dialogues, familiar with all knightly exercises and a master of eloquence, Manuel was placed in an unfortunate position. Struck by apoplexy in 1423, he withdrew into a convent, where he died on July 21, 1425. He must have looked more vigorous than he appears in the feeble fifteenth century painting on the title-page of the manuscript of St. Dionysius, presented by him to the monastery at St. Denis (and now in the Louvre). Gemistus Plethon aimed both his treatises on the political and social renascence of the Peloponnese at Manuel and his son Theodorus II, despot of the Morea. Starting from the purity of the Hellenic population settled there, Gemistus proposed to divide the population into soldiers and agriculturists. Capitalists, officials, and authorities were assigned to the third class. He would exclude from all share in the public revenue persons who abandon themselves to tranquil meditation and lead a contemplative life. Man should live by the labour of his hands and not upon offerings extorted from the faithful. All private possessions should become public property; the field should belong to the individual only so long as he cultivates it. Gemistus would abolish the mutilation of criminals and introduce in its place penal servitude. Coined money should be prohibited, as in ancient times, and imports should be paid for with cotton — a proof of the abundance of the latter commodity. Necessities of life, when produced in the country, should only be exported under heavy duties. In his second treatise (Νόμων συγγραφή) Gemistus tilts violently against military officers who are at the same time merchants. His proposal of a threefold impost (forced labour, money taxes, and taxes on commodities) calls attention to the urgent necessity of fiscal reform.

This Roman Empire became under John VIII (1423–1448) a miserable and petty State, possessing the small peninsula of the Bosphorus and one or two towns, but paying tribute for what it did possess. Thessalonica fell to the Turks in 1430, while the Morea at any rate became quite Greek. Once more the word of salvation, "Union!" resounds. But not only did the sturdiest opponent of the Union, Marcus Eugenicus, declare in Florence, "I will not sign my name, come what may!" even the nation did not acquiesce in the Florentine Union of 1439. Nevertheless Eugenius IV allowed the Crusade to be preached which led to the victory on the Cunovitch near Nisch (December 24, 1443), but also to the defeat of Varna (November 10, 1444). Notwithstanding the severe defeat in the Morea (December 4, 1446), this peninsula was left at the beginning of 1447 to the Palæologi in return for tribute. There was still plenty of amusement in the capital. Grand processions, religious ceremonials, and dramatic representations were held in the Church of St. Sophia, as Bertrandon de la Brocquière describes. Now and again envoys were most graciously received, as for example the ambassador of Ragusa, Ser Volzius de Bavalio, who was dismissed with gifts and privileges. Clearly no one in Constantinople realised how great was the danger, how imminent the destruction of the city.

The last emperor of Byzantium, Constantine XI (1449–1453), fell in the famous battle against the Turks. He was buried in the Wefa square on the north side of the city; the memory of the last Palæologus still lingers there. Not Greeks alone depict the tragic fall. Narratives penned by members of the most various nations bear testimony to the world-wide importance which the capital still possessed,

though the Empire was now no greater than a city-state. Venetians (Nicolò Barbaro), Florentines (Jacques Tedardi), Brescians (Ubertino Puscolo), the Genoese *Podestà*, an Armenian monk, the Pater Superior of the Franciscans at Galata, Slavs (the Janissary Michael, a Servian from Ostrovitza), describe the last destinies of Byzantium, so impressive to eye-witnesses. The theme is handled in Greek folk-songs, which give hope ("Yours once more will be the city, when the fated hour arrives"), and also in polished verses (Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεος) which were intended to rouse all Europe in order that the city, crushed by the weight of her own sins, might be restored. Four historians deal with the rise of the Turkish Empire or the fall of the Greek: Laonicus Chalcondyles, a distinguished Athenian, who went to Murad II in 1446 as an ambassador, describes the period from 1298 to 1463. Though he took as his models Herodotus and Thucydides, he was unable to suppress his admiration of the growing greatness of the Osman Empire. Ducas, secretary of the Genoese Podestà of Phocæa, describes the years between 1341 and 1462. Georgios Phrantzes, the Great Logothete, a Turkish prisoner in 1454, fled to Venice and Rome; in contrast to Chalcondyles he is filled with a burning hatred of the Turks. Critobulus of Imbros, an imitator of Thucydides and on the whole an admirer of the Turks, wrote a history of the Emir Mohammed II to the year 1467.

The Grecising of the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, had been attempted by Byzantium; the East Roman Empire continuing what had been begun during the Hellenistic age. The basis of population, however, on which the Byzantine Empire rested was so narrow that we cannot agree with the censure passed on the weakness which Byzantium showed in this task. The gain for modern civilization would certainly have been enormous if Byzantium had succeeded in Hellenising the whole of the Balkan Peninsula and thus sweeping away a multiplicity of hindrances to racial development and international peace. But, owing to the weak foundation which the Greek nationality itself supplied to the Byzantine Empire, such large drafts had to be drawn upon foreign nations that only on the one side the conception of the State, and on the other side the Greek Church and Greek culture, formed the bond of union for these heterogeneous elements of the Byzantine population. Military genius had organised the forces of this State; literati of the Byzantine Empire had at least tried to preserve the treasures of the Greek past, even though they were incapable of producing new masterpieces. Theological controversies had in centuries of dispute built up the completely independent fabric of the Greco-Oriental Church. But these forces did not produce a coherent Greco-Byzantine nationality, in the widest sense of the word, on the Balkan Peninsula. The Greco-Oriental Church is in its essence national, and could not therefore in the further course of development withhold national independence from the churches of other nations (Bulgaria). The immense mass of writings which Byzantine intellectual life has bequeathed to us shows the strangest curves of development.

R. The Spread of Greek Culture to Italy

Barlaam of Calabria (mentioned already on p. 109), who, according to the testimony of the emperor Cantacuzene, was familiar with Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato, had formed a friendship, at the court of Avignon, with Petrarch, and the latter

hoped to be initiated with Barlaam's help into the Greek language. Boccaccio accomplished what Petrarch did not attain, and was taught Greek by Leontius Pilatus, who became the first professor of Greek in the West (Florence). The real founder of Greek studies in Italy was Manuel Chrysoloras. Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo, who pored over the great Greek literature night and day, bears witness to the enthusiasm which then pervaded Italy. Cardinal Bessarion played a prominent part in Rome. Cosimo dei Medici and Pope Nicolas V vied with each other in collecting manuscripts and procuring translations.

The effect of this study of Greek and of the growing knowledge of the treasures of classical antiquity — to a less degree the influence of Greek painters (Marcus, 1313, Demetrius, 1371, in Genoa; Georgios, 1404, in Ferrara; cf. the relations of Benedictine monks of Subiaco to Greek painters) — has been in former times much exaggerated. It was to be imagined that the Renaissance and Humanism owed their entire origin to these envoys, artists, and refugees from Constantinople. In reality this Renaissance, which had already begun with Dante's "Vita Nuova," signified rather a Renaissance of the strength of Barbarism than of the Antique. It is perfectly correct that the Renaissances of the Antique which Byzantium effected had aimed too exclusively at preserving the Classical; again they were too frequent, and, as it were, produced insensibility to deeper influences; by way of contrast the Italian Renaissance owes a great debt to the study of antiquity. Nevertheless in modern times a fuller justifiable warning has been issued against the tendency to overestimate the effects of the Antique on the New Life, at whose threshold the "Vita Nuova" stand symbolically. Giotto created a new art, in contrast to Byzantinism and by a return to nature. The treasures of the past require the strength of the present, so that the latter may not feel its own spiritual life to be crushed, but may be stimulated to liberate the innermost forces of the soul.

3. NEW GREECE

A. The Turks as Heirs of the Byzantine Empire (1453–1821)

The Turkish races were not able to escape the influence diffused by Byzantium and the West. The wild Seljuks, who far outdid the Arsacids and Sassanids in the lust of destruction, chose not Byzantine art but Persia as their teacher in their empire in Asia Minor; but the minor principalities, which sprung up as offshoots from the Seljuk Empire, stood in close affinity with Byzantium and the Western rulers of the Orient. The debt of the invaders, both in politics and culture, to the land of which they took possession, has not been yet sufficiently illuminated. But so much we see, that in contrast to the partial retention of the *Theme* system on European soil, the Byzantine organisation was obliterated in Asia Minor, since the older ethnographical divisions showed more vitality. Already the ten principalities which arose within the Seljuk Empire corresponded more or less to ancient provincial divisions. Sarukhan (Lydia), Aïdin (Ionia), Mentesche (Caria), Tecte (Pamphylia and Lycia), — the names of these princes have been preserved in the names of modern administrative divisions. Many relations were established between these Turcoman princes and their neighbours; the Duke of Naxos, the Genoese of Chios and Phocæa, the Gattilusio of Metelin, paid tribute to Sarukhan.

However hostile these Turcomans may have been toward Byzantium, the gigantic growth of the dependent principalities contributed to the result that Sarukhan and Aïdin formed an alliance with Andronicus III Palæologus at Phocæa (1327).

Again, the fact that, about 1328, the Osmans (cf. pp. 120, 122) began to strike coins, forced the other princes of their race similarly to issue a coinage. The Turkish dynasty of the Danishmende of Cappadocia had, from 1100 onwards for some decades, struck coins, first with a Greek inscription and the figure of Christ, precisely after the model of the coins of Tancred of Antioch, later, however, without this portrait and with a Greco-Arabic inscription. The *gigliati* (so called from the lilies on the cross of the reverse) which Charles II of Anjou (1285–1309) and his son Robert (1309–1342) issued, were imitated by the rivals of the Osmans. We only know the coins of Prince Sarukhan, "moneta que fit in Manglasia" (Magnesia), those of Omar Beg, grandson of Aïdin, "moneta que fit in Theologos" (Ayasoluk on the site of Ephesus had been named after Ἅγιος Θεόλογος, St. John), and those of Mentesche (struck by Urkhan at Palatia-Myus with a debased Latin inscription); probably the other Turcoman chief of Asia Minor wished to rival the Osmans. It strikes us, in this connection, as a strange fact that these zealous advocates of Islam not only stamped their own portrait, as did the Angevins, whose coins they imitated, but allowed themselves to be depicted with the crown on their head, and with the sceptre and the ball, surmounted by the cross, and even covered the reverse with the cross of lilies. In the first place Western artists coined these pieces of money, but afterwards inexperienced natives, who did not understand the Latin inscription, attempted the imitation.

But the Osman power, which drove its rivals into such close touch with Western civilization, had also, in the person of its greatest organiser, Alâ ed-dîn (cf. pp. 117, 123), tendered homage to Western influences. Family alliances had brought Byzantine culture nearer: the first wife of Urkhan (cf. pp. 121, 127) was a Greek, who thus became the mother of Murad I; the daughter of Emperor John VI Cantucuzene, Theodora, was also married to Urkhan (1346), who now interfered in the dynastic dispute of his neighbour. The effect of Byzantine and Western development cannot yet be completely gauged. Difficulties arise from the fact that, as the Seljuks can point to Persian elements in their art, so the Turkish races must have adopted much in other domains of life (for instance, in the political and social organisation) from the Sassanid Empire. From an early period there were close relations between Turkey and Persia: the Persians borrowed, in the period of the Ilkhani (Vol. II, p. 180; Vol. III, p. 370), military expressions, especially from the Turkish (*yagna*, plundering, *ugraq*, baggage, *urdu*, camp; also the expressions for army, guard, tent, weapon), and so, too, we trace Persian influences on Turkish races in religious matters back to Parsism.[1] Terms belonging to the higher plane of civilization, such as Turkish *khasineh*, treasure, are derived from the Persian (*gaza*); so again it is clear that the star and the crescent were copied from the Sassanid coins.

This Perso-Turkish development must have progressed with peculiar strength after the times of the Turkish Pretorian rule under the Abbasids in the ninth

[1] Persian, *isdan*, God, *iczda* in the Codex Cumanicus, Magyar, *isten;* Persian, *pahlivan*, Turkish, *palvan*, saint; Persian, *djadu*, Turkish, *djada*, magic.

century (Vol. III, p. 337), and after the days of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (or Ghazni; Vol. II, p. 420), the founder of a permanent religious domination of Islam in India and the stingy patron of Firdusi (Vol. III, p. 349). The question naturally suggests itself whether the feudal system which can be shown to have existed among the Turks as the basis of military organisation is not traceable to Persian influence (as this has already been sought for in the word *timar*, small fief), or whether the Byzantine fief-system may have supplied the model for the Turkish Ziamets and Timars (greater and lesser fiefs), or whether we must recognise in the feudal system an old Turkish institution, or whether, finally, the conditions of Western feudalism were copied. It is certain that the Parthians were acquainted with a system of vassalage (to regard these vassals as slaves is as erroneous as if the *vassi* of the West were to be considered slaves); and it is equally certain that in Persia a knightly nobility was formed, under the Sassanids, among the landowners, the Dikhans, which had to furnish the heavy cavalry, and may be described as a sort of feudal aristocracy, since its members exercised protective rights over village communities. Under the Mongol Ghazan (1295–1304; Vol. II, p. 180) the conditions of Persian feudalism were reformed. Coins were introduced in the place of paper money (Vol. III, p. 372), so that a revival of the old feudal system in Persia might have supplied a model for the new Turkish one. Much may thus be said for the theory of Persian influence. But it appears that in the regions where the old Turkish life has been preserved in the greatest purity, in the Khanates of Khokand and Khiva, a clearly marked feudal system exists, since among the Uzbegs the nobility (Spahis) organise the levies from among the small landed proprietors. Since in these regions of uncontaminated old Turkish life, which can hardly have been touched by foreign influences, we can only assume a spontaneous development, we are faced by this problem: were the Parthians, who are certainly Iranian, influenced by the Turkish races, or have we to deal with a case of parallel and independent development, which is noticed in the most different parts of the globe, when wide dominions are occupied by a numerically small conquering race? Again, foreign influence is usually assumed for the growth of the feudalism in Europe, where the word *feodum* occurs for the first time in Southern France about 930; is this influence to be sought in the Orient? The etymological affinity (*feodum* = Arabic *faida*, use or result) at all events must be rejected as impracticable. Not less untenable is Karl Hopf's theory that Western feudal institutions exercised an influence on the Turkish system of fiefs.

Certain individual features of Turkish fiefs may be assigned to Byzantine influence. The Turkish feudal estates were, like the Byzantine military estates (*φία*), accurately assessed in value: the Ziamets were to possess a value of more than 20,000 aspers (=500 piastres or 10,000 para), the timars a value under 20,000 aspers, as in the case of the Byzantine military estates according to the Novel of the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus (p. 83); the value for the cavalry and the superior class of sailors was fixed at four pounds weight of gold, for the ordinary marines at two pounds of gold (under Nicephorus I at four pounds, and for the heavy-armed at twelve pounds). These military estates existed at least in 1345, as is shown from the Code of Harmenopulus, and therefore in their divisions might well have afforded a model for the fiefs long existent among the Turks. The Turkish system, precisely as the Byzantine institution, did not exhibit the inner spirit of Western feudalism, the hereditary and mutual loyalty; but the Turks

from their spirit of distrust did not allow the great fiefs to assume a hereditary character, but assigned small fiefs to the sons of great feudal tenants.

It may be anticipated, and proved by many examples, that the Byzantine law of land was generally continued under Turkish rule. Prior rights (προτίμησις) in the narrower sense of the right of the neighbour to pre-emption passed into Turkish law at least early in the sixteenth century (*As Schifaat*). The Turkish regulations as to the re-cultivation of untilled fields (*Ihya el-emwat*), such as are found in the Νόμος γεωργικὸς (p. 67) of Leo III, are of less importance, considering the universality of some legal principles (we may compare the laws of Hammurabi, p. 67); the *jus talionis*, which had been emphasised by the Isaurian emperors (p. 68) and figures largely in the Turkish criminal code (*Al Djinayat*), need not necessarily be borrowed.

As early as 1263 we have proofs of a fief (*Timar*) being conferred by a Seljuk Sultan; the accurate elaboration of the already existent feudal system is attributed to Timurtash, the commander of the conquered Europeo-Byzantine territories under Murad I (1359–1389). The thoroughly military feudal system, the profits of which are called "the prize of battle," was instituted in such a way that lesser fiefs (Timars) were conferred by the governors, greater (Ziamets) only by the central power. The owners of the great fiefs had subsequently to furnish fifteen horsemen, the proprietors of Timars, two horsemen; the proportion of large and small landed property in the six Greek provinces can be learnt from the proportion of Ziamets to Timars. Since the ratio between Ziamets and Timars was, in the Morea 1 : 3, but in Epacto is 1 : 22, a system of numerous large properties exists in the former, while in the latter a pronounced system of small estates prevails (Negroponte 1 : 15, Thessaly 1 : 5, Kartili = Aetolia 1 : 22, Acarnania 1 : 10, Joannina 1 : 5). If therefore a primitive Turkish tribal regulation existed, Byzantine influence presumedly gave it a more permanent form.

Byzantine influences can also be discerned in the Turkish State: the old idea that every trace of Byzantine institutions was destroyed root and branch is shown to be more and more incorrect, the deeper we inquire into the question. The general division of the government into the European and the Asiatic department (τῆς Δύσεως and τῆς Ἀνατολῆς) was retained in the distinction between Rumili and Anatoli. The Exarch of the city of Constantinople (Stambul = 's τὴν πόλι, locative case), which formed an independent sphere of administration, retained his place in the Turkish Empire as *Schrimaneti*. The Chushes (Σιαοὺς in Anna Comnena, ushers), who appeared with silver wands on which silver chains jingled, were imitated from the Manglavites of the Byzantine Court, so that the Chush-Bashi (μέγας τζαοὺς) may have corresponded to the head of the Manglavites; like the Protomanglavites in Byzantium, the Chushes were always employed as extraordinary ambassadors in the first period of the Osman Empire; the name then travelled to Byzantium.

The official correspondence of the first Emirs and Sultans was conducted in a peculiar dialect of Greek, an example of which is given by the ultimatum to the Venetians in 1570. A number of Greek expressions which the Turkish Empire employs attests the preservation of the institutions which these terms denote. The Defterdar has his name from the Greek διφθέραι (skin, then book); the Greek term (Canones) for official regulations was adopted into Turkish (Kanun, Kanunnameh; cf. below, p. 123); a series of terms point to the connection with Byzan-

tine financial institutions: κομμέρκιον, from commercium = *gümrük*, excise, τόπος = *tapu*, ground rent, δημόσιον, Fiscus = Bulgarian *dimosija*, Armenian *dimos*, δῆμος = *dimos*, the farmed-out profits in money or corn, μαγγάνα = *mangane aktschessi*, cask-money. Effendi (lord) significantly is derived from the Greek, ἀφέντης = αὐθέντης. As might be expected, the Turks, when they began to build and furnish houses and to construct a navy, borrowed expressions for the new ideas from the Greek (courtyard, basement, roof, window, bolt; seaman, ferry, galley, freight, tiller, beach, gulf, haven, lighthouse, storm, northwest, all sorts of fish). Coins, weights, and measures similarly were borrowed from Byzantium. The early organisation of the empire, which had been created under Urkhan's younger brother and Vezir Alâ ed-dîn, is only to be explained by the pre-eminent importance of Western civilization. The stress laid on the right of coining money as a right of sovereignty must have been due to familiarity with Western ideas of monarchy; the institution of a standing army on the Greek model, later composed of Christians (p. 122), shows the value attached to the countries conquered and still to be conquered. The West is finally as it were the great public, before which the question of head-gear (p. 18) can be seriously discussed. The Greek Mime still extant in the Byzantine Empire has reappeared in the Karagöz (Shadow play, p. 124) possibly learnt from the Chinese, in which even the great Hercules appears as Köroglu, son of the blind man, who conquers the lion.

We must not, therefore, regard the career of the Osman nation merely as an expansion of power, but also as an absorption of alien races and foreign culture. From the time when, in 1300, they established themselves at Sögud (Σαγουδάους in Anna Comnena), in the vicinity of the old Dorylæum, down to the occupation of Byzantium, only one hundred and fifty years had elapsed. If we run our eyes over the dates of their advance (they conquered Nicomedia and Brusa in 1326; Nicæa, 1330; Ancient Mysia after 1340; Gallipoli, 1358; Ancyra, 1360; Adrianople, 1361; Philippopoli, 1362; Belgrade, 1385, and the greater part of Asia Minor by 1393), we are amazed at the aggressive powers of the nation. The dismemberment of the Osman Empire by the Tartar Timur was quickly retrieved; half a century later, Constantinople fell before the onslaught of the Osmans, which was at its fiercest under Mohammed II (1451–1481), but was revived again under Selim II (1512–1520), from the fact of his being the Head of the Faith. The foreign racial elements were really incorporated; in the year 1334 Marino Sanudo said that Asia Minor was Turkish as far as Philadelphia. The Crusaders and Byzantines of the twelfth century discovered to their cost that the Greeks of Southern Asia Minor (on Lake Pungusa) had decided for the Central Asiatics. The Greek words taken from the Turkish point to the close intercourse in later times: such are the words for stuffs (damask, taffeta, morocco leather), plants (hyacinth, jasmine, elder, crocus, violet), articles of clothing (shoes, trunk-hose), ornaments (necklace), games (chess and dice), trades (butcher, whitesmith, greengrocer, and guild itself), military terms (musket, bullet, cartridge, powder). The reverse is indeed suggested by the abusive terms (lazy, stupid, hunchbacked, garrulous), and it is amazing to notice that the words for quarrel, violence, swindling, and favouritism come from the Turkish.

The Turkish race has absorbed so much Western blood that its whole anthropological appearance is changed, and the Turkish character, as we find it in the Khanates, is absolutely differentiated from that of the Osmanli: the latter severs

his connection with the East when he designates the former by Turk (= coarse, rude). In this way the historical destiny of the Osmans is sealed: deprived of its resources, its coherency, and its reinforcement from the East, the Osman nation is at heart a stranger to the West, and the empire fossilises even more than its Byzantine predecessor. An erratic boulder on the plains of Europe, it awaits the time when strong hands will push it back to Asia, and the right heir of Byzantinism shall once more take possession of Hagia Sophia.

B. The Kingdom of Greece (from 1832)

Both under the first monarchy[1] (1832–1862, Otto of Bavaria; cf. Vol. VIII) and under the second monarchy (from 1863 with William of Denmark as George I), the country oscillated between attempts at outward expansion and inner consolidation. The constitution granted on March 16, 1844, gave an opportunity to the contending parties of crippling all progress in a barren struggle which was a caricature of parliamentary life. A pre-eminent cause of internal disturbances was supplied by the Cretan question (1866–1869 and 1897). The Berlin Conference in 1881 had promised Thessaly and a part of Albania to Greece.[2] The financial distress which led to national bankruptcy in 1893 was as much due to the ambition of the half-educated men who played the greatest rôle in the country as to the outbreak of the Turco-Greek war, which showed the incapacity of the superior commanders as well as the inadequacy of the military training. The admirable handling of the cavalry and the reserves by Edhem Pasha and the splendid efficiency of the Turkish artillery quickly decided the war. The peace signed on December 4, 1897, between Greece and Turkey gave Greece a defined frontier. The delimitation, more especially in the valley of the Peneius, entailed considerable losses to Greece (between Larissa and Triccala), and the payment of a war indemnity of four million pounds (Turkish = £3,750,000), in addition to a compensation of £100,000 to the owners in the region of the theatre of war. The second article of the preliminary peace of September 18 provided that a financial committee of control, composed of foreigners, should watch over the financial question at Athens.

The difficulties of arriving at a settlement are indisputably prodigious; but now that an end has probably been set to the interminable alternation of the party of order and the adventurist party (Tricupists and Delyannists) by the breaking up of the Delyannists, there is more room for hope, since the nation, which prides itself on being of one blood with Socrates, seems at last to see the truth of Socrates' words: "If I wish to have a flute mended, I go to the flute-maker; if a ship, to the ship-builder; but for the State, anyone seems good enough." How small has hitherto been the produce of the soil, of which only one-seventh is cultivated, is shown by the statistics of the year 1901, in which the exports amounted to 67.2 million drachmas, including, amongst other things, currants (23.1 million dr.), figs (3.4 million dr.), tobacco (4.4 million dr.), oil and

[1] The Greek War of Liberation, as a revolt from the Osman tyranny, so far as it is an integral part of Turkish history, has been recorded in the second main section; so far as Western Europe was concerned in it, the eighth volume may be consulted.

[2] Cf. the map "Turkey and Adjacent Countries after the Treaty of Berlin" on the large "Map Illustrating the History of Turkey in Europe" in the second main section.

olives (6.6 million dr.), while the imports reached 122.8 million drachmas (of which 34.1 millions were for corn). The importation of textiles to a value of nearly 19 million drachmas shows the depression of that industry which is only able to export to the value of 1.3 million drachmas, while 57 millions must be paid to foreign countries for other industrial needs.

Development of energy, training in Central European methods of labour, instruction in agriculture and the re-cultivation of fallow lands, but above all the repression of the half-educated class (which still dominates politics and journalism) by the highly educated (cf. Vol. VIII) and by the lower section of the people, which, although unaccustomed to work, is still healthy; combined with this, a stern repression of that nauseating boastfulness which finds its pleasure in rhetoric and useless architectural display (Academy of Sciences and Library), and an iron discipline in fiscal departments and in the army, — such measures may save the country to which all of us owe the deepest gratitude for the imperishable services of its past.

II

TURKEY IN EUROPE AND ARMENIA

By PROFESSOR DR. HEINRICH ZIMMERER

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE OSMAN EMPIRE

A. The Origin and the Destinies of the Osmans to the Year 1360

THE Osman power and the Turkish nationality are rooted at the present day, as they have been from the beginning of the Osman State, in Asia. For this reason the historian of Turkey in Europe is obliged to direct his gaze from the shores of the Bosphorus steadily towards the East, since from the East came forth that warlike people who for nearly four centuries were the terror of Europe, and still present to Western diplomatists the insoluble problem of the "Eastern Question" (cf. Vol. IV. p. 44).

As regards the origin of the modern Turks, the information available since the discovery of the "Orthon inscriptions" on the upper Yenisei in Siberia (1889–1890; cf. also above, p. 46) enables us to describe their ancestors without hesitation as of pure Mongolian race. From the earliest times their nomadic tribes have formed compact political unions, which measured swords with their neighbours the Chinese in continual frontier warfare, and also possessed some degree of Asiatic civilization, including the art of writing, as is evidenced by inscriptions from the eighth century A. D. Generally speaking, however, the fact is that the great stretch of territory between Lake Baikal and the Caspian Sea has been for centuries, and still remains, the arena of barbaric struggle between the nomad Turkish and Tartar tribes. During this long epoch in Eastern and Western Turkestan, that inexhaustible breeding-ground of nations, the seeds were sown of those military and civil characteristics which are clearly recognisable, in the Turks of Asia Minor at any rate, notwithstanding manifold infusions of Aryan, Hamitic, and Semitic blood. We refer to the virtues of the warrior who, at the trumpet blast, obediently pitches or strikes his tent, saddles or unsaddles his little horse, arranges his camp kettle where he may happen to bivouac, takes his simple meal, content with the humblest fare and crouching on the ground like a true son of the steppes, bears with infinite patience the toils of march and migration, bends piously and devoutly in prayer towards the rising sun, performs the duties of hospitality where he feels himself the lord and master, but where he meets resistance slaughters his victims with the cruelty of the hunter of the steppes, like his brothers the Avars and Huns, the Pecheneges, Seljuks, and Mongols, and so devastates the land that desolation marks the pathway of his feet.

It is impossible to say how many inroads of this nature may have been made from East to West in the course of time by the mounted hordes of Turks and Turcomans, advancing through the lowlands of the Aral and Volga districts to Europe, and through those of the Amu and Sir Darya to Persia, Afghanistan, and India. We know that as early as the eighth century they had conquered Islam, had overrun the empire of the Persian caliphs, had made their way even into India, and were a dominant military people among the Iranians and Semites long before they appeared in Asia Minor and Europe. They are said to have borrowed the crescent moon as their crest and standard from the Chinese in 1209, during their sojourn in Central Asia; the emblem belongs to the period when they worshipped the heavenly bodies before their adoption of Mohammedanism (however, cf. above, p. 115, for a different theory).

(*a*) *The Osmans in Asia Minor.* — The first appearance of the Osmans in Asia Minor (cf. Vol. III, p. 372) is described in a Turkish legend with miraculous additions of the most extraordinary nature. About the year 1225 a horde of some fifty thousand souls under their tribal chief Suleimân or Soliman (I) were forced by Mongol attacks to leave Khorassan for Armenia (Vol. II, p. 169). Suleimân's son Ertogrul became the vassal of the Seljuk Sultan Alâ ed-dîn Kai Qobâd (1219–1236) of Iconium (Konia), who gave him a strip of territory in Bithynia. The beautiful and fertile valley of Sögud, twenty-eight miles from Eskeshihir and forty-eight miles from Lefke (the ancient Leuka on the Sangarios), became the cradle of the Osman State. When once the Turks had gained a footing in Europe, the unexampled rapidity of their advance was facilitated on the one hand by the compact military organisation of the new Turkish feudalism, and on the other hand by the weakness of the Byzantine Empire in Asia and Europe, by the rotten constitutions of the Slavonic Balkan States, and by the lack of unity among the powers of Western Christendom, especially those immediately threatened, — Venice, Genoa, Hungary, Poland, and Austria. But the weapons for this career of conquest were forged in Asia. Osman I (1299–1326), the son of Ertogrul, who was buried in Sögud, did not pursue the peaceful pastoral life of his father. At first an officer of the Sultan of Iconium, he soon rose to the command of the army, secured his independence, coined money (p. 114), made himself master of the greater part of Bithynia, and with the help of his son Urkhan extended his kingdom by the conquest of Brusa, Nicomedia, and Nicæa (1326 and 1330). Although he belonged to the powerful nomadic race of the Turks, he called his warriors Osmanli, that is, the sons of Osman, or, in other words, leg-breakers. The Moslems of Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and European Turkey, who honour the memory of Osman, even at the present day regard the name of Turk almost as an insult.

The Emir Urkhan (Orkhan, 1326–1359; the Osman rulers were not known as "Sultans" until 1473) is regarded as the first organiser of the Turkish State in Western Asia. He retained Osman's custom of dividing conquered territory into fiefs (Timars) for distribution among his warriors; in order, however, to secure a more compact and uniform system of administration, he divided his kingdom into two and afterwards into three military divisions (Sandjaks), and by organising a militia force provided both a support for the State and a nucleus for the army.

Ertogrul and Osman had employed only Turcoman cavalry on their campaigns, the Akindji, that is scouts or skirmishers; in cases of need they were summoned

as the troops of their overlords and afterwards dismissed. They proved, however, incompetent for siege operations. The first conquests in Asia Minor were chiefly due to the treachery of the Byzantine generals and governors. Urkhan was the first to organise an infantry force, consisting of permanently engaged and paid soldiers, the Yaya or Piade (that is, foot soldiers); they received one *akdje* or silver kreutzer daily, and were divided into tens, hundreds, and thousands, severally commanded by decurions, centurions, and generals. This organisation was outwardly an imitation of the Byzantine military system, which had at one time done excellent service in the Themes or provinces into which that empire was divided (p. 65). These troops, elated by receiving pay, increased by their excesses, their disobedience, and exaggerated demands that disorder which they should have helped to repress. The Emir, in conjunction with his brother and the vizier Alâ ed-dîn, then resolved upon an unexampled *coup de main*. A proposition was advanced by the cadi or military judge of Biledjik, Kara Khalil Tshenderli, to replace the native infantry by a force formed exclusively of Christians who were to be forcibly converted to Mohammedanism. This proposal was actuated not so much by religious fanaticism as by clever calculation and a full appreciation of the necessities of the situation. It was from their former nomadic habits of life that the Turcomans derived that incapacity for organised infantry service which induced Kara Khalil to turn his attention to the Christian subjects of his master in 1330. The surprisingly rapid growth of this force was possibly due to the compulsion which may have been exercised to some extent at the time of its formation, and was also depicted in most baleful colouring by the anti-Christian movement of a later period; but a far more potent cause was the readiness with which the Christian population seems to have fallen in with Urkhan's scheme, abandoned as they were to hopeless isolation and deepest misery by the impotence of their Byzantine rulers. Far from offering opposition, the young Christians (Adjem Oglan, inexperienced boys) attracted by high pay and other advantages, began to enlist in the new force voluntarily and even at the instigation of their own parents. It was not until considerably later in Europe and especially in Greece that this blood tax made so painful an impression as to be felt equivalent to a method of extermination. However, these Byzantines deserved no other fate. For centuries they had cried again and again, "Rather would we be Turks than Latins." They had gained their wish. These troops, Tsheri, were named Jeni or the new, and the name of the Janissaries was soon borne from Asia to Europe on the wings of victory. Their name and their distinctive uniform of white skin caps they received from the dervish Hadji Begtash, founder of the famous monastery and of the order of monks which still pervades the whole of the Osman Empire. As a truly Turkish indication of the generous provision made for the treatment of the new troops, the names of the officers were borrowed from various kitchen employments. The chief of the chamber, that is, of the regiment, was called Tshorbadji, or the soup maker; the officers next in importance were the Ashdjibashi, or chief cook, and the Sakabashi, or water carrier. On their blood-red banner shone the silver crescent and the two-edged sword of Omar. The regimental relic was the meat kettle, round which they gathered for council as well as for food, while in later times the upsetting of it was often enough the signal for mutiny.

About this date, and apparently at the instance of Alâ ed-dîn, a standing force

of cavalry was added to the Janissaries, like them, in receipt of pay and originally divided into two classes, — the Spahis or knights, and the Silihdaris or light-armed skirmishers. At first only two thousand four hundred strong, the force was modelled on the guard of honour for the flag of Mohammed formed by the Caliph Omar, and was composed of four squadrons, to which the imperial standard was in like manner intrusted, until this was afterwards replaced by the standard of the prophet under Selim I.

Urkhan had created the army; his brother Alâ ed-dîn, the Numa Pompilius of the Osmans, added two more institutions, the right of coinage and the regulation of dress. At a later period the minutest details of clothing were regulated for the faithful; for the moment stress was chiefly laid upon uniformity of head dress, the fur cap, from which the old Arab turban was developed for the Turks. Regulations of this kind, issued to meet State necessities, the "Fetwas," form the four sources of Mohammedan constitutional law, which must in no way contradict the three higher sources, the word of God, the Koran, the words and life of the Prophet, and the Sunna, the traditions, interpretations, and decisions of the first four Caliphs, or rather of the four great Imams. Silence or deficiency in these latter may be supplemented by decrees known as Urf; that is, secular and arbitrary legislation. Such legislation was and is subject to change, and modern Turkish legislation, dealing with the thousand conditions of modern life for which the Koran does not provide, is Urf. Here we have the only breach through which European civilization can legally penetrate. From an early period in the Osman Empire these decrees were known as *Kanun*, from the Greek word for a rule (kanon), and the canonical book containing the body of decrees was called *Kanun-nameh* (cf. p. 116).

However, the most decisive fact for the whole history of the Osman Empire was the accession of the Emir Urkhan (cf. the "Genealogical Tree of the Osman Emirs and Sultans," on p. 125). Urkhan was not the eldest son of Osman; his brother Alâ ed-dîn was the elder. The latter, however, was a scholar with no inclination to militarism. It was impossible for such a man to take up the government of a rising kingdom, which could only secure its existence by war. With his consent, therefore, the Emir Osman had named the warlike Urkhan his successor and appointed Alâ ed-dîn his vizier (died 1333). The principle of direct succession was thus abolished in the house of Osman. The succession depended thenceforward upon the Arab principle (cf. Vol. III, p. 326), by which, for instance, in the Omejjad family not the son but the brother of a ruler was regarded as the lawful successor. Mohammed himself had left no male issue, but only a daughter, the mother of the sons of Ali. So long as the Osman conquest continued and the people settled in proportion as the army moved onward, the leadership could never have been intrusted to a child, a very possible eventuality under other rules of succession, as the Emirs were bold warriors who fought exposed to all dangers. In such times it might be the best policy to have a succession of strong rulers, even though they were not united by the closest ties of blood relationship. But when warfare ceased and peace began, and with it the long and toilsome work of advancing the arts of peace, then a strict succession was desirable; the son should then be able to finish what the father had begun. The father would then find encouragement to begin tasks which he had no prospect of seeing achieved, secure in the knowledge that he would leave their completion to his family. If Turkey was

ever to become a constitutional State instead of a conquering power, and to lead the progress of Islam towards civilization, then a change in the principle of succession to the throne was indispensable. Seniority must become primogeniture. That this change has not yet taken place may be regarded as one of the reasons for the present decay of the empire.

The spirit with which the growing State was inspired may be exemplified by a fragment descriptive of Osman capacity for culture, taken from the ode "To Culture" of Aashik, a contemporary of Urkhan:

> "Empty form is nothing more than body without soul;
> Structure in the world is of the great world-soul's design.
> Culture vivifies the world; else would there be but soulless form.
> Knowledge is the breath of soul and soul of all the souls,
> Wanting knowledge, soul is dead and like unto the dead.
> Knowledge giveth to the Sultans empire over human souls.
> Knowledge wanting, life is wanting. This my word is truth indeed."

An impartial examination of the earlier West Turkish and Seljuk literary monuments (cf. Vol. II, p. 158) shows Aashik Pasha at the outset of the fourteenth century (died 1332) as beginning the line of Turkish poets with a great mystical poem, which betrays the influence of the Persian poetry. Aashik Pasha was a clever dervish of the order of Mevlevi, "the whirling order," which produced several poets, the most important of whom was the actual founder of the order, the famous Jelal ed-dîn Rumi (Vol. III, p. 365). His title of Pasha does not imply the court dignity of State Vizier, but that of Vizier in the spiritual kingdom. In this latter sense we find many poets bearing the titles of Sheik, Emir, Hünkiar (monarch), Shah, and Sultan. The whole body of Osman poetry, and even the literary language of the present day, was developed beneath the standard of the Book; though the ancestors of the Osmans, the Oghuz, Ghuzi or Kuni (Vol. II, p. 160) may have acquired some veneer of Chinese culture, no trace of this intellectual relationship remains, save certain grammatical forms, and the "Karagöz(s)," a degenerate form of the Chinese shadow-play, which continued the Greek mimos (p. 24) on Byzantine soil. Where the Osman culture is not derived from sources purely Arabian, that is, under Arab religious influences, it draws upon Arab-Persian sources. Of greater originality and in closer conformity with Turkish peasant humour are the rough jests of the Osman Eulenspiegel of Khodja Nasr ed-dîn, who was a priest and teacher in Akshehir about the period of the last but one of the Seljuk Sultans, Alâ ed-dîn Kai Qobâd (died 1307), and also in Timur's age (died 1404). His humorous pieces were widely circulated in prose narrative form from an early date, and are still read and recited by young and old in all classes of society. Friedrich Hirth has described the manifold commercial connections of the Chinese with the Roman and Syrian kingdoms, and with the West in general, while Edmund Naumann in his book "From the Golden Horn to the Sources of the Euphrates" has referred to the affinity of the Turkish language to Japanese. The custom of giving place names by topographical description, which was adopted in countless instances by the primitive Turkish races for the nomenclature of towns, districts, woods and rivers, mountains and valleys, within the area of original Persian, Greek, and Byzantine civilization, finds its primeval counterpart in modern China. Divergence of religious belief apparently excluded Byzantine influence, although this can be recognised in the material,

The Genealogical Tree of the Osman Emirs and Sultans

Suleiman (I), about 1225

Ertogrul, 1231–88

1. Osman I el-Ghazi (the champion of the faith), 1299–1326, * 1259

Prince Alâ ed-din, † 1333 — 2. Urkhan (Orkhan), 1326–59

Prince Suleimân, † 1358 — 3. Murad (Amurat) I Khudawendkiar (the master), 1359–98, * 1319

4. Bayezid (Bajaset) I Yildirim (Jildirim, the lightning), 1389–1402, † 1403 — Prince Yakub, † 1389

Pr. Ertogrul, † 1400 — Suleimân I, 1402–10, Grandson Urkhan, † 1453 — 5. Mohammed (Mahomet) I Chelebi, 1413–21, * 1387 — Pr. Isa, † 1404 — Pr. Musa, 1410–13 — Pr. Mustafa, † 1402

6. Murad II, 1421–51, * 1401 — Pr. Yusuf — Pr. Mohammed — Pr. Mustafa, * 1409, † 1422

7. Mohammed II Buyuk (the Great), or Fâtih (the conqueror), 1451–81, * 1430

8. Bajazet II, 1481 to May 26, 1512, * 1447 — Prince Djem, * 1458, † Febr. 24, 1495, in Naples

Prince Ahmed, † 1513 — Prince Korkud, † 1512 — 9. Selimi I Yauz (Jauz; the strong), 1512 to Sept. 21, 1520

Prince Murad — 10. Suleimân II (Soliman I) el-Kanuni (the lawgiver), 1520–66, * 1495

Mustafa, † 1553 — Ibrahim, † 1553 — Jihangir, † 1553 — 11. Selim II Mest (the drunkard), 1566–74, * 1520 — Bajazet, † 1561 — 4 sons, † 1561

12. Murad III, 1574–95, * 1546

13. Mohammed III, 1595–1603, * 1566

14. Ahmed I, 1603–17, * 1589 — 15. Mustafa I, 1617–17; 1622–23

16. Osman II, 1618–21, * 1605 — 17. Murad IV, 1623–40, * 1609 — Bajazet and Suleimân, † 1634 — 18. Ibrahim, 1640–48

19. Mohammed IV, 1648–87; * 1638 (42 ?), † 1692 — 20. Suleimân III (Soliman II), 1687–91 — 21. Ahmed II Avji (the hunter), 1691–95, * 1642

22. Mustafa II, 1695–1703, * 1664, † 1703 — 23. Ahmed III, 1703–30; * 1673, † 1736

24. Mahmud I, 1730–54 — 25. Osman III, 1754–57, * 1700

Mohammed Khan, † 1756 — 26. Mustafa III, 1757–73, * 1717 — 27. Abd ul-Hamid I, 1774–89

28. Selim III, 1789–1807; * 1761, † 1808 — 29. Mustafa IV, 1807–1808 † Nov. 16 — 30. Mahmud II, 1808–39 * 1785

31. Abd ul-Mejid, 1839–61, * 1823 — 32. Abd ul-Aziz (Asis), 1861–76, * 1830

33. Murad V, May 30 to Aug. 31, 1876, * Sept. 21, 1830, † Aug. 29, 1904 — 34. Abd ul-Hamid II, 1876—X, * 1842

military, political, and social institutions (for example, with regard to eunuchs) which it imposed upon its conquerors.

(*b*) *Byzantium before 1356.* — The Byzantine Empire seemed destined to endure for ever, in contrast to its elder sisters in the West, who had long before succumbed to the assaults of the Germans. From the age of its founder Constantine and of its legislator Justinian it had steadily increased its power. The tenth century had been a period of renaissance in civil, economic, and military life, and for Greece in intellectual life also. The empire had triumphantly emerged from the deadly struggle with the forces of Islam. By the subjugation of the Slavs and the acquisition of Armenia, the Byzantine Empire had extended in 1025 to limits unexampled since the days of Justinian (see the map facing p. 332 in Vol. III). The mingled severity and kindness of the emperor Basil, the "slayer of the Bulgarians," had left the millions of Slavs in possession of their freedom and their native institutions. From this moment the irrevocable decay of the empire begins. The great territorial lords made the succeeding emperors their tools, exhausted the resources of the European and Asiatic provinces by their extortion, destroyed the yeoman class by their unbearable taxation, deprived the Slavs of their national privileges, paralysed the action of the best generals by their influence in the all-powerful Senate, and when the Seljuk invasion took place in 1071 lost the best provinces of the Asiatic Empire, Cappadocia, Armenia, and Iconium (p. 91, above; Vol. III, p. 353). The West fell into the hands of the Normans. The death-stroke, however, from which Byzantium never recovered, was given by the Latin Crusade in 1204. The shadow of the imperial government migrated to Nicæa, and as a shadow it returned with the Palaiologoi to the city of Constantine in 1261. Instead of seeking to effect a peaceful settlement with the rising kingdoms of Bulgaria and Servia, and thus to save something from the wreck, seeing that the old forms of absolute monarchy had been definitely replaced by the Western forms of feudal government which the Crusaders obeyed, the romantic spirit of these shadowy emperors pursued the phantasm of their lost supremacy, the "great ideal" (Heinr. Gelzer) on which even within our own times the finest enterprises of the Hellenes have made shipwreck.

This ruinous megalomania was, moreover, poisoned from the outset by the wildest forms of monastic strife, by theological quarrels, and by the burning hatred of patriarchs, priests, and people for the "Latinists." While the Osman power was rising in the East, the Slav kingdoms were advancing on the North. Servian kings had secured the supremacy over the Balkan Peninsula. The power of the Bulgarian State had been broken in 1330 (cf. the first special map in the "Map illustrating the History of Turkey in Europe," facing p. 166), and when Stephan Dusan ascended the throne, it seemed that for the Servian monarchy was reserved the task of defending the Bosphorus against the Osman advance. But the Slavs were not a sea power, and were therefore unable to interfere successfully in the bitter commercial strife which Venice and Genoa waged for half a century in Greek waters. Civil war broke out repeatedly in Byzantium. The Palaiologos Johannes V looked for help to the Venetians and Serbs, while Johannes VI Kantakuzenos turned to the Osmans. As early as 1336 Andronikos, no less unscrupulous than the Christian republics of Italy, had joined the Asiatic Seljuks against the Osmans, and had thereby lost the best towns of Ionia. In 1353 the Osmans defeated the Serbs at Didymonteichos, and Kantakuzenos appointed his son Matthaios co-regent. Then

Stephan Dusan died in 1355, and with him died the hopes of saving Europe from the yoke of Islam. Servian and Albanian chieftains broke away, and Bosnia made herself independent. Thus the Balkan Christians destroyed one another, while the hour of doom was approaching. In 1356 Kantakuzenos himself, in the improvidence of despair, called in the Osmans. Urkhan, already in possession of Brusa, Nicæa, and Nicomedia, thought the moment had then come when the brilliancy of Constantinople and the beauty of Greece lay helplessly at his mercy.

Upon two rafts made of logs bound together with straps and skins, the crown prince Suleimân crossed into Thrace with eighty warriors and surprised the castle of Thymbe (the modern Tshini). The conquest of Kallipolis (the modern Gallipoli) in the following year (1357, if we can trust the chronology of the time) opened the way for the extension of the Osman Empire in Europe. Urkhan announced this joyful news to the Seljuk princes and his other rivals in letters breathing the full pride of victory. For centuries onward it became the privilege of the Osman chancery to employ the luxuriances of their literary style in inditing documents of this nature to friend and foe. The emperor Johannes VI was astute enough to treat with Urkhan, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage (p. 114), as the ransom of Kallipolis. The bargain was on the point of conclusion when an earthquake destroyed all the towns and fortresses in the Thracian Chersonnese, and left the Turks in undisputed possession of the whole of this territory, if we can trust the account of the imperial historian; he was deposed in 1355, retired to a monastery on Mount Athos, and died in Misithra in 1383. Suleimân died before his father on a hawking expedition. For more than a century his tomb in Bulair (Greek, Plagiari), on the shore of the Hellespont, was the only grave of an Osman prince on European soil; and of all the tombs of the Osman heroes was most often visited, as being the resting-place of the second Vizier of the empire and of the warrior who had successfully crossed the Dardanelles.

B. The Turks in Europe, 1360–1450

(*a*) *Murad I.* — In 1360 the Emir Murad I (1359–1389) crossed the Hellespont. In the following year he reduced the important fortresses of Tzurulon and Didymonteichos, and in spite of a brave resistance made himself master of Adrianople, the second city of the empire. This town, situated at the confluence of the Maritza, with its tributaries, the Arda and Tundsha, in a fertile valley, provided with all the attractions of a tropical climate, vineyards, rose fields, and quince gardens, became (next to Brusa) the first, and after the fall of Constantinople the second, city of the Osman Empire. At a later date was erected in it the famous mosque of the Sultan Selim II, which the Turks regard as the most beautiful in Islam. Brusa remained henceforward the sacred burial ground of the Sultans; and its splendid mosques and baths still afford the finest examples of Osmano-Persian architecture. Murad's viziers Lalashahin and Evrenos made their way up the valley of the Maritza. Towns, villages, fortresses, and the open country with its enormous booty fell into their hands almost without a blow. In 1363 Lalashahin crowned his career of conquest with the capture of Philippopolis (in Turkish Filibe, in Bulgarian Plovdio), which had belonged to the Bulgarian Empire since 1344. The Emir Murad made this most prosperous of the Bulgarian towns the outpost of his daily growing empire by the construction of fortified outworks. Four great rocks of

syenite were included in the outer ring of walls, and the Maritza was spanned by a stone bridge. At that time the wealth of Philippopolis consisted chiefly of rice-fields, which brought in four million aspers to the public treasury alone, according to the Turkish historian Sead ed-dîn. The statement that Murad shortly afterwards (1365) concluded a convention with the Dalmatian republic of Ragusa, which commanded the inland trade in the Balkan Peninsula, is an invention of later times.

The small Christian States were unable to combine in any kind of opposition to the Osman advance; they also lacked a standing army. The emperor Johannes V was at variance with his son Andronikos. When he attempted in 1365 to form a federation against the Turks in Ṭrnovo on the Jantra, the old capital of Bulgaria, he was imprisoned by Zar Śiśman (Shishman), until his cousin Count Amadeo VI of Savoy liberated him. The hard-pressed emperor then travelled to Avignon, to induce the papacy to promote a relieving crusade; without hesitation, he signed the Latin formula of union. Pope Ṭrban V returned with him to Rome, where they were met by the emperor Charles IV, Queen Joanna of Naples, and the chivalrous king of Cyprus, Peter I of Lusignan, while Stephan of Bosnia was expected to arrive. Peter of Lusignan had been travelling round the courts of Western Europe since 1362, and on April 1, 1363, at Avignon had promised to undertake a crusade in conjunction with John the Good of France (died 1364) and Amadeo; however, the enterprise was inadequately supported by the European powers, and the crusaders confined themselves to a temporary occupation of Alexandria on October 10, 1365. On the present occasion no agreement could be brought about (cf. for recent information on this point, W. Norden, "Das Papsttum und Byzanz," p. 704). Low, indeed, had fallen the prestige of the once all-powerful East Roman emperor; the Venetian bankers who had advanced the money for his journey to Avignon kept him a prisoner at Venice. Andronikos declined to oblige his hated father (who formally went over to the Roman Church in 1369) by paying the money; and it was eventually his younger son Manuel, ruler of Thessalonica, who secured Johannes' return in 1370, at great cost to himself. In 1371 Johannes excluded Andronikos from the succession in favour of Manuel. In 1375, when Andronikos joined Sauji, a revolted son of Murad, Murad beheaded the Turkish prince and punished Andronikos by blinding him. However, the prince gained the help of the Genoese, who assisted him to enter the capital in 1376, dethroned his father and crowned him as Andronikos IV. In 1379 the old emperor escaped from imprisonment, and fled to Murad, who restored him to the possession of the capital. Two years later the emperor was reconciled to his eldest son, but after his death in 1385 he set aside the claims of his grandson, Johannes VII, and gave the succession to his beloved Manuel.

These events form an interlude of secondary importance in the great maritime struggle between Genoa and Venice, which ended only with the peace of Turin (August 8, 1381). Matters were going no less badly in the Peloponnese. From Thrace Murad had advanced westward to the Balkan passes. He then turned southwards into the fair province of Thessaly and even reached Thermopylæ, whereupon Roger de Lauria, who was governing Attica in the name of King Frederic III of Sicily, appealed to him in 1363 for help against his Catalonian rivals who were in possession of Athens, Helene Fadrique of Aragon, and the Venetian Bailo (governor; cf. pp. 98 and 140) of Negropont in Eubœa. As the allies of Roger, the Turks marched into Thebes, the seat of government and

the most distinguished city in the duchy of Athens. These facts plainly show, as Ferd. Gregorovius remarks, that the Spaniards, Catalonians, and Sicilians were but foreigners in the Latin principalities of Greece, with which they had nothing in common. The news of this movement spread terror far and wide in the West. Urban V summoned to arms the Venetians (as being the masters of Eubœa), together with the archbishop of Patras, all the prelates and dignitaries of the period within the Latin Empire, the despots of Misithra (Mistra; cf. the plate facing p. 105) and Guido of Enghien in Argos.

In the North also a movement of resistance was stimulated by the Pope. The Greek commander of Philippopolis had fled to the king of Servia; at his appeal the kings of Hungary, Servia, Bosnia, and the province of Wallachia agreed to undertake a campaign in common against the Turks, who were now threatening their frontiers. By forced marches they advanced to the Maritza at a point two days' journey above Adrianople, but in the night of September 25–26, 1371, they were surprised by Hadji Ilbeki and suffered a fearful defeat; the army was shattered and dispersed in flight. The battle-field is still known as Ssirbsindüghi, the defeat of the Serbs. This was the first battle in which Magyars fought against Osmans.

A year of peace followed, which Murad employed in extending his empire in Asia Minor. In 1381 he arranged a marriage between his eldest son Bajazet (Bayezid) and the daughter of Yakub of Kermian. The princess brought as her dowry K(j)utahia and other valuable districts in the Seljuk state. Shortly afterwards other of Murad's troops under Timurtash crossed the mountains of Rhodope and advanced to the Axios on the Albanian frontier, where they conquered the towns of Monastir (Bitolia) and Istip. On the far side of the Balkans Indje Balaban had already spent two years in the siege of the fortress of Sofia (the ancient Sardica), when he gained his object by treachery in 1382. Sofia, the most important fortress and the key of Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Thrace, splendidly situated on the Boyana in the wide plain traversed by the Isker, rose again from its ruins.

The Osmans had already burst into Bosnia through the Balkan passes, but were repeatedly defeated in the gorges and mountains of the Alps of Dinar by the united Bosnians and Serbs. In 1387 Stefan Vuk Lazar left Prizren and began a threatening movement southward with thirty thousand men. Before Murad sent his forces across the Balkans, which he was surprised to find unoccupied by the enemy, he celebrated with great splendour in Asia, in the presence of his troops on the plain of Jenishehir, his own marriage and that of two of his sons with Byzantine princesses, and the circumcision of his three grandsons, the sons of Bajazet. The decisive battle was fought on June 15, 1389, on the field of Amsel (Kossovo Polye, west of Prishtina). The Turks under the Emir Murad and his son Bajazet opposed the Serbs under Lazar and his nephew Vuk Stefan Branković of Prishtina, the Bosnians under their king Stephan Tvartko (Tordko), and the Voivode Vladko Hranii. With them fought the Croatians under their Ban Ivan Horvat, those Bulgarians who had escaped the destruction of their country, Wallachian auxiliary troops, and numerous Albanians. At the outset of the battle (at its conclusion, according to another tradition) the Emir Murad was stabbed in his tent by the Servian nobleman Miloš Obilić; Lazar, however, was captured and beheaded, with a number of Servian knights, over the corpse of Murad. The new Emir Bajazet I interred his father's remains at Brusa, in the splendid mosque erected by Murad himself. He strangled his brother Yakub in continuance of the gloomy custom

supported by a verse of the Koran, according to which accession in the Osman house was legalised by fratricide.

(*b*) *Bajazet I.* — The new Emir Bajazet I (1389–1402) was now able to make preparations for the conquest of Greece (cf. map I for the history of Turkey in Europe, facing p. 163). The Palaiologoi he treated with contempt. Philadelphia, the only town in Asia Minor which had retained its Greek characteristics and its independence, was obliged to capitulate on easy terms (since that time, "Alashehr"). Manuel was one of his adherents. This circumstance Johannes VII, the son of Andronikos, who had come to an understanding with Selymbria (the modern Siliwri) and Thessalonica, turned to his own account to secure the dethronement of his grandfather (1390) Manuel, it is true, restored his father's supremacy; but when Bajazet forced the old emperor to cease the work of restoring the fortifications of his capital, Johannes VI died of vexation at this insult (February 16, 1391), after a reign as inglorious as it was lengthy. Manuel at once seized the throne, but the Sultan punished his presumption by the capture of Thessalonica (1391), the blockade of the capital, and the conquest of the Bulgarian capital of Truovo with Widdin, Nicopolis, and Silistria in 1393; and it became obvious that Bajazet intended to abolish the shadowy East Roman Empire. So early as 1392 his general Evrenos-Beg had advanced from Seres (Serræ, Turkish since 1373) to the Isthmus. Nerio Acciajuoli, who had ruled Athens from 1385, in place of the Catalonians (pp. 108 and 128), made a fruitless appeal to Venice for help, and secured his safety by submission and payment of tribute. From this moment the fate of Athens was only a question of time. The metropolitan Demetrius was suspected of calling in the Turks out of hatred for the Latins. He was deposed by the patriarchs of Constantinople; but his successor Makarios, blinded by national animosity, also began secret negotiations with the Turks. Nerio Acciajuoli broke away from Achaia and went over to King Ladislaus of Naples († 1414), who had just joined the great crusade league of France, Venice, Genoa, and the papacy. When Timurtash occupied the lower part of Athens, the Turks were expelled by the Venetians, who at last came up from Eubœa to relieve the place. From the end of 1394 to the end of 1403 the lion standard of San Marco waved upon the battlements of the stronghold of Cecrops and on the tower of the Latin Church of the Holy Virgin on the acropolis.

It is not known how far the Turks penetrated into Bœotia and Attica upon this occasion. According to Chalkondyles, who is our chief authority for the first great Turkish invasion, this movement took place before the battle of Nicopolis. Some portion of the Greeks were in alliance with the Turks. Seraphim, the archbishop of Phocis, is said to have treacherously invited the Emir to enter this fair hunting-ground. Helene Kantakuzene, the widow of the last Fadrique of Salona (Amphissa; see the map facing p. 166), opened the gates of the town. Her daughter entered Bajazet's harem. But the Osman triumphs were suddenly checked by the news that Sigismund (Siegmund) of Hungary, to whom the emperor Manuel had appealed for help, was approaching the Danube with a brilliant army of French and German knights (cf. Vol. VII, p. 216). Bajazet left Gallipoli, which was then his base of operations for the blockade of the capital, and also Seres to advance northward against the Christian army. In Wallachia Sigismund was joined by Prince Mirza (Myrtsha), who had driven Bajazet across the Danube in 1394. On

September 12, 1396, the Christian troops reached Great Nicopolis, on the right bank of the Danube. On September 28 Bajazet's superior generalship secured him a bloody victory over the Christians, who were unable to follow any practical plan of campaign by reason of the overbearing and licentious behaviour of the French knights. The consequences of the defeat were borne by the Christian inhabitants of the peninsula. Evrenos-Beg advanced upon the Peloponnese, the Byzantine port of which was governed by the "despot" of Misithra, Theodore Palaiologos (1384–1407; a son of Johannes V). Defeated at Leondari at the sources of the Alpheios on June 21, 1397, he was forced to agree to the payment of a yearly tribute. However, the bold prince made an alliance with Venice and Rhodes, to whom he handed over Corinth and other fortresses (1400–1404).

In 1399 the emperor Manuel, who was blockaded anew, approached the French marshal Jean Le Meingre or Boucicaut with a request for help, and this general once again cleared the Turks out of the environs of the capital. Johannes VII was reconciled to his uncle, and Manuel travelled in the West, and met with a brilliant reception wherever he went. The Venetians were then at the zenith of their power. Three thousand Venetian merchant ships sailed the Mediterranean. In 1386 they were in possession of Corfu, while in the Peloponnese Lepanto, Patras, Methoni (Modon), Koron, and Nauplia were in their hands, as also were Negropont and Crete. As early as 1355 the Bailo of Constantinople had advised the Senate to seize the inheritance of Byzantium without more ado. Now, however, they lost Athens (May, 1402). Antonio Acciajuoli gathered a force in Livadia, the strongest place in the country, and captured the citadel in 1403, after a heroic defence.

But at that moment all eyes were turned eastward, whence one of those racial invasions, such as Genghis-Khan had once led, was rushing onward from Asia under Timur's leadership. When the Mongolian ruler of Samarkand began to extend his conquests westward (cf. Vol. II, p. 184), he came into collision with the Osman Emirate. The struggle of these two great powers for the possession of Western Asia was decided on July 20, 1402, in the murderous battle of Angora. Bajazet himself fell into Timur's hands, and died in captivity on March 8, 1403. For the moment the Turkish Empire lay shattered at the feet of the Khan of Samarkand. Christendom breathed a sigh of relief in the spring of 1403, when Timur left Brusa and Smyrna, which he had destroyed in December, 1402, and turned eastwards again without attempting to cross the Hellespont, as his fleet consisted only of twenty-two ships of Trebizond. The Seljuk princes of Menteshe, Kermian, Aidin, and Karaman who had been subjugated first by Murad and then by Bajazet, were restored by Timur to independence.

(c) *The Renaissance of the Osman Empire after the Mongolian Peril (First Half of the Fifteenth Century).* — Those of Bajazet's sons who had escaped the carnage began fighting among themselves for the throne which they had set up again in Brusa and Adrianople. Henceforward Brusa and Aïdin (Güzel Hissar, the ancient Tralles) were to be the citadels of pure Turkish power in Asia. Christian Europe was too busy with internecine strife to utilise the moment of Osman helplessness, an opportunity which never recurred. The papacy was paralysed by the Great Schism. Before the emperor Manuel had returned from Paris, where he had learned the news of Bajazet's destruction, the eldest son

of the fallen emperor Suleimân (Soliman I) had been proclaimed Emir in Adrianople. The Greek princes hastened to resume their old feudal relations with the Sublime Porte. Antonio Acciajuoli paid a visit to Suleimân in person to ask his help against Venice in the struggle for Athens. From March 31, 1405, the Venetians were forced to leave Antonio in possession of Athens : he would only agree to style himself their vassal. Yet their power in the Levant was on the rise, and their maritime preponderance was undisputed at the time when they retired from Attica. While Genoa, their rival, was on the point of collapse, the mistress of the Adriatic, under her Doges Michele Steno (1401–1413) and Tommaso Mocenigo (1414–1423) was still at the zenith of her power. When for this reason she delayed in common with the Western powers to avenge Nicopolis, her powers of resistance were speedily paralysed before the advance of the Osmans in new strength. Under the Doge Francesco Foscari (1423–1457) the prudent republic sought by the acquisition of Italian territory to secure firmer foundations for her vanishing and disputed power.

The wars aroused by the hatred and jealousy of the four sons of Bayezid in their struggle for the throne lasted for a decade. Fortunately for the Turkish Empire no partition resulted, but dynastic unity, the fundamental principle of the Osman house, was preserved. Suleimân (I) was killed behind Adrianople on June 5, 1410, while fleeing from his brother Musa; Musa then lost his throne and his life at the hands of Mohammed I (1413–1421), the third and most fortunate of the hostile brothers, after a victory on the plain of Tshamorlu, not far from Sofia (July 10). Mohammed had concluded a close alliance with Manuel, and being on the best of terms with him, gave him back a number of Macedonian and Thessalian places which he had taken from Musa, including the splendid Thessalonica. Again, and for the last time, the affairs of the East Romans seemed to have taken a favourable turn. The Emir had also assured considerable remissions of taxation, with commercial and territorial concessions, to the remaining members of the Christian league, Venice, Genoa, the Knights of St. John in Rhodes, and the duke Jacopo Crispo of Naxos. In the security of peace with the Osmans the Greek emperor Manuel, whose restless co-regent Johannes VII had died in a monastery, was able to visit the miserable remnants of his empire. He spent the winter of 1414–1415 in Thessalonica, the possession of his son Andronikos. He then assisted his son Theodore (II), the despot of Misithra, to subjugate the refractory barons and toparchs of the Peloponnese (1415). At the same time he zealously urged on the construction of the Hexamilion, the wall across the isthmus, which was to serve as a defence against the barbarians, as formerly in the time of the Persian wars. Contemporary writers such as Georgios Phrantzes, Laonikos Chalkondyles, Gemistos Plethon, and Manuel (or Maximos) Mazaris express their astonishment at this bulwark of defence, as though it were comparable with the famous walls of Hadrian. They were, however, soon to learn that it was no obstacle to the Janissaries. In 1417 the crown prince Johannes (VIII) appeared with the intention of making Misithra (Mistra) his base of operations for the subjugation of the rebellious Genoese centurion Zaccaria of Achaia (1404–1430\32); he then let loose his Albanian troops upon the Venetian possessions also, and destroyed his good relations with the republic. The latter espoused the cause of the centurion, and in 1419 wrested from the East Romans the important position of Monembasia, the home of the once admired Malvasier.

Mohammed, who had been indefatigable in the task of resubjugating the emirs of Asia Minor, had always proved an honourable ally of the Byzantines. Manuel, therefore, displayed a considerable lack of foresight in supporting the cause of a rebel pretending to be Prince Mustafa, who had disappeared in 1402; again, on Mohammed's death in 1421, Manuel was persuaded by his son Johannes (VIII) to play off this pseudo-Mustafa against the youthful heir Murad II (1421–1451). The impostor was defeated, and strangled in Adrianople at the beginning of 1422. In June, 1422, Murad advanced upon Constantinople with fifty thousand men. The capital, which had made alliance with Mustafa, a revolted younger brother of the Emir, was saved, though Mustafa himself was defeated and suppressed. The work of vengeance could now be begun. First, the warlike Murad sent his Vizier Turakhan to Thessalonica, which was only saved by the help of Venice. Andronikos ceded it to the republic in 1423 for purchase-money amounting to fifty thousand ducats. However, Turakhan then burst forth from Thessaly to expel from the Morea Theodore (II) of Misithra and the Venetians, on whom he desired vengeance for Pietro Loredano's destruction of the Turkish fleet at Gallipoli on May 29, 1416. The wall across the isthmus was stormed by the Janissaries and destroyed on May 22, 1423. The victors contented themselves with reducing the Peloponnese to the position of a tributary vassal State. Smitten by an apoplectic stroke, Manuel retired from the government in 1423 and took monastic vows in 1424. His son Johannes VIII (1423–1448) concluded peace with Murad, who made him pay thirty thousand ducats for the Morea, and seized most of his possessions in Macedonia and on the Black Sea.

Meanwhile the emperor's enterprising brothers, Thomas and Constantinos Palaiologos, were, on the other hand, successfully extending their supremacy in the Peloponnese, where the last remnants of Frankish power, with the exception of the Venetian fortresses, fell into their hands between 1428 and 1430. However, on March 29, 1430, Murad II reduced the fortress of Thessalonica, the old capital of the Lombard kingdom, which for more than two centuries had served as a base for the Frankish conquests of Hellas. Under the name of "Selanik" (Salonik) it became henceforward one of the first commercial ports and naval stations of Turkey in Europe. After the fall of Thessalonica the Emir sent his Pasha Sinan to subjugate Epirus. In that country Carlo I Tocco, the brother-in-law of Antonio, had died at Joannina (Janina) on July 4, 1429, leaving no legitimate heir. His fair kingdom, which since 1381 had included Albania, Acarnania, Ithaca, Zacynthus, Cephallenia, and Leucadia, went to his nephew Carlo II (1429–1448), the son of his brother Leonardo. However, the Turks took up the cause of Memnone, an ambitious illegitimate son of the deceased, and forced Joannina to surrender on October 9, 1430, after a long siege. Carlo II Tocco thereupon became tributary to the Emir for Epirus and Acarnania.

Meanwhile the emperor Johannes VIII, who was in despair at the loss of Thessalonica, had hastened westward, to make his submission to the Roman Church and to seek help from the co-religionists. To Murad's fierce resentment his appeals for help were again directed to Rome. H. Gelzer has sufficiently stigmatised the blunders of the schismatical ecclesiastical policy, while W. Norden has illustrated, from the point of view of general history, the numerous movements towards reunion on the part of the two powers. Pope Eugenius IV zealously urged a new scheme for reunion, deceiving himself and others with the

hope that the brief and infrequent efforts of the West to repel the followers of the crescent would now culminate in a great enterprise for the final expulsion of the Turk. In view of the extremity of the danger, the project of union (in other words, submission) was now considered in full seriousness by the emperor and most of the prelates, including the œcumenical patriarch Joseph and Basilios Bessarion and Isidoros of Kiev, who afterwards became cardinals: The *Florentinum*, the decree of union which was solemnly recited on July 6, 1439, in the cathedral of Florence, is of importance in so far as it became the dogmatic basis for the actual reunion of the Ruthenians, Roumanians, Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians, and Maronites. Constantinople, however, held different views. Monks and laity alike declined to confirm the convention which the imperial government and the hierarchy had concluded. The latter were defeated in the unequal struggle against a national will, which, as Ignaz von Döllinger observed, though impotent in all else, was implacably obstinate on this particular point of anti-Latinism. The agreement of Florence was torn in pieces, and the Church of St. Sophia was doomed to become a mosque.

In the spring of 1441 the Turks devastated lower Hungary as far as the Theiss, and also Slavonia and the district between the Save and the Drave. Fortunately for Christendom, Johannes Hunyadi, who had been appointed Count of Temesvar and Duke of Transylvania in 1441 as a reward for faithful service, took up the supreme command among the towns on the southern frontier. Among other exploits he defeated the Roumelian Beglerbeg Kulle-Shahin in the spring of 1442 at Vasap on the Jalomita. Pope Eugenius had despatched earnest appeals to the Western princes calling for union and defensive measures. At the beginning of 1443 he issued a general circular, imposing a tithe upon the Church for the Turkish war; he also sent Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini to Hungary, and Bishop Christoph of Corona to Moldavia, Wallachia, and Albania to preach the Crusade. The mobilisation of the fleet was begun in Venice. However, the majority of the Western princes viewed the enterprise with indifference; exceptions were the Poles, Wallachians, and the lower classes in Hungary, who took up arms in every quarter. In July, 1443, the crusading army set out under King Waldislaw III of Poland and Hunyadi, accompanied by Cardinal Cesarini and the fugitive Servian king Georg Branković, advanced through Servia, defeated the Turks at Nish on November 3, reached Sofia, and crossed the plateau between the Balkans and the Ichtiman Sredna Gora at Mirkovo, arriving finally at Zlatitza. The defeat of the Turks at Kunovitza (December 24, 1443) brought about an Albanian rising under Georg Kastriota (Skanderbeg; cf. main section III), and in 1444, in spite of the cardinal's opposition, the Hungarians concluded a ten years' peace with Murad at Szegedin, by the terms of which Wallachia (as a Turkish tributary State) fell to Hungary, Bulgaria was left to the Porte, and Servia was restored to Branković; neither Turks nor Hungarians were henceforward to cross the Danube.

But in the meantime the Papal fleet under Luigi Loredano and Francesco Condolmieri had appeared in the waters of the Levant; the leaders sent letters adjuring the Hungarians to avail themselves of this favourable opportunity. Persuaded by the eloquence of Cesarini, the Hungarians broke the peace; Murad, who had carried his army over the Hellespont in Genoese transports, met them on the shore of the Black Sea. On November 10, 1444, was fought the battle of Varna (Warna; cf. above, p. 111, and see the historical map facing p. 166), which

after some initial success resulted in a severe Christian defeat. King Wladislaw fell in a sudden charge upon the Janissaries, delivered out of jealousy of Hunyadi; Cesarini was killed in flight, and Hunyadi alone was able to conduct an orderly retreat of his troops across the Danube. Western Christianity was deeply humiliated. The emperor Johannes VIII attempted to make his peace with the Emir by means of gifts; the Venetians, in fear for their trade, concluded a special peace with the Turks on February 23, 1446.

Constantine of Misithra (pp. 110, 133) alone continued his resistance, and with such success that he made a triumphant advance into Central Greece, hoping for Skanderbeg's help. The attention of the latter was, however, claimed by a war with Venice; apparently, the Signoria was not ignorant of the revolt among the Albanian chieftains excited by the Turks, as Skanderbeg was in close relations with King Alfonso of Naples, the enemy of the Venetians. As soon as Murad found his hands free, he left Seres in the spring of 1446, at the appeal of Nerio II Acciajuoli and his general Turakhan in Central Greece, and set out to crush the bold Palaiologos in the Peloponnese. Constantine offered him Northern Hellas as the price of the Morea. Murad answered by imprisoning Constantine's ambassadors, among whom was the historian Chalkondyles. The battle began, the last great effort of the Hellenes against the Asiatic barbarians who were preparing, as aforetime under Xerxes, to rush upon the Peloponnese. The Turks had now brought that most terrible of Western inventions, artillery, to such perfection that the walls of the Greek towns could not hold out against them. For three days their cannon-balls breached the defences of the Hexamilion, and on December 10 the Janissaries and Serbs were sent forward to storm the breach; on December 14, 1446, the last bulwark of Greek freedom fell into their hands. The whole of the Peloponnese lay open; with incalculable booty and 60,000 slaves of war Murad returned to Thebes, whither Constantine and Thomas had sent their plenipotentiaries in the spring of 1447. By payment of a poll tax they secured the continuance of their precarious predominance in the Peloponnese. A year after this peace the Byzantine emperor Johannes VIII died on October 13, 1448, in the castle of Misithra (Mistra) above the ruins of Sparta; on January 6, 1449, his son received the deputies from the capital who delivered to him the diadem and purple.

With the Emir's permission, to secure which he had sent his councillor Phrantzes at the beginning of December, Constantine XI Dragases, the last successor of Constantine the Great, assumed the crown of thorns of the East Roman Empire; while his brothers Thomas and Demetrios divided the responsibilities of the Peloponnese, he sailed to Byzantium, on March 12, in Catalonian ships. The emperor was received with great rejoicing in his new state, which was limited, as in the times of ancient Greece, to the environs of the castle. A few days after the battle of Varna, the Emir had again wrested victory from the grasp of the noble Hunyadi of Hungary in the three days' battle of Kossovo (cf. p. 129) on the Amsel, on October 17–19, 1448. The Pope Nicholas V, who was naturally timid, was so terrified by this defeat that he advised the Hungarians through his nuncio to remain within their own frontiers; he urged that it was no longer Greece, but Hungary, that was the bulwark against the Turk. At the same time the Pope was encouraged by Hunyadi to strengthen the resistance of the Albanians and Bosnians. King Stephen of Bosnia had already reverted to the

Roman Church in the time of Eugenius IV; Nicholas V was chiefly busied in opposing the sect of the Patarenes, who were in alliance with the Turks. The monastic and secular clergy, building on the Emir's favour, sought to lay hands on the Church property of Bosnia; at a later date the Bosnian, that is, the Slavonic magnates embraced Mohammedanism with enthusiasm. But of Slavonic race also was the famous Christian hero George Kastriota, who had begun his struggle against the Turks in 1444 with the victory in the Dibra, and kept the standard of freedom flying in Albania for twenty years with unbroken courage and supported by the Pope. The same Pope supported with utmost sympathy and self-sacrifice the course of the struggle for Rhodes, and also that for the island of Cyprus, which was threatened by the Turks shortly afterwards; he placed half of the French indulgence money at the disposal of the king of Cyprus. Between 1454 and 1455 a German popular book was printed for the first time with the movable types of the Mainz Bible, "*Eyn manung der cristenheit widder die durken*" (in the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek at Munich), an appeal to take the field against the Turks and to exterminate them. The pamphlet is in direct connection with the Cypriote indulgence.

2. THE OSMAN EMPIRE AT THE ZENITH OF ITS POWER (1451–1566)

A. The Destruction of the Byzantine Empire

When Murad died on February 5, 1451, he left a heritage of war to his powerful son Mohammed II (1451–1481; see the plate facing p. 149), who ascended the Osman throne at the age of twenty-one. The Duke of Athens, Nerio II, also died in the same year as Murad. Mohammed II had no intention of allowing Attica to fall into the hands of the Venetians, who had seized the island of Ægina in the summer of 1451. For the moment he sent the son of Antonio Acciajuoli to Athens; this was Franko (Francesco II), who was living at the Sultan's court and was received with enthusiasm by the orthodox population who favoured the Turks.

Mohammed also solemnly renewed the pledges of peace and friendship with Byzantium as with other petty States. While, however, he was occupied in Asia with the subjugation of the refractory Emir Ibrahim of Karaman, the emperor Constantine XI Dragases conceived the unhappy idea of demanding twice the ransom offered by the Turks for the Osman prince Urkhan, who was then a prisoner in Constantinople. The Grand Vizier, Khalif Pasha, who befriended the Greeks, was horrified at the presumptuous folly of this demand, which the Greek ambassadors brought to the camp of Akshehir. Mohammed immediately concluded peace with the ruler of Karaman and satisfied the Janissaries with monetary gifts, with the object of gaining freedom to concentrate the whole of his strength upon Constantinople. Making Adrianople his base of operations, he cut off the revenues on the Strymon (now Vardar), which were destined for the maintenance of Urkhan. In the spring of 1452 he began the construction of a fortress at a spot where the Bosphorus is narrowest, its breadth being only five hundred and fifty metres, and where a strong current, still known to the Turks as *scheitan akyntysy* ("the devil's stream"), carries ships from the Asiatic side to the promontory of

EXPLANATION OF THE PLANS OF THE CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE OVERLEAF

A. Constantinople a generation before the Turkish Conquest; from the "Liber insularum archipelagi," editus per presbyterum Christoferum de Bondelmontibus de Florentia, 1422. The oldest plan in existence.

The old artist painted the sea dark green, the city walls and the houses sepia brown, the towers rose colour, most of the roofs red, and the corbels blue.

(Drawn in facsimile by Franz Etzold, after the photographic reproduction of the manuscript, measuring 28.5 × 21 centimetres, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.)

EXPLANATION OF THE LEGENDS.

1. Porta lacherne = Porta Blachernarum.
2. Porta messe = *μέση*.
3. Porta piscaria (MS. piscarie).
4. Porta iudaea (MS. iudea).
5. Arsana = arsenal.
6. (Sanctus) Demetrius (MS. Dimetrius). *Below in the MS.* Oriens; *this denotes the orientation of the map.*
7. S(anctus) Georgius de mangana (in manganis; monasterium).
8. Hodigitria = *ὁδηγητρία*.
9. Port(us) di(vi) palatii imp(er)ator(um) [scil. Bucoleontis].
10. Receptac(u)l(u)m fustar(um), d(i)c(tu)m Condoscalae (MS. candoscalli) = portus Heptascali.
11. Portus V(o)langa, *from modern Greek αὐλακας* (in the MS. porto valanga).
12. S(anctus) Joh(annes) de studio.
13. Porta a(n)tiq(ui)ssi(m) a pulc(h)ra = porta aurea, lapidea.
14. Hic thurci semper p(roe)liant(ur), q(ui)a locus est debilior.
15. Apostoli (*Church of the Apostles; replaced 1463–1469 by the mosque of Mohammed II Fâtih*).
16. S(ancta) Sophia (*from 1455 the chief mosque of Stamboul under the name of Aja Sofia*).

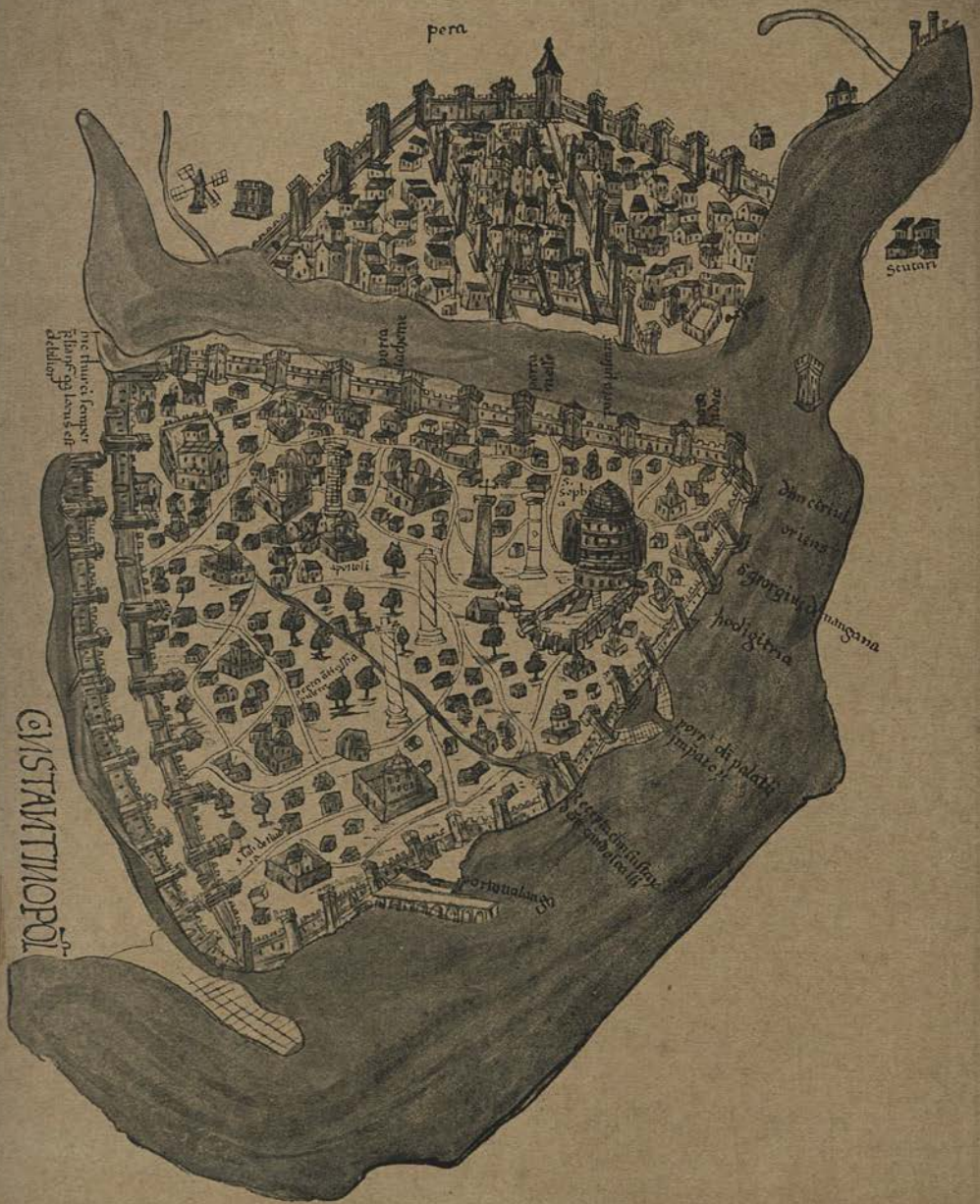
In addition, on the upper border: Pera; *on the right, above:* Scutari; *on the left side, below:* Constantinopolis.

Cf. J. Mordtmann, Esquisse topographique de Constantinople (Lille, 1892); E. Legrand, Description des îles de l'Archipel par Chr. Buondelmonti, I (Paris, 1897); E. Oberhummer, the article "Constantinopolis" in Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Enzyklopädie des klassischen Altertums IV, pp. 963–1013 (printed separately: Stuttgart, 1899).

B. Constantinople two generations after the Conquest; drawn (and published) by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore detto Vadagnino, Venice, 1520 (?).

(Drawn in facsimile by Franz Etzold, after the photographic reproduction of the original, measuring 37 × 52 centimetres, in the German National Museum at Nuremberg.)

The superiority of Vavassore's plan, on which were based the plans of Balthazar Jenichen and Sebastian Münster, is made clear by comparison with the plan in "four despatches of Augerius Gislenius of Busbeck, of the Turkish embassy, which were committed to him for Solimann, then Turkish emperor, by the Roman emperor Ferdinand I" (German; Nuremberg, 1664); or by comparison with the bird's-eye view of Michael Wolgemut or Wilhelm Pleydenwurf, which, though more than half a metre in breadth, is characterised by clever compression (in Hartman Schedel's "Buch der Croniken und Geschichten," Nuremberg, Koberger, 1495); this latter depicts the chief buildings of Constantinople from the (new) arsenal to the Golden Horn. No useful object would have been served in reproducing these two views together with the Paris and Nuremberg plans, as Schedel's is only valuable to collectors of woodcuts and curiosities, and Busbeck's is entirely valueless; cf. V. v. Loga, Die Städteansichten in Hartman Schedel's Weltchronik (Jahrbuch der königl. preuss. Kunstsammlungen ix, 194). More interest belongs to the view given by Merian in the Archontologia cosmica (Frankfort-on-Main, 1695).



CONSTANTINOPLE SHORTLY BEFORE

(From photographs of the two original p

SHORTLY AFTER ITS CAPTURE BY THE TURKS

422 and 1520 (?). Drawn in facsimile by Franz Etzold.)

Hermaion on the European side. It was here in antiquity that Xerxes crossed the Bosphorus with his army by the bridge of Mandrocles; here also has the construction of the bridge for the Bagdad railway been planned by the German engineers. Opposite to Anadoli Hissar, previously built by Bajazet upon the ruins of the Byzantine state prison, the "towers of Lethe," rose the bastion with walls twenty-five feet thick and sixty feet high, known to the Turks as Boghaskessen, and to the Greeks as Laimokopion, that is, decapitator. The possession of the two castles of Rumili and Anadoli Hissar enabled Mohammed to cut the communications of the Genoese and Venetians with their colonies in Pontus. The emperor's protestations and proposals were totally disregarded by the Emir, who beheaded the second ambassador as he had threatened, and definitely declared war in June, 1452.

Constantine XI now showed further inclination to union with the Latins; however anxious he may have been to accomplish this project, he was unable to bend his people to his will. In May, 1452, the Pope sent Cardinal Isidoros (p. 134), an enthusiastically patriotic Greek, as legate to Byzantium with two hundred auxiliary troops. In his following was the archbishop Leonhard of Mitylene, who has left us an account of the siege of the town. The festival of union, which was celebrated in the Church of St. Sophia on December 12, 1452, with prayers both for the Pope and for the uniate patriarch Gregor, who had been living in banishment since 1450, was in reality a mere farce. The schismatic clergy were furious with the emperor for his public adherence to the union; the mob uttered curses on the uniates, and the harbour workmen drank to the destruction of the Pope. The "archduke" (high admiral and chief of the artillery) Lukas Notaras, the chief official of the helpless empire, represented the sentiments of true orthodox animosity with the words, "We would rather see the turban of Turkey than the tiara of Rome in our city." With the exception of the Pope and Alfonso the Noble of Aragon and Navarre, Naples and Sicily, who was really furthering his own political ends, the only Christian powers who gave the Greek emperor any real help were the two republics of Genoa and Venice. They possessed an inestimable amount of public and private property in Galata, Pera, and the Pontic colonies. In Galata the Genoese had strengthened their fortifications a short time before, and had raised their long-famous tower. They and their colony of Chios sent two ships and seven hundred soldiers under Giovanni Longo of the Giustiniano family. So recently as September 10, 1451, the Venetians had renewed their commercial treaty with Mohammed; hence the ambiguity of the instructions which they gave to Jacopo Loredano, the commander of their fleet. No action was taken by the ten papal galleys, which accompanied Jacopo Veniero, archbishop of Ragusa, from Porto Recanati as legate on April 28.

(*a*) *The Conquest of Constantinople.* — On March 23, 1453, the Emir Mohammed started from Adrianople. On April 6 he was within half a mile of Constantinople (see the plate facing page 138, "Constantinople shortly before and shortly after the Turkish Conquest") with an army of 165,000 fanatics greedy for plunder. To this overwhelming force the Greek emperor could only oppose a total of 4,973 armed Greeks and some 2,000 foreigners, including Genoese, Venetians, Cretans, Romans, and Spaniards. The siege was begun forthwith; its details have been transmitted to us by a number of eye-witnesses (Phrantzes, Sead ed-dîn, and others).

Fourteen batteries on the land side and twelve heavy guns at special points hurled stone cannon-balls of even five hundred pounds' weight day and night upon the city. A bold resistance was offered, in which the emperor himself was specially distinguished, as also was Giustiniani with his foreign troops, who worked incessantly to repair the breaches. The colossal walls with their towers and breaches remain as evidence of the strength of the Byzantine fortress, and of the fury of the struggle which then raged about it. The German Johann Grant, by driving countermines (at the Egrikapu gate), forced the Turks to abandon their mining operations at the Blachernæ gate (see the plate) in May. Many Greeks, however, instead of bearing their part in the struggle, consoled themselves with the prophecies of the monks, to the effect that the Turks would make their way into the city as far as the pillars of Constantine and would then be driven out of the town to the very borders of Persia by an angel from heaven.

When Mohammed began his attacks from the seaside from which the Greek fire had driven him for some time, the fate of the city was sealed. In the night of the 21st and 22d of April he made a *diolkos*, dragging his ships over a roller-way across the isthmus from Top-hane on the Bosphorus to Kassim Pasha. Constantine rejected a final proposal to surrender. On Tuesday, May 29, 1453, the tremendous assault was begun at two o'clock at night. Sagan Pasha at last forced his way through a great breach with his Janissaries. Giustiniani was wounded and fled to a ship. Constantine XI fell dead upon the heaped-up corpses of his faithful adherents. His splendid death, says Gibbon, is more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars. When his blood-stained body was at length discovered, the Turks cut off the head and brought it to the Emir. In fierce delight he ordered it to be placed upon the summit of Justinian's bronze pillar, and afterwards sent it round to the governors of his Asiatic provinces for exhibition. Cardinal Isidoros had the presence of mind to exchange his purple robe for the uniform of a dead soldier; he was thrown into prison, but afterwards escaped to the Morea and to Venice, bringing to the West the first detailed account of the event which was to exercise so vast an importance on the history of the world. Thousands had taken refuge in Hagia Sophia, the church which they had scorned as a means of spiritual salvation since the union festival of the previous December. "If at that moment," says the Greek historian, Johannes Dukas, "an angel had descended from heaven and had commanded, 'Accept the union of the churches,' they would have preferred to fall into the hands of the Turks to surrender to Rome." The massacre which broke out in the town and in the church was only checked by the consideration that the living were of value for their ransom. According to an entry in the journal of the Venetian Barbaro, the prisoners amounted to sixty thousand; the plunder was valued at three hundred thousand ducats, and it became proverbial to account for a man's wealth by saying that he must have been at the conquest of Constantinople. On the morning of May 30, when Mohammed rode among the devastated ruins of Constantine's buildings, which had seen many a splendid century of time and had housed the glory of so many monarchs, he pondered the lines of the Persian poet, "The spider weaves her web in the emperor's house, and the owl wakes the echoes with her scream in the royal chambers of Afrasiab (Samarkand)." Every Friday from that day to this the preacher (*khatib*) mounts the pulpit (*mim ber*) of Hagia Sophia, to deliver the Friday sermon (*khutbe*). He brandishes a naked sword in memory of the conquest.

(*b*) *The Results of the Fall of Constantinople.* — The key to the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean was now in the hands of Mohammed II. The new monarch contented himself with levying a poll tax (karadj) on the conquered; he also attempted to draw the Greek priesthood into his toils by declaring for the anti-union party and appointing as patriarch the orthodox Gennadios (who, as Georgios Scholarios, had formerly played an important part in the union council of 1438–1439). The Emir was henceforward sedulously careful that the rights of previous emperors, especially the confirmation of the patriarch in office, should remain in his hands. In this case there was no possibility of an investiture quarrel. Henceforward the patriarch was obliged to buy his position from the Emir, and shortly afterwards from the chief officials of the empire as well, at a high rate of purchase. Thus was the dignity of patriarch disgraced by Greek corruption and Turkish despotism. Mohammed the conqueror transformed the temple of the Holy Wisdom into a praying-house of the servants of Allah. The new patriarch was given the second best church, that of the apostles (see the plate) as his patriarchion; however, this was pulled down two years later, and the memorial column of the mighty empire-founder was afterwards erected on the site. It was not until 1606 that the Christians in Phanar, in the Greek quarter of the Golden Horn, were able to make the modest Church of St. George their religious centre. The families from Trebizond, Kassa, Amastris, and other places who settled here soon formed a plutocracy, and as bankers became indispensable to the Osman government, which was always in want of money. The Phanarists obtained the most productive posts, and their daughters became influential in the harems of the Seraglio and of the Turkish grandees. The higher spiritual and secular classes of Greek society ended by making common cause for mutual profit with their Mohammedan masters, with the object of plundering the Christian rayahs, the subordinate class of the population, to their heart's content. It became usual for Greeks from Constantinople, Smyrna, the Peloponnese, and the islands to occupy the bishop's thrones in the Turkish Empire and to throng the monasteries of Mount Athos. The Phanariote clergy were bound by no national ties to their people, and were often entirely out of sympathy with the inhabitants of their dioceses in Europe and Asia. This ecclesiastical and secular supremacy of Greeks over Slavs, Roumanians, and Arabs gradually engendered deep hatred, and was the cause of the intricate linguistic and ecclesiastical complications which still exert a confusing and embittering influence upon the national questions and struggles of the Balkan States. Henceforward the Greek clergy in every quarter preferred siding with the Osmans to accepting the tutelage of the Pope; for them the Sultan's rule eventually proved more tolerable and more profitable than, for instance, the hated government of the Venetians, who desired to enchain soul as well as body. This standpoint must (according to Heinrich Gelzer) be carefully kept in view as being of capital importance in the history of the expansion and consolidation of the Osman Empire in Europe.

Mohammed also summoned the archbishop of Armenia from Brusa to Constantinople and appointed him patriarch; from that date numerous Armenian immigrants streamed into Constantinople and settled in the quarters of Pera, Pankaldi, Pevruz-Aga, Galata, Psamatio, Jedikulle, Kumkapu, Balat, and Ejub; also in Scutari and in the Bosphorus villages of Rumili-hissar, Ortakiöi, Kurutshesme, and Ernirghian.

Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall and H. Gelzer have enounced the opinion that it was the Christians solely who made the Turkish Empire great. They argue that the clever grand viziers, Kapudan pashas and governors, have been almost without exception Greeks, Croatians, Herzegovinians, Serbs, Albanians, Armenians, Georgians, and Italians; that the steady practice of child kidnapping (cf. above, p. 122) gave the empire not only its bravest generals but also its finest intellects; with the result that the Osman Empire increased by land and sea, not by Turcoman rudeness, but by Greek and Slavonic diplomacy and treachery, by Bosnian and Croatian firmness and tenacity, by the common bravery and unscrupulousness of all these renegades; then, when the tax of flesh and blood was forced to cease, the empire lost the mainstay of its power. On the other hand, we may argue that from their tenderest years the majority of these renegades were brought up as seraglio pages or as intended for Janissaries under purely Mohammedan and Osman education; in any case, through the early practice of stealing and buying women, most of the Osmans owe their origin to Christian mothers or to mothers of other than Mongolian race.

The news of the great Turkish victory over the "Christian dogs" soon reached every country in the East. The Emir Mohammed had now success on his side, and prestige has always counted for more with the East than with the West. Western Europe, however, burst into loud lamentation over the heavy loss which Christendom had suffered. The literature of this century resounds with threnodies or songs of woe upon the fall of the eternal city (cf. above, p. 111). With twenty or thirty thousand warriors and a few ships, Christian Europe might have brought salvation; but now the Labarum, the banner of the Cross, had bowed before the Sanjak-Sherif, the sacred standard of Mohammed. Retribution was paid to the full. For two centuries the West trembled before the Mohammedan rulers on the Bosphorus. The earliest news of the fall of Eastern Rome and the bloody end of the bravest of the Palaiologoi was received at Venice on June 19. On June 20 the signoria imparted it to the Pope, who was deeply shocked, and at once sent out legates to try and secure peace among the Italian States, which were torn by internecine conflict. On September 30 Nicholas V issued a great appeal for a new Crusade, and in 1454 the Reichstag of Ofen appointed Hunyadi commander-in-chief. On the other hand, the Venetian Bartolommeo Marcello concluded a peace on April 18, 1454, with the "ruler of the faithful," which became the basis of all subsequent relations between Venice and the Porte. The first article of this disgraceful convention ran thus: "between the Emir Mohammed and the Signoria of Venice exists peace and friendship now as formerly." Yet the Emir had executed the Venetian Bailo (intendant, *bajulus*) in Constantinople, and was holding five hundred Venetian subjects as prisoners. But the consideration of their warlike neighbours in Italy, their increasing financial difficulties, and the commercial interests which they valued above everything decided the question. The Osmans were allowed to maintain a Fondaco dei Turchi at Venice. Genoa also attempted to enter into relations with the Emir, and in Naples, Florence, and Milan men rejoiced openly at the embarrassment of the lagoon city. The remainder of Western Europe remained inactive. No one, indeed, confessed to inaction; on the contrary, official announcements were made by all the princes of their readiness to help in driving out the Turk. With the exception of Hungary, Alfonso of Portugal alone manifested any serious intent; but his attempts at relief were interrupted by the North

African Moorish States of Fez and Ceuta. The mournful news reached Rome from Cyprus and Rhodes that a Turkish fleet of fifty-six sail had attacked Moncastro in the Black Sea, surprised Sebastopol, raided Kassa, Sudak, and Balaclava, and devastated the coast of "Gothia" (the Crimea).

Nicholas V issued invitations for a peace conference at Rome. On August 30, 1454, Venice, Milan, and Florence there concluded a twenty-five years' league for securing the safety of their States. This peace marks the true renaissance of art and science in Italy. Together with his Crusade preachers, Nicholas V had sent out a band of emissaries and messengers provided with considerable sums to all the countries in Europe and Asia which the Osmans had subdued, with orders to discover the manuscripts carried away from Constantinople and to buy them up at any price. This, though merely a literary expedition, was the only tangible action then taken.

The military task was far more serious, especially in Germany. In 1454 the emperor Frederic III had applied in vain for help against the Turks to the Reichstags of Regensburg, Frankfort on Main, and Vienna-Neustadt. As Ludwig Pastor observes in his History of the Popes, what could the enthusiastic eloquence of noble minds like Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini or John of Capistrano avail against the selfishness, mistrust, and jealousy of rulers and noble orders? However honourable their intentions, they were but wasting their strength on this idea of a general Crusade. There was too much talk and too little action. At the same time the situation was highly critical. Trade and navigation were imperilled; Rhodes, Trebizond (where the emperor Johannes IV Kalojohannes in his extremity was forced to recognise the papal supremacy), and the colonies of Pontus were almost lost. Pope Calixtus III issued a new Crusade Bull on May 15, 1455. The order of the Minorites worked miracles of eloquence as Crusade preachers; in particular, Capistrano and Heinrich Kalteisen of Coblenz succeeded in gathering and exciting the masses of the people. On the other hand, Charles VII of France absolutely forbade meetings in his country, and retained the crusading fleet for service against England. Burgundy embezzled the funds for the Crusade, Alfonso of Naples misused the papal fleet for an expedition against Genoa; and in 1455 King Christian of Denmark and Norway plundered the cathedral sacristy of Ro(e)skilde of the "Turkish offerings" given by the pious. In vain did Calixtus order that the angelus should summon all Christians at midday to prayer against their hereditary foe.

B. The Last Twenty-five Years of Mohammed II

(*a*) *To the Death of Hunyadi.* — Mohammed II was confirmed in his resolution to act on the aggressive by observing the fruitless endeavours of the Holy Father to induce the European nationalities to unite for the repulse of Islam. With true foresight the Osman ruler recognised that Hunyadi and Skanderbeg were his most dangerous opponents. In July, 1455, he conquered the well fortified Servian mining town of Novoberdo with all its treasures. In Krushevatz, on the western Morava, he established a foundry in which his workmen, including German, Hungarian, Italian, and other Christians were busied day and night in casting heavy guns for the siege of Belgrade. Careful war organisation of this kind, extending even to the smallest details and the most remote contingencies,

was at that time unprecedented in the West. The town had been invested since June, 1456; the courage of the besieged was beginning to fail by the time that "the three Johns" approached. Hunyadi, Capistrano, and the papal legate Carvajal advanced at the head of an army consisting mainly of ill-armed citizens, peasants, monks, hermits, and students, with a few German men-at-arms and three hundred Poles. On July 14, 1456, they reached Greek Weissenburg. Carvajal had failed to reconcile the emperor Frederic III with King Ladislaus Posthumus of Hungary. The Hungarian nobility themselves stood aloof. The troops, however, inflamed by the inspiring eloquence of Capistrano, broke the Turkish barrier of ships in the Danube after a murderous conflict of five hours' duration. A bold sortie gained some breathing space for the besieged; the Emir himself was wounded. Belgrade, the outpost of Christianity, was saved, but Servia was lost. A fearful epidemic decimated the army and carried off the heroic Hunyadi on August 11, 1456; the aged Capistrano also succumbed on October 23 in Illok (*buccium*) on the Danube, the most beautiful town of Sarmatia.

(*b*) *To the Death of Castriota.* — The complete indifference of the Western powers obliged the Pope in December, 1456, to apply for help against the Turks to the Christian king of Ethiopia, to the Christians in Syria, Georgia, and Persia, even to Uzun Hasan, the chieftain of the Turcomans of the White Sheep (Vol. II, p. 186). The Turks had conquered Servia without difficulty after the death of the despot Georg Branković (December 24, 1457). Helene, a daughter of Thomas Palaiologos, and the widow of his son Lazar, who had died at the end of January, 1458, had surrendered the country as a papal fief in the hope of thereby securing its safety. The whole of the people rose against this presumption; they would rather throw themselves into the arms of the Turks than attempt to purchase the entirely unreliable support of the Latin West at the price of their ancestral faith. Albania and Bosnia were soon to share the same fate. In Bosnia private and sectarian feuds and dissensions were raging alike in the ruling house which inclined to Rome, among the magnates and the anti-Roman Paterines whose sympathies were Turkish. The king Stephan Thomashević paid for his double dealing towards King Matthias of Hungary and Mohammed (1458) under the executioner's axe (1463); thirty thousand young Bosnians were incorporated with the Janissaries. In vain did Stephan's mother Katherina bequeath her lost country to the apostolic chair. Hunyadi's son, Matthias Corvinus, conquered Jaicze (October 1, 1463), but could not prevent the advance of the Turks to the mountain passes of Herzegovina (King Stephan Thomash, who had been strangled in 1459, had received the title of duke (Herzog) from the German emperor Frederic III for the district south of Bosnia) and Crnagora (Montenegro), and the victory of Islam in 1464. The Franciscans were the sole shelter and refuge for the Christians who remained in Bosnia under decrees of toleration and the letter of protection issued by Mohammed.

In Albania, notwithstanding the treachery of the jealous leaders of his warlike mountain people, the heroic spirit of Skanderbeg had offered a most tenacious resistance; in the autumn of 1457 he gained a bloody victory over the army of Isâbeg in the Tomornitza. At the same time the papal fleet under Lodovico Scarampi defeated the Turks at Metelino. But in the summer of 1458 the Morea and Attica were overrun and devastated by Mohammed's wild troops;

Athens fell into the hands of the Osmans in June, as did Corinth on August 6. In that region Turakhan was summoned by the despots of the Morea, Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologos, to quell an Albanian revolt; in 1453 and 1454 he defeated the Albanians in a series of bloody engagements. The despots now felt the conqueror's power. A quarrel began between the Duke of Athens, Franko II Acciajuoli, and the second husband of Chiara, widow of Nerio II, Bartolommeo Contarini, who fled to Stamboul. The Emir then resolved to make a clean sweep. Omar Pasha, the son of Turakhan, marched into Athens in June, 1456, while a great famine wasted the land and a comet appalled the inhabitants; two years later the Acropolis surrendered, as we have stated. After the massacres in the Peloponnese the Emir himself appeared in Athens in the last weeks of August with a brilliant following at the invitation of his pasha. Though his arrival marked the beginning of four centuries of servitude, he proved more merciful than Xerxes or Mardonios in days of old. His admiration of the architecture and situation of the city is related by his flattering biographer Kritobulos. However, the jubilation of the Greeks at the retirement of the Roman clergy from the Latin church of the Parthenon was premature. When Mohammed revisited the city in the autumn of 1460, he transformed the Parthenon into a mosque, in anger at the repeated revolts of the inhabitants. In 1458 Franko Acciajuoli was spared, but he was executed in Thebes in the next year for treachery. His sons were placed in the Janissary life-guard. His widow, a daughter of the dynast Demetrios of Morea, was given in marriage to the former Protovestiarius Georg Amoirutzis, who had betrayed to the Sultan in 1461 the "Great Komnenos" David of Trebizond (a brother of the emperor Johannes IV, who died in 1458; p. 141). Athens was no longer a name of importance in Europe. In 1462 the Osmans began the subjugation of Wallachia, whose tyrannical prince, the Christian Voivode Vlad (Vladislav IV, nicknamed Drakul), had roused the Sultan's anger by the treacherous destruction of a Turkish army under Hama Zenevisi Pasha. Mohammed's punitive campaign led him through that appalling oak forest where for two miles the army marched past the twenty thousand Turkish and Bulgarian corpses which Vlad had impaled in 1461. Vlad Drakul took refuge with Matthias Corvinus, who kept him under strict guard, since the fugitive had plotted for the betrayal of his protector to the Emir. His brother Radul, a hostage of Mohammed, obtained the power in Wallachia under Turkish supremacy.

During the six years of his pontificate (1458–1464) Pius II (formerly Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini) had worked incessantly to raise a general crusade. So early as October 13, 1458, he had issued a vigorous bull inviting the Christian princes to a council of war at Mantua; but the French cardinals opposed him both publicly and privately. King Louis XI of France not only retained the crusade tithes for his own purposes, but would not allow Duke Philip of Burgundy to perform his promise to the Pope. In 1459 Frederic III had received the crown of Matthias Corvinus from the magnates of Hungary. At the Nuremberg Reichstag, the papal legate, Cardinal Bessarion, strove in vain to heal the breach between the emperor and Hungary. However, disasters soon occurred in rapid succession. The island of Lemnos, which belonged to the Genoese family of Gattilusio, had been betrayed by the Greeks to the Osman fleet in the spring of 1456. In September, 1462, Lesbos also fell into the power of Mohammed II. On March 7, 1461, Thomas,

the dethroned despot of the Morea, arrived in Rome by way of Corfu; his brother Demetrios had submitted to the Emir at the end of May, 1460, and had given him his daughter in marriage; he died in 1470 as a monk at Adrianople. The daughter of Thomas, the princess Zoë, married in 1472 the grand prince Ivan III Vassilievitch of Moscow, thereby placing her claims in the hands of Russia. Ivan adopted a new coat of arms for Russia, the two-headed eagle, which may be seen to-day in the Kremlin at Moscow, and sent an ambassador to Stamboul, naturally to no purpose. In accordance with the researches of the Russian Vladimir J. Savva concerning the Muscovite Czars and the Byzantine Emperors, Karl Roth has argued against these constitutional and hereditary rights consequent upon the marriage of Ivan with Zoë Palaiologos, otherwise Sophia. Better founded, perhaps, were the claims which the Jagellon Alexander I of Poland inherited as the husband of Zoë's daughter Helene. On the other hand, Andreas, recognised as titular despot of the Morea by Pope Paul II in 1465, an unworthy brother of Zoë, and the last male descendant of the royal house of the Palaiologoi, in order to relieve his financial difficulties, sold his rights to the French king Charles VIII in 1494, and bequeathed them on his death (April 7, 1502) to the Spanish rulers Ferdinand and Isabella.

In the summer and autumn of 1461 the principality of Sinope (Emir Ismael) and the empire of Trebizond (Emperor David) fell into the hands of the Osmans. Argos was lost on April 3, 1463, and the whole of Bosnia in the summer, as has been stated. Ragusa was then placed in a highly dangerous position. The Pope projected and actually carried out an attempt to convert the Emir himself, holding out as an inducement the possession of the whole of the East. At length, on July 19, 1463, the Pope's zealous efforts were rewarded by the reconciliation of the Emperor with the king of Hungary. A convention was executed in Vienna-Neustadt, which recognised the Corvini as kings so long as their family should continue, while securing the succession to the Hapsburgs in case Matthias should leave no children. About this time Venice and Hungary concluded an offensive and defensive alliance, upon which Skanderbeg reopened hostilities in Albania. The Sforza of Milan and the Florentines stood aloof, watching the Venetian disasters with malicious joy (failure of the attack on Corinth, death of the general Bertoldo of Este, etc.). A Florentine chronicler even relates that his countrymen intercepted Venetian letters and handed them to the Emir. In vain did the Pope attempt to dazzle the Florentines with a stupendous plan for the partition of Turkey, the first of the many subsequent projects of the kind which have continued to our own times. When the crusading army in Ancona grew tired of waiting and disbanded, Pius II died in sight of the Venetian galleys, his life's object unrealised (August 14, 1464).

His successor (the Venetian Pietro Barbo), Paul II, resumed his predecessor's task with vigour. Of pressing importance was the relief of the bold Skanderbeg in his fortress of Kruja (Croja). In the event, the Turks were defeated in 1466 and 1467, their leader Balaban killed, and Kruja saved. But on January 17, 1468, Skanderbeg succumbed to the effects of a fever at Alassio at the age of sixty. Christianity had suffered no severer loss since the death of Hunyadi and Capistrano. "They have lost their sword and their shield!" cried Mohammed II in joy. The Albanian army was dispersed, and the upper and wealthier classes of the Albanian population accepted Mohammedanism, while the lower classes,

the ancestors of the modern Catholic G(h)eges, preferred to retire to the life of shepherds and klephts in the inaccessible mountain ranges.

(c) *From 1470 to 1480.*—Between 1465 and 1468 the Venetians had gained some success in Greek waters under Sigismondo Malatesta (died 1468), Vettore Capello (died 1467), and Niccolo da Canale. To the energetic Emir this was but a stimulus to raise his fleet to the invincible power which it attained in 1469. His crews included the most capable seamen of the age, the Jews and Greeks, especially the so-called Stratiotes, who then served as mercenaries all over Europe. Mohammed started for Greece in 1470 at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, while his admiral Mahmud Pasha co-operated with a fleet of three hundred sail. On July 12, Negropont (Chalkis in Eubœa) fell after a desperate resistance. Fortunately for Christendom the Turcoman prince Uzun Hasan (p. 142) created a diversion in Asia which drew off the main body of the Turkish forces; for the Osman cavalry had overrun Croatia to the very borders of Styria and Carinthia. On June 24, 1471, the famous "general Christian assembly" was opened in Regensburg under the presidency of the emperor. Messages of disaster and appeals for help rang in the emperor's ears more importunately than ever before. In vain did the papal legate strive to heal the quarrel between the brothers of the house of Wittelsbach; in vain did the Venetian ambassadors make glowing promises; in vain was it resolved to send embassies of peace to Poland and Hungary. The selfish point of view, from which the lethargic emperor began the negotiations for help against the Turks and imperial reform, unfortunately decided the attitude of the princes of the empire. Compared with the great hopes built upon it, the assembly came to a miserable conclusion (cf. Vol. VII, p. 218).

Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484) also hoped to secure a general federation of the European powers for exclusive action against the Turks. But on November 18, 1472, died the noble Bessarion, the life and soul of the movement for resistance within the Curia. He together with famous Greeks, like Chalkondyles, Laskaris, Argyropulos, and Gaza, had done their work as missioners of Greek life, to raise those great intellectual centres in Italy whence the humanist movement sprang. For the moment, however, defeat followed defeat. Disputes broke out between the Venetians and the cardinal-admiral Carasa, although their united fleet had won victories at Satalia and Smyrna. On July 26, 1473, the lion-hearted Mohammed had crushed the Persian ruler Uzun Hasan at Terjan and was now pressing upon his enemies in Albania, on the Adriatic, and on the Danube frontier. A fruitless victory was gained by Stephan the Great, the Voivode of Moldavia, at Racova on January 4, 1475, over superior numbers of the enemy. In June the Genoese colony of Kassa in the Crimea fell into Turkish hands; in 1478 Mohammed II appointed the Tartar Mengli Giray as Khan of the Crimea, of the north coast of Pontus, and of Tartary Minor, under Turkish supremacy (Vol. II, p. 182). Lepanto and Leukas were vigorously assaulted (May, 1477). In Albania, Kruja the capital (June 15, 1478), Shabljak, Alessio, and Drivasto were captured by the Turks, who repeated their devastating incursions into the Austrian Alps. The Republic of San Marco, devastated by a fearful pestilence, then came to the momentous resolution to give up the bloody struggle, to surrender Albania (with the exception of Durazzo and Antivari), the house of Tocco (central Western Greece),

Eubœa, and Lemnos, but to save their Levant commerce. At this price Venice concluded peace with the Sultan through Giovanni Dario on January 25, 1479.

The conqueror, however, did not remain quiescent. Leonardo III Tocco was driven out of Leukas in the summer of 1479. Rhodes offered renewed resistance (May to July, 1480) under Pierre d'Aubusson, grand master of the order of St. John. But on August 11 Otranto in Apulia fell into the hands of the unbelievers amid the horrors of dreadful carnage. This news came upon Christendom like a bolt from the blue. In the midst of hurried preparations for resistance the news arrived of the death of Mohammed II, the mighty conqueror who had terrorised the whole of Europe for a full generation. He died on May 3, 1481, at Ankyron, near Hunkiar Chairi, between Gebse and Herake in Asia Minor. Here, centuries before, Constantine the Great, who founded the city which Mohammed captured, had breathed his last. On September 10 Otranto was recovered by the cardinal legate Fregoso and King Ferrante of Naples.

(*d*) *The Importance of Mohammed II.* — It is difficult to form an estimate from a Western standpoint of the character of Mohammed II and of his importance to Turkish history. When this Sultan expired in the midst of his army, he had ruled the Osman Empire for thirty years, and was nearly fifty-three years of age. The accounts of contemporary historians concerning him are coloured either by grovelling admiration of his personality or by hatred and abhorrence of the misery which he, above all men, brought upon Christendom. The cruelties practised by his troops in Austria can hardly have met with his approval, resulting as they did in a useless expenditure of force, and the horrors of Otranto so disgusted him that he executed the pasha responsible for their commission. But in order to secure himself in undisturbed possession of the throne he murdered his brother at his mother's breast, and added an enactment upon fratricide to the legal code of Kanunnameh (cf. pp. 123, 130), supporting it by the maxim of the Koran, "Disorder is more ruinous than murder."

After his victory he erected in Stamboul the mosque of Ejjub (Ayub), the prophet's standard-bearer, wherein all sultans were henceforward girded with the sword of Omar. He constructed a countless number of buildings, chiefly through his architect Christobulos. His greatest architectural work, the Mehmedieh, displays in its interior the words of the prophet in letters of gold: "Ye shall conquer Constantinople; happy the prince and the army who shall achieve this." Mosques, imaretes (cook-shops), medresses (educational institutions), hospitals, caravanserais, lunatic asylums, libraries, fountains, and the old Serai were completed or commenced at his command. He wrote poems under the name of Auni, the ready helper (edited from the MS. in Upsala by Georg Jacob, 1904). Osman poetry previous to the conquest of Constantinople had been dominated by mysticism and didactic tendencies. Mohammed I begins the series of poets of conquest; as his contemporary appears the oculist Sheichi with a romantic love epic, "Khosrev and Shirin," which was merely an imitation from the Persian. Murad II, who had retired to live a life of contemplation at Magnesia (Manissa) on the Sipylos, was in the habit of holding gatherings twice a week of the "knights of intellect," and rewarding them liberally; he also made attempts at verse composition. The conquest of Constantinople by Mohammed II gave the empire and the art of poetry a secure basis. Among the most important of early Turkish

poets are Ahmed Pasha, Nejali, Chiali, and Mesihi. The epigrammatic diction of the poet of nature, Chusi, reminds us of Hans Sachs. Among the swarm of poets who surrounded the artistic Sultan were two poetesses, Zeïneb and Mihri, who dedicated their divans (collections of poems) to the Sultan. The conqueror was the founder of numerous schools, and kept such Persian and Indian scholars in his pay as Khoja Jihan, and Jami (Vol. III, p. 376). Bajazet II followed this example. He, like his brother Djem and Prince Korkud, whose end was no less tragic, occupied himself with art and poetry. The Bajazet or pigeon mosque in Stamboul, with its splendid forecourt, remains one of the finest monuments of Osman architecture. Before the battle of Jenishehir, Djem, who had been previously victorious at Brusa, proposed to Bajazet that they should divide the empire as brothers. Bajazet replied with the Arabian verse, "The king's sword cleaves the ties of blood, the Sultan has no kinship even with his brothers." Selim I, Suleimân the Great, and Selim II followed this example, conquered kingdoms, and cherished the Muses amid all their cruelties. Mention must also be made at this point of the sheik Vefasade. His dominant personality and his character of the old Roman type made him typical of the sages who adorned that period of Osman history under Mohammed II. In his time occurred the first installation of a poet laureate in the person of Sati, who was commissioned to produce yearly three Kassidé (poems on special subjects), at the beginning of spring and at the two festivals of Beiram. It must be said that the skilful management of rhyme and metre was the first consideration with the Osman poet. Form was to him more important than content, manner than matter, description than feeling; his poetical forms were derived chiefly from the Arabs, the spirit and home of the desert. Poetry in Turkish is called *shiir*, haircloth (compare the primary meaning of the German *Dichtung*, *Verdichtung*), while *beït* is both the distich and the tent.

C. Bajazet II and Selim I

(*a*) *Bajazet II.* — After the death of Mohammed II two dangers threatened the Turkish Empire, — revolt on the part of the Janissaries and internal disruption. Both of these were overcome by Bajazet II (1481–1512). To the Janissaries he made rich presents; indeed, the presents given to these prætorian guards rose at every change in the succession, until their delivery three centuries later brought about a financial crisis. Prince Djem, on the other hand, was for a long time a source of fear and anxiety to the Sultan in the hands of his enemies. Beaten at Jenishehir on June 20, 1481, he fled from Konia to Cairo; defeated at Konia with Kasimbeg of Karaman in the spring of 1482, he took refuge with the knights of Rhodes on July 23; in return for an annual subsidy of forty-five thousand ducats from Turkey, they kept him confined at Rousillon, a commandery of the order on the Rhone; after February, 1483, he was kept at Le Puy. All the princes of Europe rivalled one another in their efforts to get the "Grand Turk" into their power. On March 13, 1489, the prince, famous, like his brother, as a poet, entered the Vatican as a prisoner in honourable confinement. On February 24, 1495, he died in Naples, after Alexander VI had been compelled to hand him over to Charles VIII of France (cf. p. 144). He was presumed to have died from poison administered to him in Rome by the Pope, who was paid by Bajazet for this service.

Bajazet's court had now become the arena of the diplomatists of Europe. Embassies and proposals for conventions had replaced the sword. The six Italian powers were the chief rivals for the Sultan's favour; they did not shrink upon occasion from employing the help of the infidels to procure the destruction of their Christian opponents. While Bajazet conquered Kilia and Akjerman, two important points in Moldavia, while the emperor Frederic III was embroiled with Matthias Corvinus, further disputes upon the succession breaking out after the death of the king of Hungary (April 6, 1490), Spain meanwhile had conquered Granada in 1492, and was consequently able to interfere independently in the course of European affairs. A short time previously King Ferrante I of Naples had secretly supported the Moors against the Spaniards. He now concluded peace with Spain, from whose harbour, Palos, the Pope's great compatriot, Columbus, had sailed to the discovery of a new world. Impressed by these events, the Sultan sent the Pope the sacred lance of Longinus as a most valuable present. The decree of the grand inquisitor Torquemada (Vol. IV, p. 535) of March 31, 1492, had expelled three hundred thousand Jews from Spain; they were hospitably received by Bajazet, who settled them in Constantinople, Saloniki, Smyrna, and Aleppo. From their great centres of refuge the Spanioles, or Sephardim, rose to positions of high honour and wealth, even as diplomatists in the service of the Porte, and were therein surpassed only by Greeks, Armenians, and Levantines.

On March 31, 1495, a holy league was concluded (Vol. VII, 207 f) by Venice, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Maximilian I, Lodovico il Moro, and the Pope for the protection of Christianity against the Turks. None the less, several Hungarian towns in Bosnia were conquered in 1496. In 1497 the Turks, Tartars, and Wallachians burst into Poland, devastating the land far and wide from Lemberg and Přzemysl to Banczug. On August 26, 1499, fell Lepanto, the only possession remaining to Venice on the Gulf of Corinth. Starting from Bosnia the Turks devastated the Venetian continent to the neighbourhood of Vicenza. The coasts of Southern Italy were plundered; in August, 1500, the Venetians lost Modon, Navarino, and Koron in the Morea. In vain did Alexander VI issue a great jubilee indulgence (op. cit. p. 226). Benedetto Pesaro succeeded in reconquering Ægina; towards the end of the same year, Cephallenia; Alessio in 1501, and Santa Maura (Leukas) in 1502; but in 1501 Durazzo was lost, as also was Butrinto in 1502. Venice was reaping the fruits of her former careless peace policy; under the peace of October 6, 1505, she was obliged to return Santa Maura. Hungary, which had accomplished nothing save a few marauding raids upon Turkish territory, had concluded a seven years' armistice on October 20. The Holy Roman Empire was not even able to collect the "common penny" (Vol. VII, p. 224) which had been voted at repeated diets. In vain did the humanist Jakob Wimpheling of Strassburg complain in 1505 in his "Epitome rerum Germanicarum" of the decay of the empire, the selfishness of the princes, and the advance of the Turks. Fifty years before Hans Rosenblüt had uttered an emphatic warning in "The Turk's Carnival Play:" "Our master the Turk is rich and strong, and is very reverent to his God, so that he supports him, and all his affairs prosper. Whatever he has begun has turned out according to his desire."

The last years of Sultan Bajazet were troubled by disturbances within the empire and revolts excited by his sons. The Janissaries, who had placed him on

SIX OSMAN SULTANS

EXPLANATION OF THE PORTRAITS OVERLEAF

Above, on the right: Mohammed II Bujuk (the great), Ghazi (conqueror of the unbelievers) or Fatih (the conqueror, 1451–1481). Painted on November 25, 1480, by Gentile Bellini (1426–1507).

(The portrait is framed in Renaissance carving (not reproduced here), from the edge of which hangs an embroidered curtain. On the left panel of this cresting is inscribed, "Terrarum marisque victor ac dominator orbis . . . Sultan . . . inte . . . Mahometi resultat ars vera Gientilis militis aurati Belini naturae . . . qui cuncta reducit in propriam propria simulacra;" on the right hand panel: "MCCCCLXXX Die XXV mensis Novembris." The portrait was originally in the collection of Paolo Giovio in Como, and is now in the gallery of Sir H. Layard at Venice.)

Above, on the left: Suleiman II el Kenani (the great or illustrious; 1520–1566).

(From an album of portraits of Sultans (photographic reproductions by Abdullah frères in Constantinople), executed in pastel by an Italian at the beginning of the nineteenth century, arranged and collected by Tewfik Pasha in a folio volume, which is now in the library of the Bagdad Kiosk in the old seraglio, but is not open to inspection.)

In the centre, on the right: Selim III (1789–1807); the founder of the modern Turkish military system.

(From a painting.)

In the centre, on the left: Mahmud II (1808–1839); the summoner of Moltke and destroyer of the Janissaries.

(From a painting.)

Below, on the right: Abd ul Medshid (1839–1861); recognised as "Majesty" and "Emperor" after 1856 (in the peace of Paris).

(From a painting.)

Below, on the left: Abd ul Aziz (1861–1876), the thirty-second Sultan of the Osmans.

(From a photograph.)

the throne, obliged him to abdicate on April 25, 1512, in favour of his third son, Selim.

(*b*) *Selim I.* — Selim I (1512–1520), an imperious and warlike character, revived the plans of Mohammed II, and threatened Christianity with death and destruction. After poisoning his father Bajazet, two brothers, and five nephews, he built a powerful fleet of five hundred sail; conquered the Shah Ismail of Persia (Vol. III, p. 381) at Khaldyran on August 23, 1514, after arousing him to fight on Turkish soil by the capture and murder of forty thousand Shiites; conquered Armenia, the west of Aserbeijân, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia; and in 1516 overthrew in Syria and Palestine the mighty kingdom of the Egyptian Mamelukes (cf. Vol. III, p. 710), with which his father had been unable to cope (1485–1491). After the battle of Heliopolis he marched into Cairo on January 26, 1517. Tûmân II Bey, the last of the Burjites, was taken prisoner, and executed on April 13. While the conqueror rested in his palace near the Nigjâs (the Nilometer), on the island of Rôda, he sent for the shadow performer of the "Karagöz" (p. 124), who represented the hanging of Tûmân on the Torzuwêle and the double breakage of the rope, to the Sultan's great satisfaction. Selim had the most beautiful marble pillars of the citadel broken out and taken to Stamboul. Cairo was reduced to the position of a provincial town. The richest merchants emigated to Constantinople. Selim, being recognised as protector by Mecca and Medina, forced the last descendant of the Abbassid caliphs, Mutavakkil, to surrender his rights of supremacy, that he might himself thus become caliph; that is, the spiritual and temporal head of all the followers of Islam. His position as such was recognised neither by the Persian Shiites (Vol. III, p. 380) nor by the fanatical Arabs of the sacred cities, who regarded their Shereef as their spiritual head and as related to the prophet. At the time, however, the event implied the highest limit of power in the East.

Algiers had also fallen into Turkish hands (Vol. IV, p. 225). The towns on the Italian seaboard were now harried by the descents of the Turks (corsairs). In Hungary the Turkish problem had grown more acute than ever before. Carniola, Styria, Carinthia, and Austria lay open to Turkish attacks. At the peace congress of Cambrai in 1517 the emperor Maximilian I proposed a detailed scheme for the partition of Turkey to the monarchs, by the adoption of which their differences might be settled with the utmost profit to all concerned. At the imperial diet in Augsburg in 1518 the crusade of Leo X was approved. But nothing was done.

D. Suleimân II the Magnificent

But a few years and two main outposts of Christendom fell into the hands of the Osmans, — Belgrade on August 29, 1521, and Rhodes on December 21, 1522. Selim's son, the glorious Suleimân, had ascended the throne (Soliman II, 1520–1566; see the plate facing this page, "Six Osman Sultans"). In honour of his father he built the splendid Selimije mosque on the fifth hill of Stamboul, and placed the following inscription on the warrior king's grave: "Here rests Selim, the terror of the world; yet his body alone is here, his heart is still in battle." He avenged upon the knights of St. John the defeat which the conqueror of Byzantium had suffered before Rhodes, in 1480; after a heroic defence and a six months' siege the strong island-fortress fell. A son of Djem, whom Suleimân found in Rhodes, was strangled. The inhabitants of the island migrated in 1527

to the barren Malta which Charles V presented to them, the Pope confirming their possession. Similarly in the case of Belgrade, Suleimân avenged the repulse which Mohammed II had suffered there in 1456 (p. 142) by his capture of the city. Europe trembled with fear, imagining his "riders and wasters" already before Vienna. A German ballad of 1522 depicts the terror which then pervaded the Holy Roman Empire: "The furious Turk has lately brought great forces into Hungary, has overcome Greek Weissenburg, and thereon he prides himself. From Hungary he has quickly and lightly entered Austria in the light of day; Bavaria is his for the taking; thence he presses onward and may soon come to the Rhine, for which cause we have no peace nor rest. Our carelessness and selfishness, our proud distrust, hate, envy, and jealousy against our neighbours, these it is that give the Turk his victories."

(*a*) *Mohács and Vienna.*—In truth, in 1522 the Turks had already devastated a part of Hungary and were meditating an incursion into Lower Austria and Bavaria. Mehemed Bey had occupied Wallachia; in May he ravaged the whole of the Karst to Friuli, and sat down before Laibach. The Venetians made no effort upon the loss of Rhodos; they remained secure in Candia. Francis I, "the most Christian king of France," actually sought an alliance with the Sultan against the emperor. The noble oligarchy in Hungary were not indisposed to accept the Grand Turk as their ruler. John Zápolya, count of Zips and voivode of Transylvania, attempted to secure the Hungarian throne with the Sultan's help. Peterwardein on the Danube was captured by the Grand Vizier. Then on August 29, 1526, followed the decisive battle in the plain of Mohács, where the Christian army with its king was defeated after a heroic struggle. Louis II himself, the last Jagellon ruler of Hungary, was drowned in a swamp while in flight. Two thousand heads were placed on pikes before the grand master's tent. Four thousand prisoners were massacred, Ofen was reduced to ashes, and the land was ravaged as far as Raab and "the Etzelburg" Gran. Zápolya, who had done homage to the Sultan on his knees, received the crown of the country from Ofen to Stuhlweissenburg, and was crowned at the latter town on November 11. King Ferdinand, the brother-in-law of the fallen Louis, was elected king of Hungary at Pressburg on December 16; the day of Mohács thus became the birthday of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Henceforward all the enemies of the emperor Charles V and of King Ferdinand were on the side of the Turks and Zápolya. Even the dukes Wilhelm and Ludwig of Bavaria entered into secret negotiations with the Grand Turk in regard to their claims to Bohemia.

The Sultan forthwith sent the following intimation to King Ferdinand in an open letter. "With reference to the loss of our crown, you may fully expect that we shall visit you at Vienna shortly with thirteen kingdoms, and bring the most miserable death that we can devise upon all your helpers." The advance of the Turks and the fact that a Turkish fleet was cruising off Sicily expedited the conclusion of entire peace between the emperor Charles V and the Pope at Barcelona on June 29, 1529, two months after the dispersal of the diet of Spire. Francis I had also made peace with the emperor at Cambrai, though he remained in secret communication with the "Lord of all lords, the dispenser of crowns to the monarchs of the earth, the shadow of God over both worlds." In 1528 Zápolya was forced to adopt Henry, the son of Francis, as the successor to Hungary. On September

21 the Turks appeared before Vienna. Their army was 250,000 strong, occupying 16 encampments and 25,000 tents. Count Nikolaus Salm had evacuated the suburbs, and burnt and dismantled the castle on the Kahlenberg. With the courage of despair he established himself in the city with a garrison of 12,000 men. The imperial army voted by the diet of Spire and the protestants consisted of 100 cavalry and 14 companies of infantry. However, frequent sorties were made and five vigorous assaults repulsed. Suleimân had sworn to take no rest until the prayer of the prophet was delivered from the tower of Stephan's church. However, on October 15 want of supplies, unfavourable weather, and dissatisfaction among the Janissaries obliged him to raise the siege.

The wave of advancing Osman power had been broken upon the walls of Vienna. But Hungary remained in the Sultan's hands, held in feudal tenure by Zápolya (September 14). The Venetians hastened to send assurances of their good will to the Sultan and the voivode, to whom they had done good service as spies. Aided by the religious confusion in Germany, Kasimbeg (p. 147) carried devastation through Austria, as did Zápolya with the Wallachians through Moravia and Silesia. Resistance was offered by an army of the empire and the forces of Charles V, amounting in all to 50,000 men. Clement VII sent money and his nephew Hippolito dei Medici. Once again the Mohammedan advance was broken before Güns, which was heroically defended by Niklas Jurishitz (August 9 to 28, 1532; Vol. VII, p. 260). But the imperial army dispersed again.

When Ferdinand's ambassador boasted of the emperor's power to Ibrahim Pasha, the Grand Vizier interrupted him with the words, "Has he made peace with Martin Luther?" Luther's attitude toward the Turkish danger is remarkable. Luther advised the people not to give help against the Turks, "seeing that the Turk is ten times cleverer and more pious than our princes." Hans Sachs, the enthusiastic poet of the Reformation, repeatedly sings of victory over the arch enemy in his poems and satires (1529). "Awake, my heart, my mind, and my good cheer, help me to praise the man at arms as is his due; his knightly deeds have been performed in Austria, even at Vienna in the city." Luther, on the other hand, in his table talk and in his "army sermon against the Turks" in 1529, often used language which can only be explained as prompted by the deepest despair at the disunion of the rulers and the slow progress of the evangelical movement. "The Venetians," says Luther, "have done nothing of note; they are not warriors, but pepper bags. Had Germany a master, we could easily resist the Turk, but the Papists are our worst enemies, and would rather see Germany laid waste. The Papists will say that the Turk has come because of my teaching, that God has sent him to scourge Germany because Luther and his doctrine is not rooted out. But I would rather have the Turks as enemies (*sic*) than the Spaniards as protectors. As the Pope has robbed us before of our money with his indulgence in the name of the Turkish war, so also for our money will the Turk devour us, following the Pope's example. So may our dear Lord Jesus Christ help us and strike both Pope and Turk to the ground." Luther, however, does express patriotic sentiments. To him the Turks are *populus iræ Dei*, servants of the devil; he utters emphatic warnings against apostasy to Islam, cheers the courageous, and consoles the prisoners. In sharp language he points the contrast between Turkish discipline and German lawlessness. But the point of dispute among the Christians continually recurs: "To go to Turkey is to go to the devil; to remain under the Pope is to fall into hell."

(*b*) *The Years 1533–1566.* — At length a peace was patched up between the Sultan and the emperor in the summer of 1533. Suleiman employed this breathing-space to cross the Euphrates and to settle accounts with the Persians (Vol. III, p. 381). He captured Täbris (Tebriz, Tauris) and Bagdad, returning in triumph in January, 1536. To the year 1535 belong the "capitulations" concluded between Francis I and the Porte, which served as a basis for all later conventions of the kind with other nations, with a special reference to France, the nation that was always on friendly terms and most favourably treated. These agreements secured free trade for the Turks in France and for the "Franks" in all Turkish countries. They formed the point of departure for the principle of consular jurisdiction (cf. p. 96), provided for the great question of the holy places, and stipulated for a kind of protectorate over the Latin (Catholic) subjects of the Great Master, on which the modern French "protectorate" is based.

It was in order to alleviate the miseries of the prisoners of war and to check the enormous growth of piracy that Charles V undertook his famous expedition against Tunis in 1535. Goletta was conquered, many guns were taken as booty, including cannons stamped with the French lilies, twenty thousand Christian slaves were set free, and Muley Hasan was allowed to hold Tunis as a fief of the Spanish crown. Charles V contemplated the conquest of Algiers (captured in 1506 and 1509 by Ferdinand the Catholic with Oran and Bugia, but lost by Barbarossa to Horuk in 1515) and even of Constantinople (cf. Vol. IV, p. 252). But after the death of Zápolya (July 21, 1540) Suleimân made almost the whole of Hungary a Turkish province in September, 1541, and the expedition of Charles to the African coast failed utterly, as a great storm either shattered his ships or drove them scattered upon the Spanish coast. Francis I loudly proclaimed his delight at the emperor's misfortune, congratulated the Sultan on "the overthrow of their common enemy," and struck commemorative medals with the inscription, "*Non contra fidem, sed contra Carolum.*" He and the Venetian republic contributed so large a sum for the Sultan's help that the latter boasted that the king of France was more profitable to him than all other tributaries. With tears in his eyes Ferdinand begged for help from the Protestants at Regensburg. Suleimân marched through Hungary (1542) capturing Valpo, Siclos, Fünfkirchen, Gran, Tata, and Stuhlweissenburg, while Ferdinand had only four thousand men with which to oppose him. Meanwhile Khaireddin Barbarossa had fruitlessly besieged Corfu in 1537, but had conquered Naxos, Tinos, and Seriphos, as also Castelnuovo in Dalmatia in 1539, and had forced Venice, under an agreement of October 2, 1540, to cede Malvasia, Napoli di Romania, Nadin, and Urana. He now landed with the Turkish fleet at Reggio in Calabria, devastated the coast, joined the French fleet at Toulon, and won a victory at Nizza on August 20, 1543, the last refuge of the Duke of Savoy. At the same time Suleimân (Soliman) Pasha, the governor of Egypt, was spreading terror even to the Indian Ocean, where he conquered the Portuguese, captured the town of Diu, and subdued the Arab princes on the coast of the Red Sea. The years 1546–1547 saw the death of four of the most powerful men of the period, — Francis I, Henry VIII, Luther, and Khaireddin Barbarossa. Even in his tomb on the right bank of the Bosphorus at Beshik Tash (Iasonion) this great sea hero was the example and the guiding star of his successors. After the victory of the old corsair chieftain over Andrea Doria at Prevéza in 1538, the war fleets and pirates of the Turks were masters of the Mediterranean.

While Moritz of Saxony gave up the towns of Metz, Toul, and Verdun to Henry II of France in 1552, King Ferdinand sent an embassy to the camp of Sultan Suleimân at Amasia in Asia Minor. Roger Ascham, the English ambassador of the time, says of the French king, that in order to do the emperor a mischief he was ready to sell his soul simultaneously to Protestants and Papists, to the Turk and to the devil. Though not inspired with the spirit of Machiavelli, yet well acquainted with the learning of the renaissance, Ferdinand's ambassador, Augier Ghiselin of Busbeck, set out for Amasia (1555). Not only did he bring back from Persia documentary proof of an armistice with the "glorious and splendid" conqueror, but with this embassy is also connected the discovery of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, "the queen of inscriptions" (Vol. VI), near Busbeck in Angora, which led to a revival of interest in antiquities, paleography, epigraphy, and numismatics in the West. The same ambassador also brought the tulip bulb and the elder-tree to Europe. Besides the four long Latin letters reporting upon his mission, he sent a despatch to the emperor containing a "proposal" as to "the possibility of waging a continued conflict with the hereditary enemy of the Christian name and blood, taking the field without dismay and securing victory." This pamphlet displays Turkish military discipline in the best and German discipline in the worst possible light. But it also contains numerous suggestions for improvement. A century was to elapse before this seed could bear fruit. The Roman emperor of the German nation could not, as such, send emissaries to the Porte, since he swore in his coronation oath to wage eternal war with the infidels: it was only possible for him as king of Hungary to send ambassadors to the Turk. A permanent German embassy could no more be maintained in Constantinople than a German colony. Of commercial relations there was no question; the trade between the Levant and the Black Sea was in the hands of Venice, Florence, and Genoa. The middleman trade in the Balkan Peninsula and in Hungary was almost exclusively in the hands of the inhabitants of Ragusa, who had an important settlement in Üsküb. The inviolability of an ambassador, a right acknowledged as sacred by Islam itself, was repeatedly broken by the Osmans on the pretext that European ambassadors were only spies, and at most were to be regarded as hostages.

Busbeck gives a full description of the court life and court splendour, and also of the horrible domestic tragedies which stained Suleimân's imperial purple with blood. For love of his Russian consort Roxalana, Khurrem Sultana, the Great Master sacrificed Mustafa, the first son of his first marriage in 1553, and Mustafa's little son, Ibrahim. Jihangir committed suicide upon his brother's corpse before his cruel father's eyes. As the younger brother Bajazet revolted against Selim (II), Roxalana's eldest son, he was forced to flee to Persia in 1561. The Sultan's myrmidons caught him at the Shah's court, and strangled him with his four sons.

In the summer of 1565 the Maltese order repulsed a strong Turkish attack. The better to secure the safety of the order, the grand master Jean Parisot de la Valette founded the town of La Valetta in 1566, which was increased by later additions to a fortress of first-rate importance. But the campaign begun by the emperor Maximilian II with sixty thousand men came to a miserable end. In vain did the brave Zrinyi sacrifice himself in Szigetvár in 1566 (Vol. VII, p. 283). After his heroic death this outpost fell on September 7, and Gyula, the capital of the county of Beke, was lost with the surrounding territory.

(*c*) *The Importance of Suleimân II.* — But before the fall of Szigetvár the lion whose rôar had so long affrighted Christianity had passed away (September 5). Suleimân II had brought the Osman Empire to the zenith of its power and splendour. At the same time Ismail (p. 149) had established the power of Persia by the consolidation of the State, Siegmund II had secured Poland's greatness and prosperity, Ivan IV Vassilievitch "the Terrible" had laid the foundation of Russian greatness by the conquest of Astrachan — three dangerous neighbours and contemporaries. But Suleimân the Magnificent undoubtedly takes precedence of these as a ruler both in war and peace. In his reign originated the proverb, "Treasures in Hindostan, wisdom in France, splendour in the house of Osman." The two most important German historians of Turkey, Hammer-Purgstall and Zinkeisen, are unwearied in their praise of his reign, and represent him as wiser than Solomon, greater than Constantine. His buildings in the capital and the empire — schools, poor-houses (imaretes), hospitals, fountains, tombs, bridges, aqueducts, fortifications, foundations in Mecca and Medina, the Shahsade and Suleimanich mosques in Stamboul, the Selimije mosque in Adrianople, the baths of Ofen — are living testimonies to his name, to that of his architect Sinan, of his admiral Piali Pasha the conqueror of Chios, of the Beglerbeg and Grand Vizier (from June, 1565) Mohammed Sokolli.

Under this greatest of all Sultans a golden age began for Turkish scholarship and poetry. The lyric poet Baki made his appearance. Fazli wrote his allegorical mystical epic "Rose and Nightingale." Khalil was pre-eminent in elegiac poetry. Jelili, Fikri, Sururi (died 1561), and especially the fertile Lamii, translated and expounded the masterpieces of Persian poetry. Emri, Chiali, and Yahia were their rivals. The fable and the animal epic came into fashion, as did the writers of historical epics, Shahnameji (writers of kings' books); they were creators and defenders of fame. Sheik Ibrahim Halebi (died 1549) composed the second legal code, Mülteka ül Buhur ("Union of the Seas"), a religious, political, and military code of civil and criminal law. The Humayun nameh (the emperors' book) of Ali Veissi (Ali i-Wasi) is an unsurpassed model of Osman prose. Firdusi the Long, so called to avoid confusion with his great namesake (Vol. III, p. 349), composed the Suleimân nameh, a collection of Eastern tales and legends. Famous, too, are the performances of the Khattat, that is, the calligraphists Psherkef, Hasan Effendi, and Karahissar. Sultan Suleimân himself left behind a "Divan" under the name of Muhibbi, that is, the kindly lover. Under his rule sword and pen were never dry. Messages of victory alternated with songs, and intellectual rivalry outshone the trophies of captured weapons. This was the Augustan age of Osman history.

Everywhere greatness, power, and splendour, to which the treasures in the old seraglio and the Sultan's castles still bear testimony, a splendour which defied the sharpest introspection to discover the germs of decay in the roots of the flourishing growth which bore these tropic blooms. As the calligraphy, the epistolary art, and the music of the Osmans were based on Arab models, so in content the Osman poetry was a formal, intentional, voluntary work of imitation. It began with artificial forms of religious mysticism and didactic writing, and continued its existence as the hothouse growth of the atmosphere of court and chancery. Even the language affected by the poets was a special product, which was and remains unintelligible to the mass of the people. It reflected the conditions of

life which existed within the narrow limits of the ruling class, "the upper ten." No Osman poet escaped the narrow theological point of view to reach the wider humanist outlook. The ideas of love and freedom did not appeal to him; the passion of love remained with him a primarily sensual impulse; his imagination never awakes from that half-sleeping rapture which the Osmans call Keïf. Despotism above the restraints of right and morality, the cruel extermination of the prominent and therefore dangerous members of the dynasty and the court, seraglio education, the strict seclusion of the young princes from public life, polygamy, and slavery destroyed the freedom of intellectual and political life, destroyed the power of the ruling dynasty and of the government. The bold warrior nation became effeminate amid the sweets of peace; the fighting race of Janissaries became ever more lawless and a danger to the empire instead of a support.

3. THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE (1566–1792)

A. From Selim II to Murad IV (1566–1640)

The long and expensive war with Suleimân the Magnificent had utterly exhausted the imperial revenues of the Hapsburgs. In the year 1568 Maximilian II was forced to consent to the payment of a yearly tribute of 60,000 ducats to Selim II (1566–1574). In spite of this, the devastating incursions of the "frontier guards" upon the Austrian territories continued, and from these, even in time of peace, the Osmans carried off year by year as many as 20,000 Christian slaves. The boundary of the imperial hereditary lands, extending about 400 German miles with 21,000 men in 96 stations, absorbed 1,400,000 guldens annually in payment of service alone, and this amount was doubled in time of war. On February 1, 1570, Selim II wrote to the Signoria of Venice, "I want Cyprus from you;" and the Venetians, who were objects of suspicion to the powers themselves as "Christian Turks," could find no helper but the Pope. Pius V issued a jubilee decree touching the Turkish war, and appealed to the Protestant princes to "cast away religious differences in the face of the universal danger;" he gave support to the Maltese, made Italy secure, and promoted an alliance between Hungary, France, and Spain. But Charles IX of France had a short time previously renewed his treaty of peace and commerce with the Sultan, and dissuaded even the queen of England from supporting the movement for "help against the Turks." News soon reached Rome of the bloody overthrow of Nikosias (Levkosias) in Cyprus on September 9, 1570; Marcantonio Bragadino, who heroically defended Famagusta until August 1, 1571, was flayed alive on August 18 by the order of Lala Mustafa. However, it was not until May 20, 1571, that the Holy League was solemnly inaugurated.

(*a*) *Lepanto.* — Don John of Austria (the natural son of the emperor Charles V) at length left Messina on September 19, 1571, with a fleet of 208 ships and 80,000 soldiers from Spain, Venice, Malta, and Savoy. A battle was fought in the Gulf of Lepanto (Naupaktos, Epaktos) off the Curzolari islands on October 7. The Kapudan Pasha Muezzin Sade (Munsinsade) Ali, the Beglerbeg of Algiers, Uluj Ali, and the Beg of Negroponte, Mohammed Shaulak, commanded the

Osman fleet (277 ships with 120,000 men), which still flew Khaireddin's (p. 152) victorious pennant. Don John, Marcantonio Colonna, Agostino Barbarigo and Sebastiano Veniero, Gianandrea Doria and Alessandro Farnese, directed the battle on the Christian side, in which Cervantes (Vol. VIII) lost his left arm. "This immortal day," he says in "Don Quixote," "broke the pride of the Osmans and undeceived the world, which regarded the Turkish fleet as invincible."

But the king of Spain's commands and dissension among the allies nullified all the consequences of this shattering victory. Don John, the man sent from God as the triumphant Pope designated him, was obliged to surrender Goletta, which Charles V had captured in 1535, together with Tunis and Biserta, his own captures of 1573, to the Turkish admiral Sinan Pasha in 1574. Harassed by the suspicion of his royal stepbrother Philip II, he died in bitterness of heart, on October 1, 1578. His bronze statue by Andr. Calamech on the Piazza dell' Annunziata in Messina is a lasting monument of the triumphal return from Lepanto. The Signoria of Venice, who had again concluded a special peace with the Osmans at the price of Cyprus, true to its traditions (of 1523, 1526, 1529, 1541, 1543, 1551, and 1560), congratulated the Sultan on his success of 1574. The Grand Vizier Sokolli (p. 154), an old comrade-in-arms of Suleimân, scornfully thanked the Bailo of Venice with the words, "By the conquest of Cyprus we have cut off one of your arms, by the destruction of our fleet you have but shorn our beard."

The continual diplomatic intercourse between the Porte and the West European powers found expression in numerous commercial conventions; France and England in particular were eager and jealous rivals for the Sultan's favour, though they did not join him in alliance against Spain. Between 1573 and 1578 the two imperial orators, David Ungnad Freiherr von Sterneck and Preuburg, and one Count Sintzendorf, reported that when they were admitted to an audience of the Sultan, to which they had previously forwarded the most costly presents of money, silver plate, and clock work by the hands of servants, they were seized by the arms by two Khaushen (captains), and forced down before the Padishah, so that they were obliged to kiss the Great Master's sleeve in a kneeling posture. On returning from the seraglio to their lodgings, which partook of the nature of prison and fortress, they were in danger of being stoned by the Janissaries. The day of Lepanto, on which, to the horror of the Mohammedan world, the ceiling of the mosque of Mecca fell in, was the signal for the further fortification of the Dardanelles by a second castle, the "key of the sea," Kilid ül Bahr.

(*b*) *Zsitva-Torok.* — Selim survived the defeat of his fleet only three years, and died on December 12, 1574, exhausted by his excesses and his intemperance. His son Murad III secured the throne (1574–1595) by the murder of his five brothers. The Popes Gregory XIII (1572–1585) and Sixtus V made fruitless attempts to promote a new general federation against the enemy of Christendom. Sixtus V, one of the greatest popes and a most far-sighted ruler, pondered the possibility of a conquest of Egypt, the construction of the Suez Canal, to secure the trade of the Old World, the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre, an alliance with Persia, the Druses, Russia, and Poland. But the most powerful of the Christian powers of Europe were in alliance with the Sultan. The counterpoise to Rome was to be found in the rooms of the Divan; it was as though the old relations between the papacy and Byzantium had been renewed. Here the common action

of the Protestant-Mohammedan world against the Catholic was developed in manifold directions. But "Catholic" France also joined the opponents of the house of Hapsburg, and acted as train-bearer to the Porte, while the proud conqueror of the Spanish Armada, Elizabeth (Vol. VII, p. 281), proceeded to incite the Sultan to a naval war against Spain as a "revenge for Lepanto." The suggestions of the maiden queen led to the construction of two hundred galleys in the Turkish yards.

The emperor Rudolf II was tributary to the Turks. Every year he was obliged, like his father before him, to send 130,000 guldens, with an infinite quantity of silver work and watchmaker's work, to the Sultan, to his wives, and the grandees of the Porte by way of homage. At the same time the breaches of the peace continued. In view of the disturbed state of Hungary it would be wrong to conclude that the Turks were always the aggressors. In the great military camp which Hungary had been forming for decades, breaches of the peace and of frontier rights on both sides were the order of the day. The imperial soldier fought with the same wild courage and ferocity as the Turk. We are upon the eve of the Thirty Years' War. To scalp the fallen after a victory, to impale them before the camp, to cover the scalp with hay or powder and set fire to it, was as usual as to plunder the dead, to outrage women, as common as to break conditions on surrendering a fortress, and to commit every kind of treacherous surprise and betrayal. Yet on both sides was the same conviction of the fear of God and the same piety.

The noble and capable Grand Vizier Sokolli was murdered on October 11, 1579, and succeeded by the Albanian Sinan (1580), who had already distinguished himself, as governor of Egypt, by the conquest of Yemen (1571) and Goletta (1574), though mutiny among the Janissaries had on two occasions obliged him to resign the great seal to his enemies and rivals, Ferhad and Siavush. On his elevation to the post of Grand Vizier for the third time in 1593, he induced the peace-loving Sultan to declare open war upon the emperor on August 13. Sinan proposed to conquer Bohemia, while his Viziers began the war from Bosnia. At the head of 150,000 men he had captured Totis (Tata) and conquered the important town of Raab in 1594. On the death of Murad III, Mohammed III (1595–1603), after strangling his nineteen brothers, marched in person to the "holy war;" but on August 13, 1595, he was defeated with crushing loss at Kalugareni by Michael the Bold, the national hero of Wallachia (cf. the fourth main section of this volume). However, accompanied by his wise tutor the mufti of Stamboul, and the court historiographer Sead ed-dîn (pp. 128, 137, and 159), he conquered Erlau on October 13, 1595. "Drunkenness, the great curse of Germany," wrote the Lutheran theologian Georg Mylius from the camp, "has chiefly betrayed us into the hands of the temperate and watchful Turks." On October 20, Kanizsa, the bulwark of Styria, sank into ruins. Siegmund Bathori, who had been independent ruler of Transylvania since 1588, had been attempting to break away from the Turkish federation since 1592; in 1597 and 1599 he resigned the government, and was finally expelled from Transylvania by the imperial troops in 1602. The peasants themselves considered the Turkish government more tolerable than the tyranny of the magnates, and were anxious for religious reasons to shake off the yoke of the ultra Catholic house of Hapsburg. In 1604 Stephan Bocskay concluded an alliance with the Turks, and was recognised as prince of Hungary and Transylvania in 1605. The commanding fortress of Gran had again fallen into the hands of the Turks in 1604.

Ultimately, on June 23, 1606, peace was made with the representatives of Bocskay at Vienna, and with the Turks at Zsitva-Torok (Sitvatorok, near Komorn) on November 11. But under what conditions! The Turks were to retain all previous conquests and receive a yearly present of 200,000 gulden. Bocskay was recognised in Transylvania and in eight counties of Hungary during his lifetime. In a secret protestation the emperor Rudolf II affirmed that his signature had been extorted by necessity and was not binding for the future. He was forced to take this step by the Protestants in the empire and in Hungary, the fratricidal struggle in the house of Hapsburg, bad harvests and a general rise of prices, and the incapacity and petty jealousy of his soldiers. That heroic race had not yet grown up which was to proceed from the military school of Parma and Orange, and to enter the arena of Hungary equipped with masterly strategical skill and with an art of warfare and siege work which was made infinitely superior to the Turks. After the peace of Zsitva-Torok in 1606 the Hapsburgs did not long remain tributary to the Sultans; thenceforward the Osman Empire made no further accession of territory. The peace marks a halting point in the progress of Turkish power that was the transition to impending decay; and in this depends its importance to the history of the world. It was not until 1616 that the corrections in the documents of the peace were presented by the Austrian ambassador von Czernin. He was the first Christian ambassador who entered Constantinople publicly with the banner of the cross and accompanied by music.

(c) *The Age of Disturbed Succession; the Military Frontier.*—Two circumstances saved the Holy Roman Empire from overthrow,—internal disturbances and disputes concerning the succession in Turkey, and the strengthening of the military frontier. In 1603 the Persians took Tabris (Tauris, p. 152) and Bagdad from the Sultan, and defeated more than fifty thousand men in a pitched battle. The crescent was declining to its fall. "The breakwater of Eastern and Western migrations at the Golden Horn" still ruled, it is true, over a world extending from the Rif shores of Morocco to the Arabian seas, from the Gulf of Oman to the Don, and from the angle of the Danube at Waitzen to Georgia. But the Porte's powers had obviously flagged duing the fifteen years' struggle from 1591 to 1606, his Asiatic support was tottering, and enemies at home, more dangerous than the Persians or Egyptians, had undermined the army, the navy, and the supremacy of the theocratic sultanate. The Mohammedan Empire was founded upon no basis of national sentiment, and any nationalist movement was stifled by the doctrines of the Mohammedan religion.

The decline of the Osman power dates from the outbreaks in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the revolts in the army, the frequent changes of personnel in the Grand Viziership and all the higher posts of the empire; but the chief cause was to be found in the person of the Sultan himself. The tyranny of the Grand Viziers, the female government practised by the harem, the system of rapacious extortion practised by the Beglerbegs, "the Sultan's sponges,"—these are evils closely connected with the pusillanimity, fear, greed, and licentiousness of Murad II. His character was compounded of the strangest contradictions. In common with his contemporary, Rudolf II, he had not only a pacific disposition, but artistic and scientific inclinations. Evidence of his artistic and architectural taste may be seen in the numerous buildings, of which many were erected under the Grand

Vizier Sinan, such as a new seraglio in Scutari, the mosques of Adrianople, Magnesia on the Sipylos, and Cyprus, in the great fortifications of Erivan, Kars, and Shamachi, and the drainage works of Mecca. Even the accounts of his enemies praise his interest in music, legislation, and history. But as with Rudolf II so with him, the influence of favourites was predominant in every department of governmental administration. Alfred Löbl makes special mention of the poet Shemsi, the historian Sead ed-dîn, the chancellor Oveis, and the first chamberlain Gasnefer, not to speak of women like the ambitious Valide, the Venetian Nur Bassa, and others, by whom Murad had no less than one hundred and two children.

At the age of thirty-three Mohammed III (1595–1603) was but a sick and infirm old man. For the first time since the foundation of the empire a Padishah was seen upon the throne who trembled even at the thunder of the cannon, whereas his predecessors had appeared daily before the troops and had been accustomed to practise archery and throwing the jereed in the Okmeidan. Ahmed I (1603–1617) followed his father's example: he was licentious, incapable, and proud to the point of insanity. Ahmed died on November 22, 1617, after an unprofitable reign of fourteen years. His memory is perpetuated by a great and beautiful monument, the Ahmed Mosque, with its six minarets, on the Atmeidan in Stamboul. The mosque is a huge yet light and delicate building, like a vision of the air, with a dome supported on four enormous marble pillars, while the interior could contain four small mosques. The six minarets were regarded as an infraction of the dignity of the central shrine of Mohammedanism, the Kaaba of Mecca, and the Sultan was forced to add a seventh praying tower to the Haram of the Kaaba to restore its prestige and appease the suspicions of the orthodox clergy.

Ahmed left seven sons, the eldest, Osman, being but twelve years of age. Mustafa I (1617–1618), the brother of the deceased Sultan, therefore succeeded to the throne. He, however, was insane, and the body of the Ulemas, Muftis, and the Divan resolved upon the unprecedented step of deposing the Sultan and confining him to a tower of the old seraglio. Notwithstanding his minority, Osman II (1618–1622) was placed upon the throne. At the age of fourteen he shook off the guardianship of his viziers, executed his younger and more talented brother, and undertook a war against the Poles in the forests and steppes of Khotin. His Janissaries were conquered, and when he attempted to punish them by extermination, they confined him also in the castle of the seven towers, where he was strangled by Daud Pasha in May, 1622. The mad Mustafa was brought out of his prison, and under his rule the provinces of Georgia, Erivan, Bagdad, and Basra were again lost to the Persians in 1622.

Mustafa I was again deposed, and Murad IV (1623 to February 9, 1640), a younger brother of Osman II, was placed upon the throne. In the year 1620 Gabriel Bethlen had already attempted to secure his recognition as king of Hungary by sending rich presents to the Porte through Franz Balassy, Stephan Korlath, and even by an embassy of the "winter king" Frederic V of the Palatinate. The price of this recognition was Waitzen, which fell into the hands of the Pasha of Ofen on November 5, 1621. The Sultana Valide Kassamu Mahpeiker governed during the minority of her grandson Murad IV; to her Stamboul owes its largest and finest caravanserai, the Valide Hân. At the same time Mohammed

Girai III, the khan of the Crimean Tartars (Vol. II, p. 181), destroyed the Turkish fleet; the Cossacks plundered Böjük-dere on the Bosphorus; Abasa, the Pasha of Erzeroum, revolted, and the advance of Wallenstein in 1626 against Mansfeld and Bethlen (Vol. VII, p. 292), forced the Turks to raise the siege of Neograd. In 1634 Georg I Rákóczy, the successor of Bethlen (died November 15, 1629), hesitated to join the Sultan in an attack upon the Poles. The Sultan then gave his support to one Székely and to Stephan Bethlen, the brother of Gabriel, whose claims were also urged by the ambassadors of France and Holland. Meanwhile the cruel Murad had conquered Täbris and Erivan in a vigorous campaign in 1634, had murdered his brothers Bajazet and Suleimân, and recaptured Bagdad in 1638.

Meanwhile the imperial Christian government pursued the task of resistance with remarkable energy, by the slow but sure creation of a military frontier, which was to secure their ultimate victory. Matthias Corvinus and Ferdinand I had already begun the work; but it was not until the time of Maximilian II that this line of fortresses, extending some two hundred German miles from Transylvania to Dalmatia, was definitely secured. The archduke Charles was appointed "permanent residential governor of the Croatian and Windish frontier lands." After the fall of Belgrade in 1521 the stream of "Uskokes," Servian and Bosnian fugitives, began to pour into Austrian territory. Ferdinand I had granted them numerous privileges and immunity from taxation in 1535, and had settled them in the Karst deserts of the Sichelburg district, the modern Uskoke mountains. They were followed by a steady stream of refugees, who were ready and willing to serve in the local levies as cavalry and infantry. From this material the Austrian rulers created that militia to guard the Danube and the Save which for two centuries acted as a bulwark against the Turkish assaults. The bravest of them and the scourge of Turkey were the Zengg Uskokes of the maritime frontier. For more than a century they were the terror of Adria, and inflicted the most serious loss both upon the maritime power of Venice and the continental power of Turkey. Piracy was carried on throughout the Mediterranean by the Barbary States, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, by the Maltese, the Sicilians, and Neapolitans. But the Zengg Uskokes were the pirate kings of Adria; from their impregnable fortress of Zengg (Sign, Senj) on the sheltering Quarnero, the home of the terrible Bora, their bold expeditions went forth even to the shores of Persia; the newspapers even reported a conflict between them and the Persians at Lacooson.

B. From Ibrahim I to Mahmud I (1640–1754)

Murad, the Osman Nero, who, like Nero, was passionately devoted to music, was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim I (1640–1648), the Osman Heliogabalus. His arrogance and threatening caprice drove the Ulemas, the scribes, and lawyers to contract an alliance with the Janissaries in their mosque of Ortajami. Ibrahim was the first Sultan to be deposed and murdered under an apparently constitutional form of procedure (August 18, 1648).

(*a*) *Mohammed IV.*—His son, Mohammed IV (1648–1687), ascended the throne in the year in which Germany began to rise from the devastation of the Thirty Years' War. It was fortunate for the Holy Roman Empire that during this dec-

a succession of feeble Sultans, wars with the Persians, and internal distu
es had weakened the strength that repeatedly threatened the destruction
stendom. The struggle for the guardianship of the Sultan, who was but
perhaps even seven years of age, resulted in 1651 in the death of the mothe
three Sultans, the beautiful Greek slave Tarkhan (Terkhan; great buildings
tamboul preserve her memory), and brought the empire to the verge of disso
on. An attempt was made to relieve the hopeless financial embarrassment
pling the State taxes and debasing the coinage. At the beginning of 1656 crow
peasants appeared from Anatolia to complain of the unprecedented extort
actised by their governor. The name "Ruujiber," that is, full of woe, clu
them henceforward as a memorial of the continuous oppression under whi
ey groaned. Mutinies among the Janissaries and revolts of viziers increased
ppease the mutinous guards, who marched to the seraglio, Mohammed IV sac
ced thirty of his councillors, whose heads were suspended to the famous pla
ree on the Etmeidan. Francesco Morosini conquered Lemnos and Tenedos, wh
Lorenzo Marcello destroyed seventy Turkish sailing-vessels at the entrance to
Dardanelles.

(*a*) *The Two Kuprili.* — The saviour was at hand. Mohammed Kupr
became Grand Vizier in September, 1656. An Albanian peasant boy, he had com
to Stamboul, and though he could neither read nor write, his keen intelligen
and his good will had raised him to the highest position in the empire. Kupr
ed the revolt in the blood of thirty thousand victims; he took Murad IV.
Machiavelli. He destroyed the Venetian fleet of Lazza
Morosini, recaptured Lemnos and Tenedos in 1657, conquered the castles of t
Dardanelles, in 1657–1658 defeated the troops of Georg II. Rákóczy, who had ma
Transylvania independent, and appointed Achatius Báresay prince of the country wi
an increased tribute of forty thousand ducats. He drove the Cossacks across the
Dnieper, caused thirty pashas of Asia Minor and Syria to be massacred in a treach
erous ambush at Aleppo in the spring of 1659, and placed cartloads of heads
the seraglio walls as a warning. He even ventured to repress the insane extrava
gance of the seraglio and the harem (1659). His only failure was his enterpri
against Crete, Cardinal Mazarin having sent relief to the Venetians who were hard
pressed in that island. Kuprili retorted by immediately imprisoning the French
ambassador Jacques de la Haye in 1658, and treated the threats of Louis XIV with
contempt.

Kuprili died on November 1, 1661, at the age of eighty. Mohammed IV paid
him a visit on his deathbed, and promised that his son Ahmed Kuprili should
succeed him in the office of Grand Vizier, a measure unprecedented in the history
of this high office. Ahmed was highly educated, and possessed a thorough know-
ledge of the Koran, the Sunna, and of Mohammedan science in general. His experi-
ence had been acquired as Pasha of Erzeroum and Damascus, and as Kaim-makam
of Stamboul, and he became Grand Vizier at the age of twenty-seven. The Sultan
was then twenty-three years old, absorbed in luxury, the chase, in youths and after-
wards in women, and was resident in Adrianople. In 1662 Leopold's troops had
occupied Serimvár in Transylvania; Ahmed attacked them in the spring of 1663
in spite of the fact that the soldiers' pay was stinted by the avaricious Sultan,
and succeeded in capturing Neuhausel (September 27), Ujivár, Serimvár, and Gran.

However, on August 1, 1664, he was defeated at Sankt Gotthard, a monastery on the Raab (Vol. VII, p. 472). This battle marks a turning point in Turkish military history. The Austrians and Hungarians were confronting with six thousand French under Count Jean Coligny and François d'Aubusson, Vicomte de la Feuillade, with the flower of the French nobility. The Grand Vizier regarded the powdered and perfumed Frenchmen with their bright uniforms as girls. The army was under the leadership of Raimund, Count Montecuccoli, the Austrian field-marshal. Before the battle, the cavalry general Johann von Sporck bared his head and prayed, "Almighty God, our General on high, if Thou wilt not help us, Thy Christian children, yet help not these Turkish dogs, and Thou shalt see somewhat to Thy delight." Coligny's French then charged the hostile ranks with the awful war-cry "Fuel" and the small-arm volley firing here secured its first triumph. The chapel of Sankt Gotthard, built in commemoration of the destruction of the Turkish army, is still to be seen. Jealousy and mistrust, as usual, made it impossible to reap the full advantage of the Christian victory. In the peace of Vasvár, on August 10, 1664, the Porte retained the fortresses of Serinvár and Ujvár. But a great moral effect was produced; the Sanjak-i-shereef (the banner of the prophet) which had been unfurled in vain on August 13, 1595 (p. 157), had suffered another overthrow.

Ahmed Kuprili was obliged to seek compensation in the conquest of Crete. At ten o'clock in the morning of September 27, 1669, the Provedítore Morosini (p. 161) handed to the Grand Vizier the keys of Candia, which the Venetians had held for four hundred and sixty-five years. The French relieving force under the duke Anne Jules de Noailles and François de Vendôme was as ineffective as the fleet of Pope Clement IX. Nointel, the French ambassador, renewed the capitulations of Francis I with the Porte (p. 152) on June 3, 1673. According to these special rights were reserved or confirmed to the French ambassadors, — French goods, the East India trade, the Catholics in Turkey, the ecclesiastical buildings, the French in Pera and Galata, and the Holy Places.

A short time previously Bacon, Lord Verulam, and Hermann Conring had published suggestions for the solution of the Eastern question. These ideas were reopened by G. W. Leibnitz in 1670 and 1671 in his comprehensive memorial, "De propositione Egyptiaca," which he presented in person to the most Christian king in Paris. His proposals involved nothing less than the conquest of Egypt and the cutting of the Suez Canal. A French diplomat ironically observed of the memoir, "Mais vous savez que les projets d'une guerre sainte ont cessé d'être à la mode depuis Saint Louis."

The place of the powers hitherto predominant is now taken by two new States in hostility to the crescent, — Poland and Russia. The Porte had confirmed the revolted Cossack Hetman of the Ukraine, Doroscenko, in the position of Sanjak Bey, or governor, as though he were dealing with a Turkish province. Poland raised a justifiable objection which ended in war. In the early autumn of 1672 Mohammed IV and Ahmed Kuprili ravaged Poland with one hundred and fifty thousand men as far as Kamenez, Lemberg, and Lublin, and forced the feeble king Michael Koribut Wisniowiecki to cede Podolia and the Ukraine in the peace of Buczak (Buesacs) on September 18, 1672. But in the following year the crown field-marshal Johann Sobieski defeated the Grand Vizier and the Seraskier Hussein Pasha on the plain of Chotin (Chocim; November 10–11, 1673), and captured the green banner, which still hangs in St. Peter's at Rome. In 1674–1675 Sobieski, who was

now King Johann III, captured the towns of Hunan and Lemberg and utterly defeated Kara Mustafa, the brother-in-law of Kuprili. Doroscenko threw himself into the arms of the Russians. The Czar Feodor III of Moscow, against whom the holy war was declared, came off victorious in three successive campaigns, 1677–1679. Ahmed Kuprili had previously died at the beginning of November, 1676.

In the peace of Radyn (Radzyn), February 11, 1681, the Poles obtained portions of the Ukraine and Podolia (which had already been of necessity returned to them in the peace of Zuravna, concluded on October 27, 1676, between the Sobieski and Ibraham Sheitan); while the Russians again obtained access to a port on the Black Sea by the cession of the Laporog Cossacks. With this year begins the insidious influence of Russia upon the Turkish Empire.

(β) *Vienna and Ofen.* — The pathway to this goal could only be engineered by the triumph and the blood of Austria. On August 10, 1683, the Porte at the instigation of Louis XIV had appointed the rebel Count Emerich Tököly (Vol. VII, p. 485), to whom the king of France had sent one De Ferriol as ambassador, as king of Hungary, with influence extending over territory belonging to Austria. War was thereby rendered inevitable. Prince Eugene of Savoy afterwards declared in his memoirs, "Had it not been for Louis XIV, the Moslems and the revolted Hungarians would never have reached the gates of Vienna."

The arrogant and ignorant Kara Mustafa, who acted as Seraskier and Sirdar, with unlimited power, had dreams of founding a second Turkish Empire, of which he was to be the ruler, with Vienna as his capital. The emperor Leopold I fled to Linz. On March 31, 1683, Pope Innocent II brought about an alliance between the emperor and Poland. Charles of Lorraine, with forty thousand men, had been enabled to prevent the Turks from crossing the Raab, and was waiting behind the Kahlenberg, anxiously expecting the help of the empire and of the Poles, while Count Rüdiger of Starhemberg established himself in Vienna with ten thousand men. On July 14 two hundred thousand Turks pitched their tents before the town, and surrounded the whole of the fortifications, in conjunction with the Tartars and Khan Selim Giray I. A siege of terrible ferocity began, which lasted for forty-five days; the Turks delivered eighteen assaults and the besieged made twenty-four sorties. Notwithstanding a brilliant defence the city was at the last gasp, when from the Kahlenberg and Leopoldberg rockets rose in the night of September 6 and 7 announcing the approach of the relieving army, which had gathered at Tulln, on the Danube. In conjunction with Charles of Lorraine, and Johann, Georg III of Saxony, Max Emanuel of Bavaria, Georg Friedrich of Waldeck, Johann III of Poland gathered his army of seventy thousand men, and made the Kahlenberg his base at the outset of the battle, which he concluded on September 12 with a total defeat of the Turks (cf. Vol. VII, p. 486). On September 13 he made his entry into Vienna, and was greeted as the liberator of the town. It was not until all danger was past that the emperor returned.

The Turks fled from Germany for ever, abandoning inestimable treasure. Sobieski, with Charles of Lorraine, pursued and defeated them at Párkány and captured Gran. Kara Mustafa fled to Belgrade, where he was strangled by the Sultan's orders on December 25; his tragic end was illustrated by numerous contemporary pamphlets and pictures. In 1684 the imperial troops won a series

of victories at Wissegrad, Waitzen, Pesth, and Hamzsabég over Suleimân. Count Leslie made a victorious advance into Bosnia. The age of Osman t had passed; on August 19 Neuhausel was stormed and captured. But the event of this campaign was the siege and the fall of Ofen on September 2, exploit which saved some portion of the library of the Corvini. The emperor's field-marshal Charles of Lorraine, supported by the German Maximilian Emanuel, and by troops from all German provinces (Bavaria, and Brandenburg), had wrested from the hands of the infidels the most in Turkish outpost, the capital city of the realm of St. Stephen, and also the re of those territories. Thus the freedom of the Magyars was by no means du bravery of that proud and warlike nation. On August 12, 1687, the indef Charles defeated sixty thousand troops of Suleimân Pasha in the battle of (Vol. VII, p. 489), and thus avenged the victory which Suleimân II had there in 1526.

The high expectations which were excited by the Austrian victori the simultaneous successes of the Venetians in the Morea are displayed pamphlet of the year 1687, "The Triumphant Imperial Eagle;" it was reported that the Sultan would have to transfer his capital to Cairo, Dama Aleppo. In 1688 Transylvania also gave in her submission to the emper king of Hungary, and secured full toleration for the four Christian religiou munities that were recognised in the country. In this same year the T Empire suffered severely from a famine and from conflagrations. In 16 Poles had advanced to Jassy and were defeated at Bojan. All the more rious were the victories of the Venetians in the Morea under the defen Candia, the capable general Francesco Morosini. They drove the Turks Dalmatia, conquered Santa Maura, Prevéza, Arta, Corinth, Argos, Patras, K Modon, Navarino, Napoli di Romania, and Malvasia. The banner of Saint flew once again in Greece, and in the Palace of the Doges the grateful erected a triumphal arch to "Morosini the Peloponnesian." It must b that during the siege of Athens the Venetians inflicted great damage up immortal Parthenon. The powder explosion which was caused in the Parthe a shell from the batteries of the Venetian general Otto Wilhelm, Count of K mark, on September 26, 1687, at seven o'clock in the evening, completed the d tion of this ancient sanctuary of Pallas Athene, the Madonna, and the Pa The liberation of Greece, the unbroken dream of European Philhellenes, an event for which the oppressed Greeks yearned, had never been so near reali since the fall of Constantinople and Athens. For Athens, however, the inter freedom lasted only until April 9, 1689, when Morosini, who had been app Doge, gave up the town which he found untenable. From Porto Lion Piræus) he carried off in safety the Athenian lions, which stand to-day befo Arsenal of Venice, as memorials of the abortive attempt at liberation, a the pillaging of Athenian art treasures, and form a counter piece to the b horses upon the portal of San Marco, which were taken from the sack of Co tinople in 1204. For three years the town of Pallas was abandoned b inhabitants, until the Sultan allowed the Athenians to return in 1690. P Fallmereyer, misinterpreting the fragments of the Monastery of Anargyri extended this three years' desolation to a period of four hundred years, exte from the sixth to the tenth century (cf. p. 47).

(*b*) *Carlowitz and Poscharewatz.* — This series of misfortunes led to conspiracies among the Janissaries and Ulemas and to the deposition of the Sultan, who was imprisoned in the Seraglio, where he died forgotten five years later. The conspirators passed over the sons of Mohammed IV, Mustafa, who was twenty-three years old, and Ahmed, who was fourteen, and appointed his brother Suleimân III (1687–1691) as Sultan. The Germans continued their conquests under the Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden, and captured Lippa, Illok, Peterwardein, and Erlau. On August 11, 1688, Belgrade was surrounded by the elector Max Emanuel of Bavaria, with 53,000 troops from the empire and imperial provinces, and stormed on September 6; it was, however, recaptured on October 18, 1690, by the Grand Vizier, Mustafa Kuprili. Charles of Lorraine was fighting on the Rhine; this brilliant leader would no doubt have advanced upon Constantinople, after the fall of Belgrade, true to his motto, "*aut nunc aut nunquam.*" Mustafa Kuprili, known as Fazil, the virtuous, was now the one support of the tottering empire. In the new ordinance the "Nisam Jedid" he issued orders for Christian toleration, renewed in 1690 the capitulations of 1673 with the Marquis de Châteauneuf, the ambassador of Louis XIV, and after the victory of Tököly at Zernesht over Generals Häusler and Doria he successfully renewed the war with the conquest of Nissa, Widdin, Semendria, and Belgrade.

On July 23, 1691, Suleimân III died, and was succeeded by his brother Ahmed II (1691–1695). The Grand Vizier, in whose army three hundred French officers were serving, was utterly defeated on August 19 at Slankamen, not far from Peterwardein, by the Margrave of Baden (the "Turkish Louis") and the Brandenburg general Hans Albrecht von Barfus (Vol. VIII); with him perished on the field of battle thirteen pashas, many officers, and twenty thousand men. The Germans also suffered severe losses. After the death of Ahmed II, on February 6, 1695, and the accession of Mustafa II (1695–1703) the Kapudan Pasha, Hussein Pasha, "Mezzo Morto," recaptured Chios from the Venetians (February 18). Mustafa in person defeated the bold Count Friedrich von Veterani-Mallentheim at Lugos on September 22, and took Lippa, while Peter the Great of Russia forced Azov to surrender in July, 1696.

On July 5, 1697, Prince Eugene of Savoy was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole of the imperial army. On July 24 the prince, who was thirty-four years of age, took the field; he had already won his spurs before the walls of Vienna, and from that moment the fortunes of the Turks deserted them. After pacifying a revolt in Upper Hungary, he followed the Sultan by forced marches to Zenta; when the sun set upon September 2, 20,000 Turks lay dead upon the battlefield, and 10,000 in the Theiss; only 2,000 escaped. The Sultan was obliged to watch the destruction of his army from the opposite bank of the river; he fled to Temesvár and retired across the Danube. This brilliant exploit of the imperial army is preserved in memory by the rough German ballad: "Turk, the hour is now come that thou wilt be destroyed, for we have determined to put an end to thy empire. In truth the disgraceful Frenchman, who stirs up trouble through the world, helps thee secretly and without conscience, saying that we shall then be overthrown. . . ." Making Transylvania his base of operations, Count Roger of Bussy-Rabutin made an incursion at that moment, with 30,000 cavalry, into the Banat and recaptured Uipalanka on the Danube.

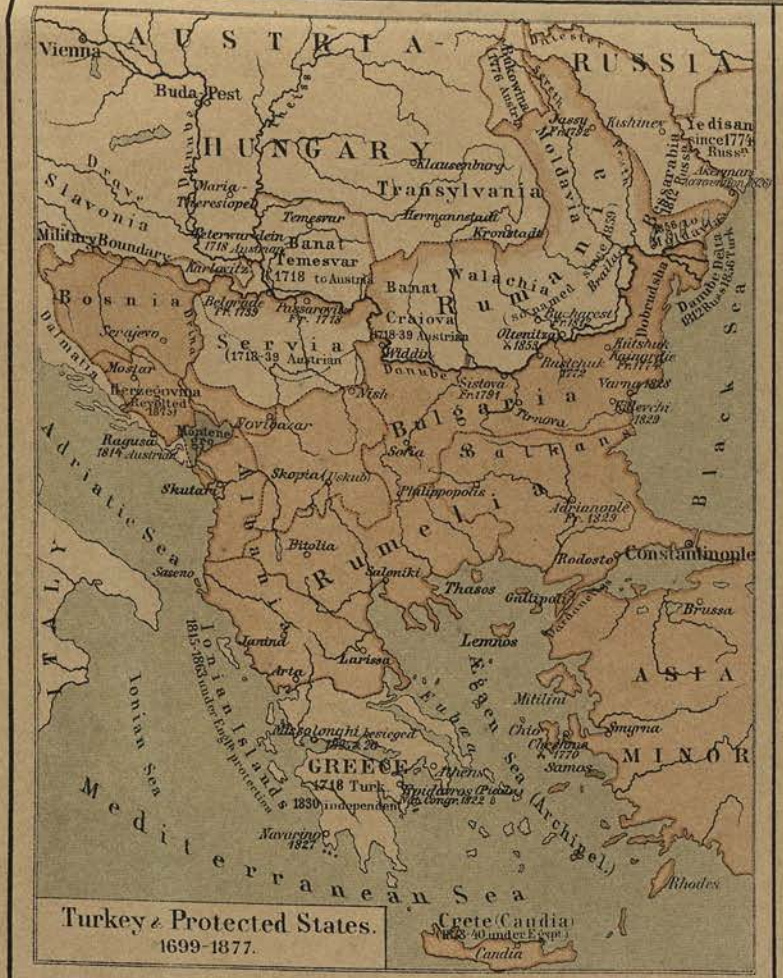
The results, however, of the peace of Ryswick (Vol. VII, p. 493) and of the

battle of Zenta could not be utilised to the full, as the emperor was obliged to carry on war in four different places at one and the same time. Moreover, the Austrian war ministry was utterly exhausted. After more than three months of negotiations which were spent in breaking down the resistance of Poland and Russia to the intervention of the sea powers, Holland and England, and in overthrowing the influence of the French ambassador in Stamboul, the peace of Carlowitz, on the Danube, was concluded on January 26, 1699 (see the plate facing this page, "Map for the History of European Turkey"). This peace gave the emperor Transylvania and most of Hungary, and to the king of Poland, Kamenez; the Venetian Republic secured the Morea, without Lepanto, while Ragusa was embodied in the Turkish Empire. The chief result, however, of the peace was to place diplomatic relations between the emperor and the Sultan upon a basis that corresponded to the dignity of the former. The emperor was now in a position to secure the solidarity of the Hungarian territories, though unfortunately his administrative capacities were not equal to the task. Revolts on the part of the magnates Franz II Rákóczy, Anton Esterhazy-Forchtenstein, Alexander Károly, and others, and of the evangelical population, repeatedly endangered the position of this dearly acquired province.

Mustafa II retired to Adrianople. The Grand Vizier Hussein Kuprili employed the peace of Carlowitz for the introduction of opportune reforms; but his premature death in 1703 deprived the empire of his services. His successor, Mustafa Daltaban, showed great cruelty to the Catholic Armenians. He, together with the Grand Mufti Feisullah, was sacrificed to the Janissaries, who then dethroned the Sultan, and set up his brother Ahmed III (1703–1730) under the condition that he should transfer his residence back to Constantinople. Mustafa II was confined in the Seraglio, where he was poisoned four months after his deposition. Like his predecessors, Ahmed devoted himself personally to the art of poetry. The most important event in his government was the arrival at Bender of the Swedish king, who had been defeated at Poltava in 1709 by the Russians, the Wittelsbach Charles XII (the great-uncle of Johann Kasimir of Pfalz-Zweibrücken). The Grand Vizier Ali Chorli had promised him the help of the Khan of the Crim Tartars, and thus induced him to enter the Ukraine, in spite of the Russian superiority. The Grand Vizier was prevented from fulfilling his promise by his deposition. "Charles Ironhead" (demirbash) as the Turks called him, placed one thousand men at Czernovitz on the border of Moldavia to keep watch upon the Russians, and with his faithful friend, Stanislaus Poniatoffsky, induced the Turks to declare war against Russia (November 21, 1710). He had already begun secret negotiations with the Greek subjects of the Sultan. At Kush on the Pruth the Grand Vizier Baltaji Mohammed defeated the thirty thousand men of the Czar Peter, with a force three times as great; but the Czarina Katharine succeeded in securing freedom and favourable conditions of peace on July 21 and 22, 1711, by bribing Osman Aga and the Grand Vizier. After this the Czar gave up his claims to Azov and its territory. After an adventurous journey through central Europe the Swedish king returned from Demotika to Stralsund in November, 1714.

Thanks to the treacherous Greeks, who preferred the Osman yoke to the Catholic government, the Grand Vizier Damad Ali was enabled to recover the Morea from the Venetians (1715), who had grown effeminate in the luxurious life of their

MAPS SHOWING THE HISTORY OF EUROPEAN TURKEY.



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palaces, and did nothing to secure their precious possession. The emperor and Pope found an occasion for alliance in the "Holy Federation" of 1697. Their united fleet traversed the Archipelago under the papal flag. In 1760 Corfu was freed from the Turkish besieging forces by the bold resistance of the Venetian general Johann Matthias, Count of Schulenburg (August 19); his marble statue in Corfu, erected in 1718 by the Venetian Senate, bears the fine inscription "Adhuc viventi." Prince Eugene insisted upon carrying out the terms of the treaty, and gathered an army at Futak near Peterwardein. On August 5, in conjunction with Prince Alexander of Wurtemberg, he won the battle of Peterwardein, "the Hungarian Gibraltar," in which the Grand Vizier Ali Kamurjich was slain. Pope Clement XI sent the prince a consecrated sword and hat. The Banat was conquered by Claudius Florimund Count Mercy, and Temesvár fell (November 13; cf. Vol. VII, p. 517). Eugene decisively rejected an attempt at intervention on the part of the sea powers and turned upon Belgrade. The bombardment of the island town began on July 23, when the Turkish army approached from Semendria. The imperial troops had been increased by six infantry battalions from the electorate of Bavaria and a dragoon regiment. The Bavarian princes, Karl Albrecht and Ferdinand, were before the walls on which their father had performed his most brilliant feat of arms in 1688 (p. 165). On August 17 Prince Ferdinand Albrecht II of Brunswick-Bevern began the assault and the battle; Belgrade surrendered on the following day with a garrison of twenty-five thousand men. The fame of the "noble knight" was in all men's mouths.

In the spring of 1717 negotiations for peace were begun at Posharewatz (Passarovitz) on the Danube. The same Christian powers which had formerly made such feeble efforts to crush the enemy of Christendom now displayed great anxiety to diminish the strength of the Holy Roman Empire. Eugene determined to make a military demonstration towards Nish and far into Bosnia. On July 21 the convention was concluded. The Porte gave up the Banat, with Temesvár, Belgrade, and a strip of territory running to the south of the Save. The jurisdiction of the imperial consuls over subjects of the Roman Empire resident in the Turkish Empire was confirmed in a commercial treaty.

(*c*) *The Peace of Belgrade.* — Between 1722 and 1724 a protracted struggle broke out between the Osmans and the Sefevid Shahs, Hosain and Thamasp of Persia (Vol. III, p. 382), which brought some advantage to the Russians by the conquest of Daghestan and other provinces on the Caspian Sea; it resulted on September 7, 1730, in the deposition of Ahmed III, who had vainly sacrificed to the demand of the Janissaries the Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim, the Kapudan Pasha, and the Kyaya-beg (minister for domestic affairs). Ahmed died in 1736 of poison, when war broke out between Russia and Turkey again. He left a brilliant memorial behind him, in respect of his influence upon Osman architecture. Edmondo de Amicis, the well-known writer of belles lettres, speaks of this in 1877 in enthusiastic words: "Indeed the hands which created such glorious works cannot have been the hands of a barbarian. The famous fountain of Ahmed III is a marvel of grace, richness, and patience, a thing to be kept under a glass case, not meant for the eyes alone, but seeming to exhale a radiance of its own. How magnificent must this gigantic jewel have been when it was unveiled in the splendour of its freshness one hundred and sixty years ago."

Mahmud I (1730–1754) a nephew of Ahmed, was a learned prince, devoted to luxury, science, and fine architecture. He enriched Stamboul with four libraries, a mosque, several fountains, and eight summer houses on the banks of the Bosphorus, punished drunkenness severely, and induced the Moslems to exchange the wine beaker for the coffee cup. He displayed great severity against the libertine manners of the women. "Their naked bodies were clothed only with the purple folds of the sea-waves," said the historian Izzi (Isi). He displayed a stern fanaticism in opposing the movement of the reformer Mohammed Abd el-Wahhâb and of the Wahhabites in Arabia (1745), and decorated the Kaaba at Mecca with extravagant splendour. He allowed the Janissaries to exercise unlimited influence upon all affairs of state.

However, under his government the kingdom reached a further height of prosperity. The campaign of the Turks against the Austrians and Russians ended in the defeat of the Austrians at Kroczka (Tricornium; July 23, 1739) which led to the peace of Belgrade, September 18. The death of Prince Eugene (April 21, 1736) was a loss severely felt. The imperial generals Friedr. Heinr. von Seckendorf, Ludw. Andr. Count of Khevenhüller, Georg Olivier Count of Wallis, and Wilh. Reinh. Count of Neipperg endangered all success by their mutual jealousies, and were forced to retire from Servia and Bosnia, beyond the Save and Danube. They therefore accepted the proposals formulated by the French diplomatist De Villeneuve, which implied the cession of Belgrade, Orsova, Lesser Wallachia, and Bosnia. Austria's Eastern policy was checked at this boundary for a long period. Russia, however, which had gained a firm footing on the Baltic since the northern war (Vol. VII, p. 501) began to entertain hopes of entering upon her inheritance. For the moment, however, she was forced to content herself with Azov, on the Black Sea, which she had captured on July 1, 1736, on her first devastation of the Crimea, and to resign her other conquests.

Turkish politics had never been in such close connection with those of Europe as a whole as in the reign of Mahmud I, the Solomon of the Golden Horn. Diplomatists of every country thronged to his court, and rivalled one another in their efforts to secure the favour of the Grand Turk and of his viziers, and to conclude favourable commercial treaties. The greatest influence was possessed by the French ambassadors such as De Villeneuve, Castellane, and Desailleurs, who renewed and increased the old capitulations in 1740 (pp. 152, 165). The success of the Turkish army in the campaigns of 1737–1739 was apparently due to the prudent counsels of the French renegade Claude Alexandre, Count of Bonneval ("Ahmed Pasha," 1675–1747). In 1747 Louis XV sent the Sultan many splendid presents, and twenty-two artillerists to work his new guns. In 1748 the Sublime Porte offered to act for the king as mediator at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; Turkish pride had thus reached its zenith. The Osman imperial historian Izzi (see above) relates the conclusion of the peace with the words, "God gave the dog power over the swine."

C. From Osman III to the Peace of Jassy (1754–1792)

Osman III (1754–1757) a brother of Mahmud I (deceased September 13, 1754) was fifty-four years of age when he emerged from prison, an embittered and hardened character. During his reign the post of Grand Vizier changed hands

fifteen times. The eldest son of Ahmed III, Prince Mohammed Khan, on whom high hopes were set, died before his father. Hence on the death of the Sultan the succession went to the second son of Ahmed, Mustafa III (1754–1773). His reign was distinguished by the Grand Viziership of Raghib Mohammed, who gave new vigour to the empire, and also won considerable reputation as an author. In 1747 he routed the Mameluke Beys in Cairo, and on March 23, 1761, he concluded a treaty for maritime commerce, trade, and friendship with Frederick the Great of Prussia, the sole object of which was to deprive the Austrians of the fruits of Carlowitz and Poscharewatz.

The Polish question brought about a fresh war between the Porte and Russia. On October 6, 1769, the Grand Vizier Hamsa confined the Russian ambassador Obryeskoff in the Castle of the Seven Towers. The Khan of the Nogish Crimean Tartars, K(e)rin Giray, entered the Russian provinces on the Dnieper and Dniester, though his death (March, 1769) freed Russia from this enemy. Mustafa III had already adopted the name of Ghazi (the victorious). The Sultan beheaded both the Grand Vizier Mohammed Emin, and also the Voivode of Moldavia, Kallimachi, for their ill success against the Russians under Alexander Golizyn and Peter Rumjänzoff (Romanzoff) at Pruth. Khalil Pasha suffered defeat in 1770 at Giurgevo, Bucharest, and Slatina. Meanwhile the Russian fleet under Gregor Orloff Spiridoff and John Elphinstone had sailed from the Baltic to the Archipelago, and landed troops at Vitylo in the Morea. Alexij Orloff had defeated a Turkish fleet on July 6 in the roadstead of Cheshme (Krini) at Chios, and burnt it. Further, the Christians of Montenegro, the Mainots, and other Greeks of the Morea, especially in Kalamata, revolted in numbers under the leadership of Russian officers. But the hour of liberation had not yet struck. The Russian fleet could not force the passage of the Dardanelles, which had been fortified by the Hungarian Frenchman Baron Franz Tott (1733–1793); the Greek revolt was suppressed with great slaughter, with the help of the Albanians, enlisted by the Porte. The Albanians inflicted terrible devastation upon Greece, until the Porte was forced to take measures against them; but it was not until 1779 that they were almost destroyed by Hassan Pasha at Tripolitsá. Rumjänzoff, however, captured Kartal, Bender, and Braila. The Sultan determined to propose to the emperor by means of the Internuntius, J. A. Franz de Paula von Thugut, the partition of Poland, for which purpose he had already taken up arms. He did not suspect that this object had already been determined by the northern powers. Meanwhile, General Weismann won further victories in 1771 at Giurgevo and Tuldsha on the Danube, as did Vassilii Dolgorukii in the Crimea ("Krimskij"). The Janissaries began to murmur and refuse obedience. At this moment the peace congress met in August in Focşani. The Russians expressly forbade the offered intervention of Austria and Prussia. Meanwhile the war continued. The Russians won further victories. Weismann fell at Kainarje (July 1, 1773); Rumjänzoff advanced through Silistria to Varna (November 10). Supported by Russian gold, Ali Bey (Vol. III, p. 712) and Thir had revolted in Syria and Egypt. A. Orloff bombarded Beyrout.

Mustafa III died on December 24, 1773; as his son Selim (III) was but twelve years old, Mustafa's brother Abdul Hamid I (1774–1789) ascended the tottering throne. On July 21, 1774, at Kütchuk-Kainarje, four hours from Silistria, that peace was concluded which Thugut has named the masterpiece of Russian diplo-

macy. Russia obtained a kind of protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia, and the Greek Christians in Turkey; so, at any rate, an article in this convention referring to Pera and Jerusalem was afterwards interpreted by the Russians. Further advantages were certain stations in the Crimea, and free passage in the Black and Ægean Seas.

Peace was not, however, concluded "for all time." As early as 1783 Grigorii Potemkin again invaded the Crimea, seized the peninsula of Taman, drove out the Tartar khan, Shâhîn Giray, and incorporated this country and the Kuban territories in the Russian Empire as the provinces of Tauria and Caucasia. Joseph II had come to a meeting in April, 1780, with the Czarina Katharine II in Mohileff, and had forced the Sultan to give way by threats of war. In May, 1787, followed the memorable meeting of the rulers in Kherson, where Potemkin inscribed upon the southern gate the boastful inscription, "This way to Byzantium." On August 16 the Grand Vizier anticipated a revolt of the Janissaries by confining the Russian ambassador Bulgakoff in the castle of the seven towers (Yedekule). On October 12 Alexander W. Suvoroff began the second war. Austria had never led so powerful an army against the Turks. Their force included 245,000 infantry, 37,000 cavalry, and 900 guns, but no plan of co-operation with the Russians had been evolved. Prince Josias of Saxe-Coburg captured Chotin, the famous Laudon Novi and Dubicza in Bosnia in 1788; Potemkin conquered Oczakoff (September 17, 1788), and in the Crimea the city of Hajibei, the later Odessa (the autumn of 1789).

On April 1, 1789, Abdul Hamid I died, and was succeeded by Selim III, an energetic character, and the only son of Mustafa III (1789–1807; see plate facing p. 149), who had hitherto pursued his studies in the Seraglio; he was the bitter enemy of Austria. The first important events during the continuation of the war were the victories of Coburg and Suvoroff at Focşani (August 1; cf. above) and of the general Karl Joseph, Count Clerfait, at Mehadia on the Cerna at Orsova; on September 22 followed the victory of Suvoroff and Coburg at Martinestie on the Rimnek. On October 8 Belgrade was surrendered, and the imperial banner again floated on the battlements of the fortresses. Joseph's system of government, however, excited the strongest opposition, both in the Netherlands and in Hungary. Austria was obliged to agree to negotiations at Sistova. The Russians gave a decided refusal to send delegates to the congress, and declined to admit any intervention whatever on the part of foreign powers. On December 22, 1790, Suvoroff had stormed Ismaïl, the strongest of all the fortresses on the Danube. The French Revolution forced Austria and Prussia to compose their differences (Vol. VIII); the result of their deliberations was the convention of Sistova on the Danube, August 4, 1791. The allied imperial courts had failed to obtain their object, — the partition of European Turkey. Leopold II (emperor since February 20, 1790) was forced to surrender the fertile district of Wallachia, and even his acquisitions of Laudon and Belgrade; it was settled that the stream of Cerna should henceforward form the frontier. Russia carried on communications on her own account in Galatz by means of Prince Nikolai W. Repnin, contenting herself with Oczakoff and the frontier of the Dniester. After the death of Potemkin (October 16, 1791), the peace of Jassy was finally concluded on January 9, 1792, by Count Besborodko. The northern shore of the Black Sea had become Russian.

4. THE AGE OF ATTEMPTS AT REFORM (FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

A. The Conclusion of the Reign of Selim III

Selim III undertook the difficult task of defending an empire that was threatened on every side. Syria, Egypt, and Roumelia, Jessar Pasha in St. Jean d'Arc, the Mamelukes in Cairo and Pasvan-Oglu in Widdin on the Danube, together with the subject hordes of the Kržalijes or Kyrjalis, and their leader, the famous Bulgarian Inje Voivoda, threw off the government of the Sublime Porte almost simultaneously. Bonaparte was prepared to put an end to the Venetian republic in 1797, and informed the Directorate that France must retain Corfu. "For Corfu and Zante," he wrote to Talleyrand, "make us masters of the Adriatic Sea; without these it is in vain to attempt to preserve the Turkish Empire." Even before this time Talleyrand had turned his eyes upon Egypt. Bonaparte was now ordered to seize Malta and Egypt, to drive the English out of the Red Sea, and to pierce the Isthmus of Suez. On July 1, 1798, 36,000 Frenchmen seized Egypt. Talleyrand attempted to convince the Sultan that the campaign was directed only against the Mamelukes. Interference in the Eastern question was bound to force Russia into action against France. On September 1 the Porte declared war against France, confined the French ambassador Ruffin in the Castle of the Seven Towers (Yedikule), supported the European coalition for some time, allowed his fleet to co-operate with the Russians, who captured the Ionian Islands from the French. However, after Bonaparte's victory at Aboukir on July 25, 1799 (Vol. III, p. 713) the Sultan resumed his policy of neutrality, and concluded peace with France; he had to struggle against the most dangerous enemies at home, the decay of the finances, the disobedience of the Janissaries, of the Pasha of Janina (Ali; see Fig. 2 of the plate facing p. 184), of Widdin, Syria, and the Wahhabites of Arabia.

In 1802 the Sultan determined upon a "reorganisation" (Nisan Jedid) of the army, a movement equivalent to a coup d'état. The new troop, a militia trained in European methods, was to be really a counterpoise to the Janissaries, and a Hatti-sherif of 1805 forced the flower of the Osman youth to enlist under its flag.

In 1804 a violent revolt of the Serbs, under Georg Petrović, otherwise Czerney or Karageorge, broke out at Sibnitza, Deligrad, Stalatz, and Nish against the arbitrary methods of the Janissaries; it was supported, owing to Russian influence, by the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, Konstantin Murusis and Konstantin Ypsilantis. In 1805 the revolt spread further. In 1806 the Serbs defeated the Turks at Shabatz, and after a temporary repulse conquered Belgrade in September, 1806, were victorious at Ushitze under Miloš Obrenović in 1807, and organised the popular assembly (Skuptshina). Western Europe considered this warlike movement as the beginning of the general liberation of the Christian rayahs (hearths) from Turkish supremacy, and it is in this fact that its historical importance consists.

First, however, the great theatre of the war was opened in the north. Not only had Napoleon I secured his recognition as emperor from the Sultan, 1806, but Marshal Brune, who was French ambassador in Constantinople from 1803 to 1805,

induced Selim to disown the convention of Jassy (1792), by the deposition of the voivodes of Wallachia; the Czar thereupon sent an army to the Danube under the Freiherr von Michelson, while the English fleet under Duckworth forced the Dardanelles, and appeared in the Sea of Marmora. The capital, however, had been thrown into a state of defence by the French ambassador, Count Sébastiani, and forced the fleet to retreat to Egypt. Napoleon, on November 11, 1806, wrote to the Sultan from Berlin, to the effect that fate had appointed him the saviour of Turkey. He attempted to secure a compact between the Porte and Persia, from which Russia had taken Mingrelia, as recently as 1803–1804, with Karabagh, and Shirvan in 1805. In the peace of Tilsit (July 7, 1807) the Czar and emperor certainly formed a secret compact to capture the Turkish possessions in Europe as far as Constantinople, and divide them between themselves (Vol. VIII). The Corsican declared that he would never leave Constantinople, to rule which was to rule the world. At a later date the Czar Alexander declared to the French ambassador, Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, that to Russia Constantinople could be nothing else than a provincial town at the extreme end of her empire, that it was his by the mere facts of geography, and that he must have the key to the door of his own house.

Meanwhile, however, Turkey was shaken to her very depths. Selim III attempted to force a number of troops to wear the uniform of the Nisan Jedid; the result was the revolt of May 29, 1807. In vain the terrified ruler sacrificed his councillors, and flung their heads over the walls of the Seraglio; in vain did he promise to annul the Nisan Jedid. Selim was deposed by a fetva of the Mufti (May 31, 1807). Mustafa IV (1807–1808) was raised to the throne by the Ulemas. In vain did the victorious general Mustafa Bairaktar (see Fig. 1 on the plate facing p. 188) advance from Rustchuk upon the capital. He found that the deposed Sultan had been already strangled. In vain did he fetch Prince Mahmud, who was utterly terrified, from his hiding-place, and proclaim him Sultan, as the second son of Abd ul-Hamid I (July 28, 1808), while he punished the murderers of Selim with a fearful massacre, re-established the Nisan Jedid, secured the execution of Mustafa IV by the Sultan, and attempted to destroy the Janissaries. This last act proved his own destruction. The populace supported the Janissaries; Bairaktar was closely besieged, and blew himself up with his opponents on November 14.

B. Mahmud II

Mahmud II (1808–1839; see plate facing p. 149) recognised the Janissaries in a solemn Hatti-sherif, issued on November 18, as the firmest support of the throne. The army and the population greeted the one surviving descendant of the Osman house with enthusiasm, and the "Chok yasha Sultan Mahmud" resounded from thousands of throats in the mosques and on the public squares. The Osman dynasty had been saved as by a miracle. The Sultan, who was then twenty-three years of age, was confronted by two dangerous opponents, the Serbs and Russians The latter were supporting the Serbs and also the Montenegrins against the Turks and the French in Dalmatia. However, the war upon the Danube was continued with no great vigour. It was not until the peace of Frederikshamn, of September 17, 1809, when Russia acquired Finland from Sweden and secured a guarantee

from Napoleon that the Polish kingdom should not be restored, that the Turkish war again took a prominent place in Russian policy. In 1810 Prince Bagration was replaced by Count Kamenskii as supreme commander over eighty thousand men. He immediately crossed the Danube, and on June 3 captured Bazarjik, which was followed by the conquest of Silistria, Sistova, Rustchuk, Giurgevo, and Nicopolis. The fear of Napoleon and of a Polish rising prevented further enterprise. After the death of Kamenskii, Golenishcheff-Kutusoff, (Vol. VIII, p. 57), who was sixty-five years of age, utterly defeated the Turks on October 12, 1811, at Slobodse and Rustchuk. This victory decided the war. The English fleet made a demonstration before the Dardanelles to prevent the Sultan agreeing to the continental embargo of Napoleon. The peace of Bucharest, May 12, 1812, reconfirmed the conventions of Kütchuk-Kainarje and Jassy, ceded Bessarabia to Russia, and gave the Serbs an amnesty, greater independence, and an extension of territory. The brothers Murusi, the Sultan's Phanariot negotiators, were executed upon their return home on account of the extravagance of the concessions made by them to the Czar.

(*a*) *The Foundation of the Servian Principality.* — The Russians had secured an influence in Servia, which Austria had obstinately disdained. When, however, in May, 1813, the Russians appeared on the Oder and Elbe, the Turkish army again advanced into Servia; Georg Petrović fled to Russia by way of Austria. The Osmans exacted a bitter vengeance upon the country, but on Palm Sunday, April 1, 1815, Miloś Obrenović appeared with the ancient banner of the Voivodes. The people as a whole flocked to the standard, and the Turks were left in possession only of their fortresses. On November 6, 1817, Miloś was recognised by the bishop, the Kneses, and people, as voivode; while Karageorge, who had returned to the country to ally himself with the Greek Hetairia, was murdered.

(*b*) *The Greek War of Liberation.* — Almost contemporary with the Society of the Philomusoi, which was founded in Athens in 1812, arose in Greece the secret confraternity of the "philiki" (φιλική ἑταιρία), whose energies after some years brought about the open struggle for freedom. Three young Greeks, Nik. Skuphas of Arta, Ath. Tzakaloph of Janina, and Panag. Anagnostopulos of Andritzena, founded the new Hetairia at Odessa in 1814, and swore "to arrive at a decision between themselves and the enemies of their country only by means of fire and sword." Oaths of appalling solemnity united this growing band of comrades. This yearning for liberation proceeded from and was sustained by an intellectual renaissance of the nation. From the time of the conquest of Byzantium by the Turks, the Greeks had been deprived of all political freedom. But under the ecclesiastical protection of their patriarch in Fanar and in monasteries (at Athos and Janina in Epirus, and in the theological school of the Peloponnese at Dimitsana) the spark of culture and freedom had glowed amongst the ashes, and was kept alive in the language of the Church and the Gospel. As was the case with the Armenians and the Jews, superior intelligence and dexterity secured the highest positions for the Greeks in the immediate proximity of the Padishah. After the position of first interpreter of the Porte had fallen into their hands (at the end of the seventeenth century) all negotiations concerning foreign policy were carried through them; they were preferred for ambassadorial posts in foreign courts,

and from the eighteenth century the Porte made a practice of choosing from their numbers the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia. The opinion of an English diplomatist upon these Phanariots shortly before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, which was translated by Goethe, is well known, "Under the oppression exercised by Turkish despotism with a daily increasing force, the Greek character acquired a readiness for subterfuge and a perversity of judgment on questions of morality, which a continuance of servitude gradually developed to an habitual double dealing and treachery, which strikes the foreigner from the first moment." However, the Greeks looked anxiously to Russian champions and liberators, notwithstanding all the apparent privileges received from the Porte, from the time of the peace of Posharevatz, when the whole of the Morea fell into the possession of the Turks. In the devastation which Russia's attempt to liberate the Morea had brought down upon Greece in 1770, when Hellas and Peloponnese suffered inhuman devastation from the Albanians whom the Turks called in, Athens and the islands had been spared; in 1779 the Turks found themselves obliged to send Hasan Pasha to destroy the unbridled Albanians at Tripolitsa. In the peace of Kütchuk-Kainarje in 1774 Russia had again been obliged to abandon the Greeks to the Osmans, though the Turkish yoke became proportionately lighter as the power of the Porte grew feebler. The Hellenes enriched themselves by means of commerce; the sails of the merchantmen sent out by the islands covered the Mediterranean. During the French Revolution almost the entire Levant trade of the Venetians and the French fell into their hands. The number of Greek sailors was estimated at ten thousand. In their struggles with the pirates their ships had always sailed prepared for war, and they had produced a race of warriors stout-hearted and capable, like the Armatoles, who served in the armies of Europe. In the mountain ranges of Maina, of Albania, and Thessaly still survived the independent spirit of the "wandering shepherds" ("klephts") who had never bowed to the Osman sword. The children of the rich merchants who traded with the coasts of Europe studied in Western schools, and readily absorbed the free ideals of the American Union and the French Revolution. In the year 1796 Konstantinos Rhigas of Pheræ (Velestino in Thessaly, Vol. VIII, p. 543) sketched in Vienna a plan for the general rising of his nation, and secured an enthusiastic support for his aims, which he sang in fiery ballads. When he was planning to enter into relations with Bonaparte, whom he regarded as the hero of freedom, he was arrested in Trieste in 1798, and handed over by the Austrian police, with five of his companions, to the Pasha of Belgrade, who executed him. He died the death of a hero, with the words, "I have sown the seed, and my nation will reap the sweet fruit." Adamantios Koraïs (1748–1833) of Smyrna was working in Paris together with his associates, before the fall of Napoleon, to bring about the intellectual renaissance of the Greeks, the "Palingenesia." At the Vienna Congress Count John Kapo d'Istrias (Capodistrias) of Corfu had founded the Hetairia of the Philomusoi, which entertained the idea of founding an academy in Athens. The only thing wanting to these associations was a leader, as was also the case with the Serbs.

This leader was eventually provided by Russia. Alexander Ypsilantis, born of a noble Phanariot family (December 12, 1792), was a grandson of the hospodar of Wallachia, of the same name, who had been murdered by the Turks in 1805 at the age of eighty; he was a son of that Konstantine Ypsilantis who had been

deposed from the post of hospodar of Wallachia in the same year, and had fled into exile. As the Czar's adjutant during the Vienna Congress, he had inspired that monarch with enthusiasm for the Hetairia. Relying upon the silent consent of his master, he went to Kishineff in Bessarabia, in September, 1820, with the object of communicating with the leaders of the federation in the Danubian Principalities, in Constantinople, and upon the mainland. Availing himself of the difficulties caused to the Porte by the revolted Ali Pasha of Janina, Alexander Ypsilantis, accompanied by his brother Konstantine and Prince Kantakuzenos, crossed the Pruth on March 6, 1821, entered Jassy, sent a report on the same night to the Czar, who was awaiting the result of the congress at Laibach (Vol. VIII, p. 117), and forthwith issued an appeal to the Greek nation. On March 12 he started for Wallachia; not until April 9 did he reach Bucharest with five thousand men. But from that moment the movement proved unfortunate. The Czar, whose hands were tied by the Holy Alliance and the influence of legitimist theories, declared the Greeks to be rebels, and the Russian consul in Jassy openly disapproved of the Phanariot enterprise. It now became manifest how feeble was the popularity of these leaders on the Danube. They were opposed by the Boyars, the peasants fell away from them, the Serbs held back, and treachery reigned in their own camp. To no purpose did the "Sacred Band" display its heroism at Dragashani (in Little Wallachia, June 19, 1821), against the superior forces of the Pasha of Silistria and Braila. On June 26 Ypsilantis escaped to Austrian territory, where he spent the best years of his life at Munkács and Theresienstadt in sorrowful imprisonment; his health broke down, and he died shortly after his liberation on January 31, 1828. The last of the ill-fated band of heroes, Georgakis, the son of Nikolaos, blew himself up on September 20 in the monastery of Sekko (Moldavia). The fantastic idea of a greater Greece, embracing the Danube States, thus disappeared for ever.

However, the fire of revolt blazed up the more fiercely in the south, in the Morea (Kalamata), which was then deprived of troops. The archbishop Germanos of Patras was the first to raise the standard of the cross and of freedom in Kalavrita. Like wildfire the revolt extended to the continent and the islands; even the monks of Mount Athos flew to arms. On the nights of the 6th and 7th of May, two thousand peasants seized the lower town of Athens, raising the war-cry, "Christ has risen!" The islands of Hydra, Spessia, and Psara sent out a fleet of eighteen sail with fire-ships on May 3.

A counter movement of appalling ferocity broke out in the astounded Mohammedan world. The enraged Janissaries and people attacked the defenceless Greeks in the capital and in Smyrna. Constant executions thinned the numbers of the Phanariots, and among the victims of the popular fury were the first interpreters of the Porte, Konstantine Murusis, Alexander Mavrokordatos, Theodore Rhizos, and others, even the gray-haired patriarch Gregorios V. On July 18 the Russian ambassador, having entered a protest against this punishment of the innocent, left Constantinople on August 10, and on May 13 met the Czar at Veliki Luki, near Odessa; the result was a concentration of Russian troops on the Pruth.

Enthusiasm for the Greek cause spread throughout the whole of Europe. The noblest minds championed the cause of the warriors, who were inspired by their noble past with the pride of an indestructible nationality, and were defending

the cross against the crescent. Since the occupation of Athens by the Venetians in 1688 the eyes of educated Europe had turned to the city of Athene. The Venetian engineers Vermada and Felice had then drawn up an accurate plan of the Acropolis and of the town, which was published by Francesco Fanelli in his "Atene Attica" (1707). Ch. Du Cange (Vol. VIII, p. 438) wrote his "History of the Empire of Constantinople under the Frankish Emperors" in 1657, and in 1680 his "Historia Byzantina." Since the days of George Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628) and Thomas Earl of Arundel (1586–1646) a taste for the collection of examples of Greek art had been increasing in England. Wealthy peers sent their agents to Greece and the East, or journeyed thither themselves, as did Lord Claremont, who commissioned Richard Dalton to make sketches of the Greek monuments and works of art in 1749. James Stewart and Nicholas Revett published sketches of "The Antiquities of Athens" in 1751 (appeared 1762 and 1787). In 1776 appeared Richard Chandler's "Travels in Greece." In 1734 the Society of Dilettanti had been founded in London with avowedly Philhellenic objects. In 1764 appeared Winckelmann's "History of Ancient Art," and in 1787 Edward Gibbon completed his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." From 1812 onwards Beethoven's opera, "The Ruins of Athens," had aroused fears and sympathy in every feeling heart. Numberless memories and recollections carried away the sympathies of Europe, which had only just shaken off the yoke of the Corsican conqueror. In 1821 Philhellenic unions were formed upon all sides to support the "heroes of Marathon and Salamis" with money and arms. The banker Jean Gabr. Eynard of Geneva, the Wurtemberg general Norman (cf. Vol. VIII, p. 121), the Frenchman Comte Harcourt, the United States, England, King Ludwig I of Bavaria, an artistic enthusiast, and the painter Heidegger (since 1844 Freih. von Heydeck) sent money, arms, and ships, or volunteer bands. The populations of Europe were inspired by the Greek songs of Wilhelm Müller and the verses of Lord Byron ("The mountains look on Marathon, and Marathon looks on the sea"), and his heroic death (April 19, 1824, in Missolunghi). Even Goethe, the prince of poets, with all his indifference to politics, was fascinated by the fervour of the Greek and Servian popular songs, and cast his mighty word into the scale of humanity.

Far different was the attitude of the cabinets. Vienna in particular, whose preponderant influence had been already manifested in the conventions of Karlsbad, Troppau, and Laibach (Vol. VIII) checked all action on the part of the Czar. Prince Metternich had not forgotten the plans of partition which France and Russia had concocted at Tilsit and Erfurt. The powers, therefore, in accordance with his proposals, pressed the Porte to make concessions to the Greeks, and the rebels to make complete submission to their "legitimate masters." To the first of these proposals the political situation was highly favourable. The Persians were in the Asiatic frontier provinces, Candia was in a state of revolt, Ali of Janina was holding out against the Sultan's troops, the fidelity of Mehemed Ali was suspicious, and the Suliots under Markos Botzaris had inflicted a considerable defeat upon the Turks in the plains of Passaron. In fact the Sultan gave way so far as to withdraw his troops from the Danube and to appoint new hospodars. Among the Greeks the fortunes of war varied. The Turks held out at Thermopylæ, in Athens, in Vonizza (Acarnania), Lepanto, Nauplia, Corinth, and Patras. The first national assembly at

Argos, and afterwards at Piadha, in December, 1821, chose Alexander Mavrokordatos as its president ("Proëdros"), and declared its independence on January 13, 1822. However, notwithstanding the "Organic Law of Epidauros," there was no vigorous concerted action among the Palikars and naval heroes, as a continued state of feud existed between the chiefs and captains, Th. Kolokotronis, Odysseus, P. Mavromichalis, Th. Negris, G. Karaïskakis, Diakos, G. Konduriotis. Ali Pasha then fell in Janina; his head and his inestimable treasures came to Stamboul (February 5, 1822). The Turkish army of occupation was thus free to act against the Greeks. On the 11th April began the massacres in the Island of Chios. A cry of horror went up throughout Europe. The Turkish fleet was destroyed by the bravery of the bold incendiaries K. Kanaris, A. Pipinos (Pepinis), Theocharis, J. Tombazis, A. Miaulis. The bold Markos Botzaris fell on August 21, 1823, with his Suliots, in the course of a sortie against the besiegers of Missolunghi (see the historical map facing page 166).

In his necessity the Sultan now summoned to his aid his most formidable vassal Mehemed Ali of Egypt. He first sent his son Ibrahim to Candia for the suppression of the revolt, in command of his troops who had been trained by French officers. This leader then appeared in the Morea (February 22, 1825), where the bayonet and his cavalry gave him a great superiority over the Greeks, who, though brave, were badly disciplined and armed. None the less the Greeks vigorously protested against the protocol of peace which was issued by the powers of August 24, 1824, recommending them to submit to the Porte and promising the Sultan's pardon, after almost the whole population of the Island of Psara had been slaughtered on the 4th July. Three parties were formed amongst the Greeks themselves, one under Mavrokordatos leaning upon England, that of Capo d' Istrias leaning upon Russia, and that of Johannis Kolettis leaning upon France. English influence prevailed. On December 21, 1825, the Czar Alexander died at Tanganrog, and the youthful Nicholas I ascended the throne. He quickly suppressed a military revolution in St. Petersburg, and showed his determination to break down the influence of Metternich. Canning now sent the Duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg, and on April 4, 1826, the powers of England and Russia signed a protocol, constituting Greece, like Servia, a tributary vassal State of the Porte, with a certain measure of independence. Charles X of France agreed to these proposals, as his admiration had been aroused by the heroic defence of Missolunghi. Austria alone secretly instigated the Sultan to suppress the Greek revolt. Even the help given to the Greeks at that time by Lord Cochrane and General Church, by Colonels Fabvier, Vautier, and Heydeck, did not stop the Turkish advance. On June 5, 1827, the Acropolis again capitulated, and with it the whole of Greece was once again lost to the Hellenes.

However, a bold attack delivered at a most unexpected point shook the throne of the Sultan. On May 28, 1826, Mahmud II issued the Hatti-sherif concerning the reform of the Janissaries. Upon the resistance of these latter they were received on the Etmeidan by the well-equipped imperial army, supported on this occasion by the Ulemas and the people, and were mown down with grape-shot. The Sultan forthwith began the formation of a new corps upon European models. It was an event of the most far-reaching importance for the empire when Mahmud first appeared at the head of the faithful in an overcoat, European trousers, boots, and a red fez instead of a turban. His triumph, however, was

premature, his army was momentarily weakened, and the reforms were not carried out. The invader was already knocking once again at the door of the empire. On October 6, 1826, his plenipotentiaries signed an agreement at Akkerman, agreeing on all points to the Russian demands for Servia and the Danubian Principalities, but refusing that for Greek freedom. In vain did the Porte send an ultimatum to the powers on June 10, 1827, representing that the right of settling the Greek problem was his alone. On April 11, 1827, Capo d' Istrias became president of the free State of Corfu, under Russian influence, and Russia, England, and France determined to concentrate their fleets in Greek waters on the 6th July. The result of the movements was the battle of Navarino,[1] October 20, one of the most murderous naval actions in the whole of history; in four hours nearly one hundred and twenty Turkish warships and transports were destroyed.

This "untoward event" implied a further triumph for Russian policy, which had already acquired Grusia, Imeretia (Colchis, 1811), and Gulistan (1813) in Asia, and had secured its rear in Upper Armenia by the acquisition of Etchmiadzin, the centre of the Armenian Church, in the peace of Turkmanchai, 1828. However, after the battle of Navarino the Sultan proved more obstinate than ever. In a solemn Hatti-sherif he proclaimed in all the mosques his firm intention to secure his independence by war with Russia, "which for the last fifty or sixty years had been the chief enemy of the Porte." He was without competent officers, and his chief need was an army, which he had intended to create had he been granted time. Thus the main power of the Porte, as at the present day, consisted in the unruly hordes of Asia, whose natural impetuosity could not replace the lack of European discipline and tactical skill. "Pluck up all your courage" Mahmud then wrote to his Grand Vizier at the military headquarters, "for the danger is great." On May 7 the Russians crossed the Pruth in Europe, and on June 4 the Arpatchai in Asia. Ivan Paskevitch conquered the district of Kars and Achalzich, between the Upper Kur and Araxes, and secured a firm base of operations against Erzeroum. The Russians on the Danube advanced more slowly. It was not until the fall of Braila, on June 17, and of Varna, on October 11, 1828, that they ventured to attack the natural fortress of the Balkans. But the approach of winter put an end to the struggles. "In view of the enormous sacrifice," says Helmuth von Moltke, in his classical description of this war (1845), "which this war cost the Russians, it becomes exceedingly difficult to say whether victory rested with them or with the Turks."

A second campaign was therefore necessary to secure a decision. In Eastern Roumelia the Russians seized the harbour of Sizebolu, February 15, 1829, in order to provision their army. On February 24, Diebich (Vol. VIII) took over the supreme command, crossed the Danube in May, and on June 11 defeated and put to flight, by means of his superior artillery, the army of the Grand Vizier Reshid Mehemed, at Kulevcha. Silistria then surrendered (June 26), and in thirteen days (July 14–26) Diebich crossed the Balkans with two army corps; while on July 7 Paskevitch had occupied Erzeroum in Asia. The passage of this

[1] Nav(w)arino is the name of the remnants of a fortress situated at the southern entrance to the harbour, somewhat southwest of the Messenian coast town Neókastron, while the old fortress at the northern entrance bears the name of Palàó Navarínon. In May, 1904, the Greek major-general Staikos received permission to carry out diving operations in those waters.

mountain barrier, which was regarded as impregnable, produced an overwhelming impression upon the Turks, many of whom regarded the Russian success as a deserved punishment for the Sultan's reforms. Diebich "Sabalkanski" advanced to Adrianople. However, Mustafa Pasha of Bosnia was already advancing. Fearful diseases devastated the Russian army, which was reduced to twenty thousand men. None the less Diebich joined hands with Sizebolu on the Black Sea, and with Enos on the Ægean Sea, although the English fleet appeared in the Dardanelles to protect the capital, from which the Russians were scarce thirty miles distant.

Both sides were sincerely anxious for peace. However, the Sultan's courage was naturally shaken by the discovery of an extensive conspiracy among the old orthodox party. The peace of Adrianople, secured by the mediation of the Prussian general Karl Freiherr von Müffling, on September 14, offered conditions sufficiently severe. Before the war the Czar had issued a manifesto promising to make no conquests. Now in August, 1828, he demanded possession of the Danube islands, of the Asiatic coast from Kuban to Nikolaja, the fortresses and districts of Atzshur, Achalzich, and Achalkalaki, with new privileges and frontiers for Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia. The Sultan under pressure of necessity confirmed the London Convention of July 6, 1821, in the tenth article of the peace. The president, Capo d'Istrias, received new subsidies, and loans from the powers; moreover, on July 19, 1828, the powers in London determined upon an expedition to the Morea, the conduct of which was intrusted to France. Ibrahim retired, while General Maison occupied the Peninsula (September 7). The Greek army, composed of Palikars, troops of the line, and Philhellenes, was now armed with European weapons; it won a series of victories at the close of 1828 at Steveniko, Martini, Salona, Lutraki, and Vonizza, and by May, 1829, captured Lepanto, Missolunghi, and Anatoliko. In 1828 the Cretan revolt again broke out, with successful results. On July 23, 1829, the National Assembly, tired of internal dissensions, which had repeatedly resulted in civil war, conferred dictatorial powers upon the president. On February 3, 1830, the powers proclaimed the independence of Greece, which the Sultan was forced to acknowledge on April 24.

(*c*) *The Close of Mahmud's Reign.*—The understanding between the powers was again destroyed by the July revolution in Paris. Moreover, France had now seized Algeria, which had hitherto been under the Sultan's supremacy, and the piratical activity of the Barbary States was brought to an end. In Turkey also that movement was now beginning, which will be considered later (p. 191), the literary and political revolution of the Young Turkish party. The indefatigable Mahmud again resumed his efforts to secure the unity of the empire. He was, however, forced to give way to his pasha of Egypt, Mehemed Ali, one of the most important rulers whom the East had produced for a long time. He was born in 1769 at Kavala in Roumelia, opposite the island of Thasos; he had gone to Egypt in 1800 with some Albanian mercenaries; in the struggle with the French, English, and Mamelukes (1811; cf. Vol. III, p. 717) he had raised himself to supremacy, had conquered the Wahhabites, subjugated Arabia and Nubia, and created a highly competent army by means of military reform upon a large scale. When Mahmud II declined to meet his extensive demands in return for the help he had rendered against the Greeks, Ibrahim, an adopted son of Mehemed, a general of the highest

class, invaded Syria in 1831, defeated the Turks on three occasions, conquered Akka, 1832, and advanced to Kiutahia, in Asia Minor, in 1833. In desperation Mahmud appealed to Russia for help. Russia forthwith sent fifteen thousand men to the Bosphorus, whilst the fleets of France and England jealously watched the Dardanelles. Mehemed Ali was obliged to make peace on May 4, 1833, and was driven back behind the Taurus. The most important result of these events, however, was the recompense which the Sultan was induced to give to the Russians for their help. He had been shown the letters of the French ambassador, which revealed the intention of the cabinet of the Tuileries to replace the Osman dynasty by that of Mehemed. The result was the convention of Hunkyar-Skalessi (the imperial stairs on the Bosphorus, July 8, or May 26, 1833). In this agreement the terrified Sultan made a supplementary promise to close the Dardanelles in future against every power that was hostile to Russia. When this one-sided convention, concluded in defiance of all international rights, became known, the Western powers were naturally irritated, and Prince Metternich wittily designated the Sultan as "le sublime portier des Dardanelles au service du Czar." The naval powers withdrew their fleets from the Dardanelles, after entering a protest against this embargo.

In Greece the capable president, Capo d'Istrias, had been murdered on October 9, 1831, by the Mainots, Constantine and George Mavromichalis; a short time before (August 18, 1831) the aged Miaulis, the Hydriotic partisan, had burnt the Greek fleet in the harbour of Poros (Kalaurai). The second president, Augustin Capo d'Istrias, maintained his position only for a short time. As aforetime in ancient Greece, so now, the *primates* and Palikars destroyed one another by their partisanship and greed, by their envy and jealousy. In March, 1832, the Greek crown was offered to the Bavarian Prince Otto, the second son of Ludwig I. On April 15 the Bavarian Philhellene, Councillor Friedrich Thiersch, arranged a commission of regency. Peace seemed to have been secured between the parties when King Otto I made his solemn entry into Nauplia, on February 7, 1833. Stratford Canning had again appeared as British ambassador to the Porte, and devoted considerable energy to the Greek cause. The bays of Volo and Arta were established as the northern frontier of the new Greek kingdom; Samos was declared an independent principality, paying tribute to the Porte. In the same year the Porte secured possession of the Regency of Tripolis, and crushed the rebellions of Albania, Bosnia, Mesopotamia, and Kurdistan (1834). On January 7, King Otto entered the city of Pallas which he found in ruins. Thanks to the self-sacrifice of rich Greeks, both at home and abroad (Sina, Ursakis, Varvakis, Averot, Zappas, Syngros, Sturnaris, Fositza, Valtinos, Bernardakis, and others), Athens rose like the phœnix from dust and ashes, and in a few decades became the political and intellectual centre of Greece, and the fairest town in the Greek East. From a geographical point of view the kingdom was somewhat scurvily treated, owing to dissension amongst the powers and resistance on the part of the Porte; yet it may be considered large in comparison with the States of ancient Greece.

Meanwhile, the will of the Czar was supreme both in Athens and Stamboul. Obeying his instructions Mahmud refused to allow the Austrians to blast the rocks on the Danube at Orsova, or to permit his subjects to make use of the ships of the Austro-Hungarian Lloyd Company, founded in Trieste in 1836; notwithstanding this prohibition the company was able to resume with success the old commercial

relations of the Venetians with the Levant. The Russian ambassador discountenanced the wishes of the Grand Vizier and of the Seraskier, who applied to the Prussian ambassador, Count Königsmark, with a request for Prussian officers to be sent out, in view of a reorganisation of the army. A chance occurrence decided the matter. The "Iron Soldier" Khosrev Pasha discovered the existence of a new world of military science, in the course of conversation with the Prussian staff officers Von Berg and Helmuth von Moltke, who then happened to be staying in Constantinople; at Khosrev's proposal the Sultan applied to Berlin with a request that Moltke's stay in Constantinople might be extended. Frederick William III, who was then as reluctant to oblige the Turks, as the other powers were importunate, granted for the moment an extension of leave for three months; even this, however, secured that remarkable influence of the Prussian military reorganisation upon the Turkish army, which continues at the present day. Moltke, under the title of "Baron Bey," accompanied the Sultan in 1837 on his journey through European Turkey, where the royal reformer was everywhere received with enthusiasm; he drew up a memorial concerning the possibility of applying the Prussian landwehr system to the Osman Empire, examined the most important fortresses in the Dardanelles, and from the height of the Seraskier tower, built by Mahmud, he completed a great plan of Constantinople and its environs. Together with the officers Heinrich von Mühlbach, Karl Freiherr von Vincke-Olbendorf, and Friedrich Leopold Fischer he accompanied General Mehmed Hafiz Pasha during the summer of 1837, when this officer was occupied in completing the pacification of Kurdistan, which Reshid Pasha had begun. This expedition and the following against Mehemed Ali have been brilliantly described by Moltke in his memorable "letters" (1841).

In 1837 the first bridge over the Golden Horn was built, between Unkapau and Asabkapusi; not until 1845 and 1877 was the new bridge constructed which is known as the Valide, after the mother of Abd ul-Mejid. On August 16, 1838, the English ambassador Ponsonby secured the completion, in the house of Reshid Pasha at Balta-Nin on the Bosphorus, of that treaty respecting trade and customs duties, which has remained the model of all succeeding agreements. By way of recompense the English fleet accompanied the Turkish fleet, during all its manœuvres in the Mediterranean, until its secession to Mehemed Ali. War was declared upon him by Sultan Mahmud in May, 1839, when the Druses had revolted against the Syrian authorities in the Hauran. However, the Sultan died on July 1, before he could receive the news of the total defeat of his army at Nisib (June 24), and the desertion of his fleet in Alexandria (July 14). At a later period, after his return to the Sublime Porte, Moltke vindicated the capacity which Hafiz Pasha had shown in face of the lack of discipline prevailing in his army, although the Seraskier had treated the suggestions of the Prussian officers with contempt. Ibrahim did not pursue his master's troops, as his own soldiers were too exhausted to undertake any further movements.

Mahmud II died a martyr to his own ideas and plans; even his greatest reforms remained in embryo; however, his work lives after him; he was the founder of a new period for Turkey, as Peter the Great, with whom he liked to be compared, had been for Russia. The difficulty of the political situation, the incapacity of his predecessors, the slavery imposed by the domestic government and by court etiquette, were the real support of those obstacles which often caused him such

despondency, that he sought consolation in drunkenness, to the wilful destruction of his powers.

C. The First Half of the Reign of Abd ul-Mejid (1839–1850)

Abd ul-Mejid (1839–1861; see the plate facing page 149), the son of Mahmud, undertook at the age of sixteen the government of a State which would irrevocably have fallen into the power of the Pasha of Egypt had not the ambitious plans of France been thwarted by the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance on July 15, 1840 (England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia). The interference of the alliance forced the victorious Pasha Mehemed Ali to evacuate Syria; after the conclusion of peace he obtained the Island of Thasos, the cradle of his race, from the Sultan, as an appanage of the viceroys of Egypt, in whose possession it still remains. An important advance is denoted by the Hatti-sherif of Gülhane (November 3, 1839), which laid down certain principles, on which were to be based further special decrees or *tansimati hairije* (beneficial organisation). The reformation proclaimed as law what had in fact long been customary, the theoretical equality of the subjects of every nation, race, and religion before the law. It must be said that in the execution of this praiseworthy decree certain practical difficulties came to light. Reshid Pasha, the creator of the "hat," was not inspired by any real zeal for reform, but was anxious simply to use it as a means for gaining the favour of the Christian powers. As early as 1830, for example, a census had been undertaken, the first throughout the whole Turkish Empire, the results of which were valueless. No official would venture to search the interior of a Moslem house inhabited by women and children. It was, moreover, to the profit of the revenue officials to represent the number of houses and families in their district as lower than it really was, with the object of filling their pockets with the excess. On this account Moltke expressed an idea of great weight at that time (1841) which is still conditionally in force at the present day. The Porte, unable to secure the obedience of the Syrians by a strong government like the military despotism of Ibrahim, was equally unable to win over the country by justice and good administration, for lack of one necessary condition, an honest official service. It was not to the "hat" of Gülhane of 1856, nor yet to the later Hatti-humayun, that reform was due, but to the European powers associated to save the crescent. These powers suggested the only permanent solution by supplying the watchword "*A la franca;*" and urged the Turks to acquire a completer knowledge of the West, to learn European languages and sciences, to introduce the institutions of the West. Herein lies the transforming power of the "beneficial organisation."

Literature also had to follow this intellectual change. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a poet endowed with the powers of the ancient East had appeared in Ghalib, and a court poet in the unfortunate Selim III. Heibet ullah Sultana, a sister of the Sultan Mahmud II, and aunt of the reforming minister Fuad, also secured a measure of popularity. These writers were, however, unable to hinder the decay of old forms, or rather the dawn of a new period, the Turkish "modern age." The study of the languages of Eastern civilization became neglected in view of the need of the study of the West. The new generation knew more of La Fontaine, Montesquieu, and Victor Hugo than of Osman Baki (died 1599), the Persian Hafiz (died 1399), the Arab Motenebbi (Mutanabbi; died 965). The

political need of reform made men ambitious to secure recognition for the drafting of a diplomatic note rather than for the composition of a Kassited, or of a poem with a purpose. In the East as well as in the West mediæval poetry became a lost art.

It must be said that the new generation, though educated on Western principles, did not immediately adopt the honourable character of European bureaucracy. The place of the Janissary militia was now occupied by the bureaucracy, which with no less power, and with almost military determination, secured the monopoly of home administration. This aristocracy of the effendis of Stamboul, like the official nobility of the Roman Empire during its decline, formally laid down the principle that the son of a State official must himself become an official; any other occupation, no matter what its name, was regarded as *aïb* (disgrace). The bureaucracy remained a permanent barrier between the Sultan and the people, between the Sultan and other nations, ever ready to empty the coffers of the State, and to plunder the subjects, regardless of their creed. Such were the calamitous results of the "beneficial organisation."

By the Dardanelles convention, which was concluded with the great powers in London on July 13, 1841, the Porte consented to keep the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus closed to foreign ships of war in the time of peace. By this act the Turkish government gave a much desired support to Russian aims at predominance in the Black Sea. In the same year it was necessary to suppress revolts which had broken out in Crete and Bulgaria. The cruelties of the Albanian troops on that occasion threw a lurid light upon the principles of the "hat" of Gülhane. In consequence of the incursions of Mehmed Shah into the Arabian Irak, Suleimanieh, Bagdad, Kerbela, and Armenia (Van) a war with Persia was threatened, and the dispute was only composed with difficulty by a peace commission summoned to meet at Erzeroum. Within the Danubian Principalities the sovereign rights of the Porte were often in conflict with the protectorate powers of Russia. In Servia Alexander Karageorgevitch was solemnly appointed Bashlieg or high prince of Servia, by the Porte on November 14, 1842; Russia, however, succeeded in persuading Alexander voluntarily to abdicate his position, which was not confirmed until 1843 by Russia, after his re-election at Topchider, near Belgrade. The Roman Catholic (uniate) Armenians, who had already endured a cruel persecution in 1828, now at the instigation of their Gregorian co-religionists, secured toleration for their independent church in 1835 (Millet) and a representative of their own (vekil). A similar persecution, supported by Russia from Etshniadsin, also broke out against the Protestant Armenians in 1845. It was not until November, 1850, that their liberation was secured by the energetic ambassador Stratford Canning; in 1853 they were definitely recognised as a Millet.

Even more dangerous was the diplomatic breach between the Porte and Greece (1847). This young State had grown insolent by reason of the favour and jealousy of Europe; supported by the Russian party which dominated the Chamber of Deputies, Greece had availed herself of the helplessness of the Porte against Mehemed Ali, at the time when Abd ul-Mejid began his reign, to send help to the Cretans, and had inflicted repeated losses upon the Osman Empire by the marauding raids of the klephts on the boundaries of Epirus and Thessaly. In his parliamentary speeches the prime minister Kolettis (1844–1847; cf. p. 177) had repeatedly demanded the general union of the Greeks. Even Moltke had

defended the following principle in 1842: "Our opinion is that the only natural and the only possible solution of the Eastern question is the creation of a Christian Byzantine empire in Constantinople, the restoration of which has been already begun by Hellas with the support of Europe." At the same time the far-seeing military writer had decidedly opposed the partition of Turkey between the powers, before whom he held out the example of Poland as a warning. "The partition of Turkey," he exclaimed, "is a problem like the division of a diamond ring,—who is to obtain Constantinople, the costly single stone?" In short continued friction ended in 1846 with a collision between the Turkish ambassador and the Greek king, with the breaking off of diplomatic relations, and with a revenge taken by the Porte upon his Greek subjects, which might almost have ended in war between Greece and Turkey, England and France. Not until September, 1847, was an understanding between the two neighbours secured, by the intervention of the Czar on the personal appeal of King Otto.

5. THE CRIMEAN WAR AND ITS RESULTS FOR TURKEY (THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

(*a*) *The Omens of the Struggle* (*1848–1853*). — 1848, a year of revolution, which shook Western Europe with its conceptions of freedom, had left Turkey almost untouched. Shekib Effendi held a formal conference with Pope Pius IX, in Rome, 1848, under commission from the Sultan, who would have been glad to hand over to the Pope the protectorate of the Catholics in the East; the Holy Father had sent out the Archbishop Ferrieri, with an appeal to the Oriental communities, which, however, did not end in that union which the Porte and the Pope had hoped for. The revolt of the Boyars and of the Polish fugitives in Moldavia and Wallachia speedily resulted in the strengthening of the hospodar Mich. Sturdza, and of the appointment of Kantakuzen in place of Bibeskos. The Hungarian rising, on which the Porte had staked its hopes for the infliction of a blow on Austria, came to nothing, on the capitulation of Vilagos (Vol. VIII, p. 207). On the other hand the Sultan, encouraged by the presence of an English fleet in the Dardanelles, declined to hand over the Hungarian fugitives.

Austria and Hungary thereupon avenged themselves by taking advantage of a claim for damages, which France had now set up. Two parties, the Catholics and the Greeks, were quarrelling about the Holy Places in Palestine. The powers protecting the Catholics were invariably France or the Pope, while the Greeks had been under a Russian protectorate since 1720. It was to deliver these Holy Places, where the Redeemer had worked and died, from the hands of the Moslems that the Crusades had been undertaken. Saladin (Vol. III, p. 362) had permitted the Latin clergy to perform service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1187, while Robert of Anjou had purchased the Holy Places from the caliph in 1342 (op. cit. p. 708). After the conquest of the Holy City by Sultan Selim, 1517, the Georgians secured part of Golgotha, all the other remaining places being reserved expressly to the Sultan in 1558. This title was further confirmed by the capitulations of France with the Sultans (1535, 1621, 1629, and 1740; cf. p. 168). Violent outbreaks of jealousy took place between the Armenians, Greeks, and Catholics concerning these marks of favour, and especially concerning the possession of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1808 the Greeks, after the Church of the Holy

Sepulchre had been destroyed by fire, actually reduced the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin to ruins. The Greeks, aided by Russian money, restored the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; meanwhile the Latins, whose zeal was supported by France, gained possession of two chapels in 1820.

In the year 1850 the Pope and the Catholic patriarch of Jerusalem applied first to France, and joined France in a further application to the Porte, to secure protection against the Greeks. Fear of Russia induced the Porte to decide almost entirely in favour of Greece, and the only concession made to the Catholics was the joint use of a church door in Bethlehem. The emperor Nicholas had a short time previously (May 1, 1849) obtained a political triumph by means of the compact of Balta-Liman regarding the Danubian Principalities and the Dardanelles; relying upon the thirty-third article of the convention, concluded in 1740, he now declared that this measure had deeply wounded the religious feelings of the Orthodox Russians. Austria, labouring as we have seen under insults from the Porte, joined with Russia in demanding and securing through Count Christian Leiningen-Westerburg in Stamboul, on February 14, 1853, the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the scene of the revolt in Montenegro and the empire, fulfilment of certain demands affecting the private interests of her subjects. When the emperor Nicholas demanded guarantees for the unconditional supremacy of the Greek Church through the ambassador Prince Menshikoff, the refusal was answered by a declaration of war upon Turkey in the manifesto of October 20 (November 1), 1853, which ran as follows: "No other measure remains open to us, except an appeal to force of arms in order to oblige the Ottoman government to observe the treaties, and to give satisfaction for the insults by which it has answered our highly moderate demands, and our legitimate care for the protection of the Orthodox faith in the East, which is also the faith of the Russian nation." The Sultan then removed from the Seraglio point to the imperial palace of Dolma Bagche, constructed in 1853; since that date the building situated in Stamboul has been known as the Old Seraglio. Once again a venerable tradition had been broken, and all succeeding Sultans have resided on the shores of the Bosphorus.

(*b*) *The Course of the War; the Congress of Paris; the "Hat" of 1856.* — On July 2, 1853, forty thousand men advanced into the Danube Principalities under Michael Gortchakoff. Thereupon the Sultan, under pressure from the excited Mohammedan population, declared war, and on November 4 Omar Pasha (see Fig. 3 of the plate facing page 188) defeated the Russians at Oltenitza. The united French and English fleets left the Bay of Besika, and entered the Bosphorus by the Dardanelles. After the Turkish fleet had been destroyed by the Russians at Sinope on November 30, and the Czar Nicholas had rejected the proposals for peace from the Vienna conference, the Western powers sent their fleets into the Black Sea, recalled their ambassadors from St. Petersburg, and on March 18, 1854, concluded an alliance against Russia with the hereditary "enemy of Christianity." Such are the changes brought about by time. Russia found no supporters. Servia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria remained pacific; only in the Bay of Arta did a revolt break out. Austria and Prussia demanded the evacuation of the Danube Principalities, and threatened war in the event of the Russians passing the Balkans. The Russians retreated beyond the Danube, when the Western powers

despatched a great fleet to the Baltic. Only in Armenia did the war run a favourable course for Russia. The French under St. Arnaud (cf. Vol. VIII) and the English under Lord Raglan, to the number of sixty thousand men, resolved upon the conquest of the Crimea. The gaze of Europe was soon concentrated for eleven months upon the siege of Sebastopol. Both the allies and the Russians received numerous reinforcements; in May, 1855, Sardinia sent her minister of war, La Marmora, to the Crimea with fifteen thousand men. It was not until September 11 that the victorious armies occupied the smoking ruins of the town, after the death of the emperor Nicholas, on March 11. The loss of troops, especially on the part of the British army, the organisation of which left much to be desired, was very considerable when compared with the superior organisation of the French.

In February, 1856, upon the proposal of Austria, a peace congress met in Paris, to which Prussia was admitted notwithstanding English objections. Russia was forced to cede the mouths of the Danube, and a part of Bessarabia and Kars, and to renounce her sole protectorate of the Danubian Principalities. The Danube was thrown open to trading vessels, the international Danube commission was organised for Galatz and Sulina, the Black Sea was made neutral, and Russia was forbidden to maintain more warships upon it than Turkey (this clause was annulled by Russia in 1871, at the London conference; Vol. VIII). For the moment Turkey was free from Russian greed for conquest, and the military reputation of Russia was broken. Napoleon III became the most powerful man in Europe, and received numerous applications for alliances. The company of the "Messageries Maritimes," founded in Marseilles in 1851, secured the lion's share of the new commercial relations with the Levant.

Turkey, henceforward received into the concert of Europe, promised further reforms in the Hatti-humayun of February 18, 1856, and reaffirmed the civic equality of all her subjects. The "hat" was received with equal reluctance by both Osmans and Christians. Only since 1867 have foreigners been able to secure a footing in Turkey. If any advance has been made since these paper promises it is due not to the imperial firman but to the increase in international communication, which brought the light of civilization to the very interior of Asia. In 1851 the first railway was built from Alexandria to Suez, by way of Cairo; shortly afterwards the Suez Canal was begun. In Turkey itself new roads were built, harbours constructed, the postal service improved, and telegraph lines erected, especially after the events in Jidda and Lebanon (1858–1860).

(*c*) *Close of the Reign of Abd ul-Mejid.* — The dark side of this onward movement was the shattered condition of the finances. The financial embarrassments of the Porte had been steadily increasing since 1848. At that date there was no foreign national debt; there were about two hundred millions of small coin in circulation, with an intrinsic value of twenty-three and a half per cent of their face value. There was a large amount of uncontrolled and uncontrollable paper money, covered by no reserve in bullion, and there were heavy arrears in the way of salaries and army payments. During the Crimean War, apart from an enormous debt at home, a loan of one hundred and forty million marks had been secured in England. Three further loans were effected in 1858, 1860, and 1861. Expenditure rose, in consequence of the high rate of interest, to two hundred and

eighty millions of marks annually, while the revenue amounted to one hundred and eighty millions only. In 1861 the financial strain brought about a commercial crisis; an attempt was made to meet the danger by the issue of twelve hundred and fifty millions of piastres in paper money, with forced circulation; while the upper officials, bank managers, and contractors, such as Langrand-Dumonceau, Eugene Bontoux, and Moritz Hirsch were growing rich, the provinces were impoverished by the weight of taxation, and the unnecessary severity with which the taxes were collected. The concert of Europe had guaranteed the first State loan. Hence in 1882 originated the international administration of the Turkish public debt; and this became the basis of the claim for a general supervision of Turkish affairs by Western Europe, which was afterwards advanced in the case of Armenia and Crete.

The Porte was thus unable to prevent the appointment of Colonel Alexander Johann Cusa, at the instance of France, as prince of Moldavia (January 29) and of Wallachia (February 17); the personal bond of union thus established between these vassal States resulted in their actual union as Roumania in 1861. Cusa's despotic rule was overthrown on February 22, 1866, and under the new prince, Karl of Hohenzollern, the country enjoyed a rapid rise to prosperity, although the political incapacity of the people, the license granted by the constitution, and the immorality of the upper classes did not conduce to general order. In Servia the Sultan's creature, Alexander Karageorgevitch (p. 183), was forced to abdicate on December 21–22, 1858, the family of Obrenovitch was recalled, and after the death of Miloš at the age of eighty (September 26, 1860), Michael Obrenovitch II was elected and acknowledged by the Porte. Under the revolutionary and literary government of the "Omladina" ("youth") Servia became the scene of Panslavonic movements hostile to Hungary, which spread to the soil of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even endangered the absolute monarchy of Michael. On March 6, 1867, the last Turkish troops were withdrawn from Servian soil, in accordance with the agreements of September 4, 1862, and March 3, 1867. After the murder of the prince on June 10, 1868, the Skupshtina appointed the last surviving Obrenovitch Prince Milan, then fourteen years of age, and passed the new constitution on June 29, 1869.

An additional consequence was that Turkey became again involved in disputes with the Western powers; in 1858 the occasion was the murder of the English and French consuls at Jidda, in Arabia, and in 1860 the atrocities of the Druses against the Christians in Lebanon and Damascus (Vol. III, p. 392). To anticipate the interference of the powers the Grand Vizier Fuad Pasha, one of the greatest statesmen that Turkey has produced in the nineteenth century, was sent to the spot with unlimited powers; but it was not until a French army of occupation appeared that the leaders in high places were brought to punishment, and the province of Lebanon was placed under a Christian governor. The chief service performed by Fuad was that of introducing the Vilayet constitution, the division of the Osman Empire into Sanjaks and Kasas, by which means he had already produced great effects on the Danube provinces. Had it not been for the opposition of the whole company of the Old Turks, the Imams, Mollas, Mütevelis, Hojas, the Dervishes, and Softas, in the mosques, the schools, the monasteries, and also the coffee-houses, he would possibly have succeeded in cleansing the great Augean stable of Arabic slothfulness.

(*d*) *Abd ul-Aziz (1861–1876).* — Upon the death of Abd ul-Mejid, on June 26, 1861, his brother, the new ruler, Abd ul-Aziz (1861–1876; see the plate facing page 149) was confronted by difficult tasks, and the question arose as to his capacity for dealing with them. The good-natured Abd ul-Mejid had generally allowed his Grand Viziers to govern on his behalf, but after 1858, when the royal privy exchequer had been declared bankrupt, he relapsed into indolence and weak sensuality. Notwithstanding the shattered state of the empire, his brother and successor, Abd ul-Aziz, promised a government of peace, of retrenchment, and reform. To the remote observer he appeared a character of proved strength, in the prime of life, and inspired with a high enthusiasm for his lofty calling. All these advantages, however, were paralysed by the criminal manner in which his education had been neglected. The ruler of almost forty millions of subjects was, at that time, scarcely able to write a couple of lines in his own language. The result was the failure of his first attempts to bring some order into the administration and the finances, a failure which greatly discouraged him. Until 1871 he allowed himself to be guided by two very distinguished men, Fuad and A(a)li Pasha (see Fig. 4 of the plate facing this page, "Six Influential Dignitaries of Turkey in the Nineteenth Century"); at the same time his want of firmness and insight, his nervous excitability, which often made him unaccountable for his actions, and his senseless and continually increasing extravagance led him, not only to the arms of Ignatieff, "the father of lies," but also to his own destruction.

In the commercial treaties of 1861–1862 gunpowder, salt, and tobacco had been excepted from the general remission of duties. The salt tax, which was shortly afterwards revived, was a lamentable mistake. Sheep farmers suffered terribly under it, for the lack of salt produced fresh epidemics every year among the flocks and destroyed the woollen trade and the manufacture of carpets. The culture of the olive and tobacco also suffered under the new imposts, while internal trade was hindered by octroi duties of every kind.

To these difficulties military and political complications were added. Especially dangerous was the revolt in Crete (the spring of 1866); in 1863 Greece had expelled the Bavarian prince and chosen a new king, George I (formerly Prince Wilhelm of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg), and had received the seven Ionian Islands from England in 1864; she now supported her Cretan brothers and co-religionists with money, armies, troops, and ships, notwithstanding the deplorable condition of her own finances. Only when an ultimatum had been sent to Greece did the Porte succeed in crushing this costly revolt under pressure from a conference of the powers in 1869. Meanwhile Ismaïl Pasha of Egypt had received in 1866 and 1867 (Vol. III, p. 718) the title of "Khedive" and the right to the direct succession. Undisturbed by English jealousy, the "viceroy" continued the projects of his predecessor, especially the construction of the Suez Canal, which had been begun by Lesseps; he increased his army, built warships, appointed his own minister of foreign affairs in the person of the Armenian Nubar Pasha, travelled in Europe, and invited the courts of the several States to a brilliant opening of the canal in 1869; by means of a personal visit to Constantinople, by large presents and an increase of tribute, he further secured in 1873 the sovereignty which he had assumed.

In the summer of 1867 the Sultan appeared in Western Europe accompanied by Fuad; it was the first occasion in Osman history that a Sultan had passed the

SIX INFLUENTIAL DIGNITARIES OF TURKEY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

EXPLANATION OF THE PORTRAITS OVERLEAF OF INFLUENTIAL TURKS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

On the left, above: 1. *Mustafa Bairakdar* (or Alemdar = bearer of the prophet's green standard), born 1755; Pasha of Rustshuk, 1806; attempted to restore in 1808 the Sultan Selim III, who had been deposed by the Janissaries; imprisoned the new Sultan Mustafa IV, the murderer of Selim; proclaimed Mustafa's brother Mahmud II as Sultan on July 28, 1808; became his Grand Vizier; met his death during a popular revolt of the Ulemas and Janissaries, by blowing himself up with his followers.

(From an old lithograph.)

On the right, above: 2. *Ali,* Pasha of Janina, born 1741 at Tepeleni, in Albania; a scion of the Hissa family, which was descended from the Toskas; was lord of Tepeleni in 1766, Pasha of Trikkala in Thessaly, 1787; secured possession of the town of Janina in 1788, and of a great part of Arta in 1789; became governor of Roumelia in 1803 after the subjection of the Suliots; ruler of Albania, Epirus, Thessalia, and South Macedonia from 1807; between 1815 and 1820 increased his army to the number of one hundred thousand men in numerous castles; was outlawed by the Sultan Mahmud in July, 1820; capitulated, besieged in Janina by Churshid Pasha, on January 10, 1822, and was treacherously murdered on February 5, 1822.

(From a portrait painted by L. Dupré in 1819.)

In the middle, on the left: 3. *Omer* Pasha, born (as Michael Latas) on November 24, 1806, at Plasky, of the Croatian military frontier; a cadet in the frontier regiment of Ogulin; deserted 1828, went to Widdin in the service of the vizier Hussein Pasha, was converted to Islam, and became tutor to Hussein's children; in 1834 he was a clerk in the war ministry at Constantinople as Omer Effendi, writing-master to the prince, afterwards Sultan Abd ul Medshid, Jüz Bashi (= captain) in the Turkish army. As colonel he defeated Ibrahim Pasha at Beksaya in Syria in 1839; in 1842 was military governor in Lebanon; in 1843 captured the rebel Dshuleka in Albania, and subdued the revolted Kurds in 1846; from 1848 to April, 1850, was military governor in Bucharest, defeated the Russians at Oltenitza in 1853, relieved Silistria in 1854, and led thirty thousand Turks before Sebastopol; afterwards governor in Bagdad; banished to Kursput in 1859, recalled 1861, suppressed the revolt in Herzegovina in 1862; was Mushir (= field-marshal) in 1864, and commander of the third army corps in Monastir; acted unsuccessfully in Crete, 1867; was minister of war, 1868–1869; and died as Sirdar Ekrem (= generalissimo) on April 18, 1871.

Below, on the right: 4. Mehemet Emin *Aali* Pasha, born 1815 in Constantinople; in 1833, second secretary to the embassy in Vienna; in 1838, ambassadorial councillor; ambassador in London, 1840–1844; minister of foreign affairs, 1846–1852, grand vizier, 1852; governor of Brussa in October, 1852; on diplomatic business at Vienna, March, 1855; grand vizier in July, 1855 (Hatti-humajun from February 18, 1856); minister without portfolio, November 1, 1856; grand vizier for the third time, January, 1858, for the fourth time, from August to November, 1861; then again minister for foreign affairs; grand vizier a fifth time, in February, 1867; imperial administrator in the summer of 1867; he was the moving spirit in the work of reforming the Turkish government, so far as was practicable, and died at Evenkeni in Asia Minor on September 6, 1871.

In the centre, on the right: 5. *Hussein Abni* Pasha, born 1819 in the village of Dost-Köj at Isparta, in Asia Minor; in 1845 assistant teacher at the royal school (Harbije-Mekdeb); major, 1850; lieutenant-colonel, 1853; in 1855 chief of the staff under Omer Pasha in Armenia (Kars); in 1856 director of the military school and chief of the general staff; in 1864 Mushir (= commandant-general) of the body-guard; suppressed the Cretan revolt in 1869; then became Seraskier (= minister of war). In 1871 he was banished to Isparta; was general governor of Smyrna in 1872; grand vizier, February 13, 1874, dismissed April 25, 1875; again minister of war, August, 1875, dismissed again on October 2, 1875; in May, 1876, conspired against Abd ul Aziz with Midhat Pasha and other enemies of Mahmud Pasha; guided Murad to Dolma Baghtshe in the night of May 29–30, 1876; killed Abd ul Aziz, and was murdered while minister of war in the night of June 15–16, 1876, in the house of Midhat, by the officer Hassan Bey.

Below, on the left: 6. *Midhat* Pasha, born 1825 in Bulgaria, of Turkish parents belonging to the Mohammedan sect of the Betash; in 1840 was a writer (Kiatib) in Rustshuk, became Wali of the new Danube vilayet in 1865 by the favour of the grand vizier Fuad; was president of the state council in the ministry in 1867; Wali of Irak Arabi in Bagdad, 1869; grand vizier on August 1, 1872, after the fall of Mahmud Nedim Pasha; was dismissed on October 19, 1872; was minister of justice in August, 1875; again overthrew Mahmud Nedim on May 11, 1876; dethroned the Sultan Abd ul Aziz on May 30, 1876, in conjunction with Husseïn Avni; was grand vizier, December 22, 1876; announced a constitutional form of government in accordance with the programme of June 1, on December 23, 1876; declined the proposals of the conference of the powers on January 18, 1877 (resulting in war with Russia); was banished by Abd ul Hamid February 5, 1877; general governor of Syria, 1878; Wali of Smyrna, 1880; condemned to death, 1881, but banished for life to Taif in Arabia, where he died on May 8, 1884.

(3 to 6 after photographs from Pera.)

frontiers of his empire, not for the purpose of making conquests, but to secure the favour of his allies. He had already visited the Khedive in Egypt in 1863. Now he saw the World's Exhibition at Paris, and that of London in June, 1863. On July 24 he paid his respects to the king and queen of Prussia at Coblentz and returned to Constantinople by way of Vienna on August 7. The success of Fuad Pasha in inducing his master to take this step was a masterpiece of diplomacy and patriotism; unfortunately the journey, which had cost enormous sums, did not produce the hoped-for results. On February 11, 1869, Fuad died as also did his noble friend and rival A(a)li on September 6, 1871; thereupon, simultaneously with the fall of the Second Empire, Osman politics entered upon that path which for Napoleon III began before the walls of Sebastopol and ended at Sedan. In place of the influence of the Western powers the eagles of Russia and Prussia were henceforward victorious on the Bosphorus. Upon his death-bed Fuad had written from Nizza on January 3, 1869, to Sultan Abd ul-Aziz: "The rapid advance of our neighbours and the incredible mistakes of our forefathers have brought us into a dangerous position; if the threatening collision is to be avoided, your Majesty must break with the past and lead your people in fresh paths." The committee of officials which travelled through the provinces of the empire in 1864 expressed this thought even more bluntly: "The officials grow rich upon the taxes, while the people suffer, working like slaves under the whip. The income of the taxes is divided among the officials instead of flowing into the State exchequer."

One result of the foreign tour was the beginning of railway construction within the Turkish Empire. The railways from Chernavoda to Küstenje (1857), from Smyrna to Aïdin (1858), from Rustchuk to Varna (1861), which were constructed under pressure from England, were left incomplete, and favoured only the advance of English trade. On the recommendation of the Austrian government the Belgian Langrand-Dumonceau (p. 187) was appointed *concessionaire* of the Turkish railways by the Porte in the year 1868. When Dumonceau proved a total failure, Baron Hirsch undertook the construction of the railways in 1869, and brought them to partial completion. He, however, began construction at the point where the expense was lowest, namely, on the sea coast, from Constantinople and Dedeagash to Saloniki, without any consideration for the justifiable or merely hypocritical demands of Austro-Hungary that the Turkish railways should form a junction with those of the empire. The result was that greater obstacles were thrown in the way of the natural expansion of the trade of Austro-Hungary and to some extent of Germany than would ever have been raised by the utmost hostility of Turkish commercial policy as such; for English ships henceforward monopolised the trade with the Turkish harbours and also the traffic of the incomplete railways which Hirsch constructed from the coast to the interior. Similarly, British ships monopolised the Danube trade as far up-stream as Widdin, until the obstacle of the Iron Gates had been finally overcome. It was thus not until 1888 that the much-abused "Ligne principale" was connected with the Hungarian railway system. It was in the spring of 1870 that the "Turkish bonds" were thrown upon the money market amid the venal laudations of the Vienna and Paris press. By means of Austrian influence Baron Hirsch secured a loan for Turkey of nearly eight hundred million francs, although the creditors were perfectly well aware of the disastrous situation of the country, of the financial collapse that had occurred in 1875, of the fact that payments of interest and premium had been discontinued,

and that the value of the new paper was likely to diminish in consequence. The owners of Turkish bonds were in 1882 the sufferers of a loss amounting to 306,900,000 francs, one half of which fell upon Austria, and the other half upon Germany and France.

When the collapse of the national bank was announced on October 6, 1875, by the decree of the Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha, England, which was in possession of at least two thousand millions of Turkish state debentures, immediately proceeded to purchase the Suez Canal shares (177,602 shares to the value of seventy million marks) and to occupy the island of Socotra at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf; this was the prelude to the seizure of Cyprus (1878) and of Egypt (1882). The extravagance of the Sultan reached the point of madness; the exchequer was exhausted by his architectural projects and by the equipment of the army and fleet, while the choice of his councillors was determined by the one idea of altering the rule of succession and of securing the throne to his son Yusuf Izz ed-dîn, by introducing the right of primogeniture. This attempt to abolish the old custom of seniority (p. 123) met with a most vigorous resistance from the Asiatic Turks of the old school, the Ulemas, and the Mohammedan clergy; on the other hand it was received with no less favour by the Russian ambassador Ignatieff, who flattered the Sultan with a promise that the succession should be protected in case of need by the Russian fleet and army.

Russia had been incessantly working with ever increasing success to recover that position in the East which she had lost in the Crimean War. Ignatieff found in Greece no longer a helpless *protégé* but a dangerous rival, and proceeded to extend the theory of the protectorate over his Christian co-religionists to include the Slav subjects of Turkey. Struggles for freedom begun by the Christian peoples in the Balkans had left their traces on the Bulgarians. As early as 1762 the Proigumene Paysii in the monastery of Chilander on Mount Athos had composed a Slavonic-Bulgarian history which may be regarded as the starting point of the intellectual renaissance in Bulgaria. The sermons of Bishop Sofronii of Vraca (Sophronios of Vratza or Vratsha) published in 1806 formed the first book printed in modern Bulgarian. Bulgarians, who regarded the monastery of Chernpitsh as the guardian of their freedom, had taken part in the Greek war of liberation in 1821 and in the Russian campaign in 1829. The primer of Berovitch (1824), the grammar, dictionary, and the other writings of Jurii J. Venelin (1802–1839), were soon regarded as classics. In 1835 the first Bulgarian school was organised in Gabrovo, and in 1839 the first national printing-press was erected. As early as 1872 the exarchate of Philippopolis possessed 305 elementary schools, 16 secondary schools, and 24 girls' schools, with 393 male and female teachers and 14,665 scholars. In 1884 the first Bulgarian newspaper appeared, the "Ljuboslovie" of Fotinoff in Smyrna; in 1846 Bogaroff began the publication of the first political journal in Leipsic. The growing national consciousness declined any longer to endure the spoliations of the Greek Phanariot clergy. Violent struggles broke out (they are continued in the "Macedonian question" of to-day) which ended either in the expulsion of the Greek popes and bishops or in bloody suppression by the Turkish Bashi-Bazouks. France and the Pope made a vain effort in 1854 to turn the Bulgarian movement towards union with Rome. In March, 1870, the hour struck for the ecclesiastical liberation of the Bulgarians (separation from the Greek patriarchate and the institution of a Bulgarian exarchate proper in Stamboul); the

liberators, who were objects of execration to the Greek patriarchate, were the Grand Vizier A(a)li and Ignatieff.

Supported by Bismarck at a conference held in London during the Franco-German War, Russia had secured the abolition of the clauses of the peace of Paris of 1856 (§§ 11 and 13) prohibiting her from keeping warships in the Black Sea (cf. above, p. 186); the Porte had been forced to send a considerable body of troops to Yemen in Arabia, and was in receipt of disturbing news from Syria, from the Persian frontier, from Servia, and from Bulgaria; it was obliged in consequence to agree with the other powers to Russia's demands on March 13, 1871, and also to lay down certain points for the regulation of the Danube traffic. In 1873 the Russian war minister, Miljutin, reorganised the army on the model of the German military system, introducing general conscription and considerably increasing both the number of regiments and of soldiers available in time of war. Thereupon the Eastern question was again brought upon the stage by the Pan-Slavonic party. Thanks to their agitation, a revolt broke out in Herzegovina in 1875, which the Porte did not immediately suppress. When a consular commission of the powers and Austrian intervention led to no result, the Porte took decided action and would have restored order in Montenegro, in Herzegovina, and in Servia by superior force, had not Ignatieff opposed the use of menaces. Unfortunately for the Porte, the French and German consuls were murdered on May 6, 1876, in the course of a riot at Saloniki, and the incident cost Turkey a heavy price. Hardly had a memorandum of Gortchakoff secured a two months' armistice among the revolted parties than the Bulgarians revolted in Drenova, Panagiurishte, Koprivshzitza, Gabrovo, and Srednagora, and were crushed by the fanatical population with dreadful cruelty, —the "Bulgarian atrocities" execrated by Gladstone and the English press.

(*e*) *Murad V; the Party of Young Turkey* (*1876*). — On May 10, 1876, the Softas, the theological students, took up arms in the capital and haughtily requested the Sultan, who was regarded as blindly devoted to Russia, to dismiss the Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha, to send away Ignatieff, and to begin war against Montenegro. In vain did Abd ul-Aziz attempt to calm the storm by summoning Mehemed Rüshdi; the measure of his wrong-doing was full. On May 29 the new Grand Vizier and the minister of war Hussein Avni and Midhat Pasha declared the Sultan deposed and placed Murad V, the eldest son of Abd ul-Mejid, on the throne. Abd ul-Aziz was conveyed to his palace at Chiragan and there murdered (as transpired from an inquiry held in 1882); a few days after Hussein Pasha with other ministers fell beneath the daggers of the avengers in the house of Midhat. Even before the tour of the Sultan Abd ul-Aziz to Europe in the spring of 1867, a conspiracy had been discovered, directed principally against the then Grand Vizier A(a)li Pasha. The chiefs of the movement called themselves Young Turks, *la Jeune Turquie*, in an opposite sense to that which is conveyed by the terms "Young Germany" or *la Giovine Italia*. The objects of this conspiracy were the restoration of the old Turkish régime and of the Turkish Empire, with the complete suppression of all non-Mohammedans; the surest means to this end was proclaimed to be the arming of the Mohammedan people and the murder of the liberal-minded A(a)li, while the final object was war against Western Europe. After the demonstration of the Softas in 1876, the fall of Mahmud Nedim Pasha, the deposition of the Sultan, and the miserable failure of the diplomacy of

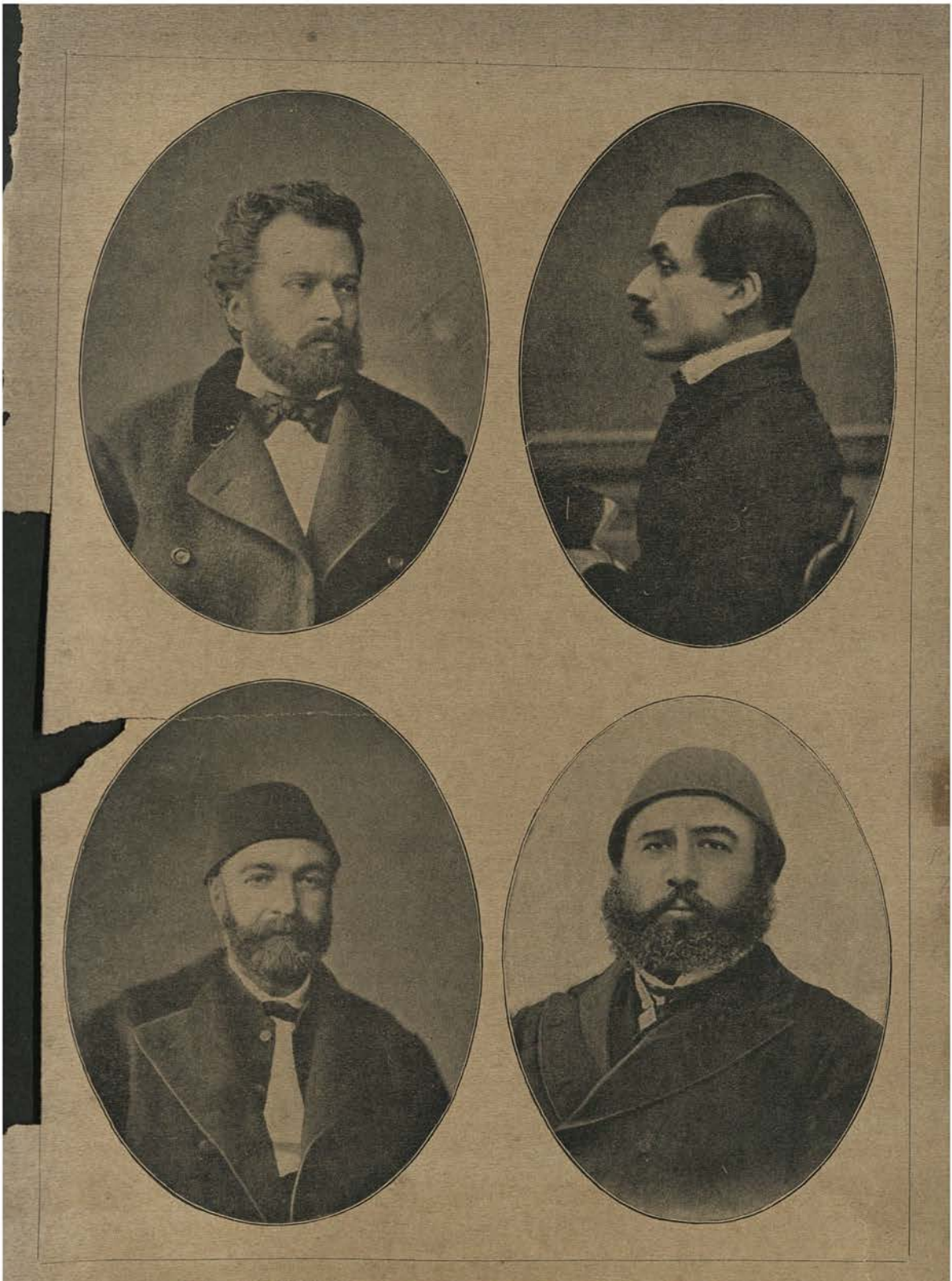
the great powers, Chauvinism again raised its head. As early as October, 1875, the Turkish imperial newspaper "Bassiret" had issued an inspiring and revolutionary appeal for a crusade of the Mohammedans against the infidels. Special mention was made of Algiers, East India, Java, Sumatra, Crimea, and the Caucasus. In 1876 the "Sabah" (morning) threatened a general levy of three hundred million Mohammedans, who were to occupy England and Russia, France and Austria, and to devastate these countries, while Germany was to be spared so long as she remained neutral.

The chief persons who shared in the deposition of the Sultan Abd ul-Aziz and the enthronement of the Sultan Murad V were Midhat, Hussein Avni Müterjim (see Figs. 5 and 6 of the plate facing p. 188), Mehemed Rüshdi, and Zia Bey; of these the first and the last were Young Turks, while the other two were Old Turks, assuming this distinction to be possible of maintenance. Apart from these, the members of the Young Turkish party set their hopes particularly on Prince Murad (Effendi), as they expected him to issue some form of constitution. As a matter of fact, when Murad had become Sultan, he proclaimed his intention of granting a constitution on July 15, 1876; but even then his mind was beginning to be overclouded, and fate willed otherwise. Midhat Pasha was the life and soul of the constitutional movement. In the winter of 1876 he drew up a memorial which he submitted to the powers. He explained that the main cause of the decline of the Turkish Empire was to be found not in religious or racial disputes, but in a despotic government and the extravagant whims of the Sultan Abd ul-Aziz.

Midhat Pasha availed himself by preference of the services of two famous authors, Kemal and Zia Bey. These men were also leaders of the "Young Turkish party" (cf. the explanation of the plate facing this page). Their aims, however, were not only political, but primarily literary. It is in this department that their most distinguished services were performed. They abandoned the conventionality of classical poetry and the courtly style of prose writing, and found their model either in the inexhaustible treasures of the Osman ballad poetry and popular language, or, as regards the "moderns," in French literature. The study of Turkish popular literature, which was previously confined for the most part to a reference to the satires of Hodj Nasr ed-dîn has been revived in modern times by students such as Wilh. Radloff, Herm. Vambéry, J. Kunos, and G. Jacob. The wealth of poetry and of moral force, and especially of the pure undefiled Osman language existing in the stories, satires, humorous tales, narratives, chap-books, chivalrous and political romances, ballads, puppet plays, riddles, and proverbs of the Turkish nation was only waiting the discoverer. In this respect the efforts of the Young Turks exercised a healthy influence upon Osman civilization, even though their first efforts for reformation or revolution far exceeded the limits of what was permissible or possible.

Aali Soavi (Ali Suavi) Effendi was a compound of Peter of Amiens and Mazzini; but he was entirely faithful to the Koran. Zia Bey (Pasha; see the plate facing this page) had in the year 1859, under the title of Andalus Tarikhi, published a history of the Arab dominion in the Iberian peninsula, which was based on the somewhat superficial work of Louis Viardot, and amounted to a glorification of Moslem civilization, characterised by a hostile attitude to Europe and Christianity. Kemâl Bey, a faithful scholar of his great master and model, Shinassi Effendi,[1]

[1] See Figs. 1 and 2 of the plate facing this page, "The Founders of the Young Turkish Movement."



THE FOUNDERS OF THE YOUNG TURKISH MOVEMENT

(From contemporary photographs)

EXPLANATION OF THE PORTRAITS OVERLEAF

Above, on the right: Ibrahim *Shinassi Effendi*, born 1826 (1242 of the Hidshra) at Constantinople; journalist and poet; went to Paris, and on his return attempted to replace the bombastic and generally unintelligible style everywhere in vogue by the simple unadorned Turkish language. In 1859 (1276 of the Hidshra) he founded the newspaper Terdshüman-i-ahwal ("The [illegible]"); removed again to Paris in 1864 (1281 of the Hidshra), and became the founder of modern Turkish literature. He died on September 13, 1871 (Redsheb 5, 1288, of the Hidshra).

Above, on the left: Kemâl Bey, born December 21, 1840 (Shewwal 26, 1256), at Gallipoli, or in the mountains of Tekfur (Rodosto); studied in Sofia; was a pupil of Shinassi Effendi from 1857–1858 (1274 of the H.); the most important Turkish poet and author of modern times; died in Chios on December 2, 1888 (Rebü'l awwel 28, 1306).

Below, on the right: Prince *Fazil Mustafa Pasha* of Egypt, the brother of the Khedive Ismail Pasha, who died 1895, and the founder of the Young Turkish reform party; he came to Constantinople in 1846 (1262 of the H.); was an Ula of the first class in 1851 (1267), vizier, 1857–1858 (1274), minister without portfolio, 1861 (1278), minister of education, 1862 (1279); appointed to the unremunerative post of finance minister on November 13, 1862 (Resheb 21, 1279); president of the financial board for treasury administration, 1865 (1282); a second time minister without portfolio, 1869 (1286); died abroad, 1875 (1292). The daughter of Fazil Mustafa Pasha, the princess Nazli Hanum, resident in Cairo, also maintains close relations with the Young Turkish party.

Below, on the left: Abd ul Hamid *Zia Pasha*, poet and publicist, born at Constantinople, 1825 (1241); secretary in the imperial palace, 1855 (1271); translated Spanish and in particular French works (Rousseau's "Emile"); under Abd ul Aziz governor of Cyprus; sent by Abd ul Hamid to Syria, Konia, and finally to Adana, where he died in 1881 (1298 of the H.).

The Young Turkish party are those who desire to revive the constitutional programme of [illegible]; this was the work of Midhat Pasha, who is not, however, to be reckoned as a member of the party. The more recent leaders of the party are given in the following list. All, with the exception of those mentioned under the numbers 4–6, are still alive. 1. Ahmed Riza Bey, editor of the revolutionary journal appearing in Paris, the "Meschweret" ("deliberation"). 2. Murad Bey, president of the "Comité Ottoman d'Union et de Progrès," who edited in Cairo for some time the journals "Zeman" ("time") and "Mizân" ("balance"), and now conducts in conjunction with Ahmed Riza Bey the paper "Osmanli," the organ of the Comité Ottoman, which appears twice a month, in Turkish, at Geneva. 3. Halil Ganem, a Syrian Christian of Beirout, collaborator on the "Journal des Débats" at Paris, and once deputy for Syria in the Turkish Parliament; he is now president of the Comité Turco-Syrien, which publishes the paper "La Jeune Turquie," in Paris. 4–6. Zia Bey, Ali Suavi Effendi, and Aghiah Effendi, who published the Turkish paper "Muchbir" ("messenger") in London from 1867 to 1868. 7. Wassif Effendi, now living in Paris, and formerly secretary of Midhat Pasha. 8. Mahmud Djelaleddin Pasha, the husband of Seniha, sister of the Sultan Abd ul Hamid; in 1899 he fled to Paris. 9. Tewfik Ebusia, friend and publisher of Kemâl Bey, now in banishment at Konia, a talented poet and author.

One of the most popular and distinguished poets of the present time is Shemsi Bey of Stamboul, whose war songs have attracted particular attention. We may also mention Ahmed Midhat (whose stories and novels are directed against Mohammedan marriage customs), Muallim Nadshi, Sami Bey, Sezâjî Mahmud Kemâl, Mustafa Reshid, Hussâm ed din, and Mehmed Risat; all of these have introduced the culture of Western Europe to their countrymen and are continuing their task.

the creator of modern Osman literature and language, was the most important of all the Turkish poets of the modern period. He published a newspaper under the title of "Ibret" (pattern), in which he actually defended the Commune of Paris. His most important dramatic work was "Silistria" or "Vatan," the Fatherland. Though the details of the heroic defence of the Danube forts in 1854 may not be historically true, yet he secured a striking success through the exalted tone of his love for the "fatherland," a conception formerly unknown to Mohammedanism, and by the popular style of the work. Its success led to the author's banishment, after the production of this piece in Constantinople in 1873. In conjunction with Mehemed Bey, the nephew of the Grand Vizier, Mahmud Nedim Pasha, he founded the Turkish newspaper, "Mukhbir," that is, the "Reporter." The paper was suppressed when the persecution against the Young Turks was begun; the conspirators made their escape safely to Paris. There they came in contact with Fazil Mustafa (Mustafa Fasyl; see the plate facing page 192), the brother of the Khedive Ismaïl, who had been banished on account of his claims to the Egyptian succession. The "Mukhbir" continued to appear in Paris and London, and thousands of copies were smuggled into Turkey; some numbers also appeared in French. To the European public at large, however, this party assumed a mask of toleration, and concealed their fanatical zeal for Mohammedanism under an appearance of free thought. Under Mahmud Pasha they were amnestied and recalled. Zia and Riza Bey, who had formerly been ambassadors in Teheran and St. Petersburg, were then the foremost in enlightening the Grand Vizier upon the complicated Bulgarian question and the problem of the Catholic Armenians.

At this period there was also a Turkish theatre at Stamboul, with a repertoire of forty to fifty pieces, partly original and partly translations of Molière by Ahmed Vesik, or of Schiller by Ahmed Midhat Effendi, the editor of the official Turkish newspaper; Vesik also published some maps in Turkish for the use of schools, and took part in the composition of a great dictionary. Münif Effendi translated part of Voltaire's "Entretiens et Dialogues Philosophiques," and followed the example of Fuad in proposing the extension and regulation of the narrow, crooked streets of Stamboul. Public libraries were founded; Abd ul-Aziz began a zoölogical garden, and in the medical school of the Seraglio of Galata a museum of natural objects was opened to the public. The foundation of the "University" of Constantinople can only be described as a failure. Strangely enough, some decades later, in the movement for the emancipation of women which found expression in 1895 in the newspaper of Tahir Effendi, "Khanimlara Makhsus Gazeta," female collaborators like Fatima Alija, Nigiar Chamin, Hamijeti Zehra, Fahr-en-Nisa, Makbula Lemian, Emine Wahide, and Renesie, notwithstanding their thorough knowledge of Oriental and European languages and morals, spoke out strongly on the side of the Young Turks on behalf of the strengthening and retention of Mohammedan customs and of the avoidance of European civilization in methods of education. At the same time Vambéry forecasts from this woman's movement an approximation to Western manners and the beginning of a beneficial reform of the State and of society.

Upon the whole, it is by no means easy to gain a clear idea of the theories and ideals of the modern Young Turkish party. Their first official leader was the Cherkess general Hussein Pasha. He was joined by numerous adherents, who called themselves Fedayiji, conspirators or martyrs. Even at that time (1860) this free federation of Osmans was aiming at the following points: a reform of Turkey

by the Turks without distinction of faith and not by Europe, the abolition of despotic government, a responsible ministry composed of honourable statesmen, and a Chamber composed of members of all the races and religions within the Osman Empire (Bernhard Stern). Khair ed-dîn Pasha and Khalil Sherif Pasha pursued the same objects under Abd ul-Aziz, and were supported by Zia Bey and Kemal Bey in writing and speech, and by A(a)li and Fuad in the government. They developed great plans, and actually succeeded in obtaining approval for some of them from the tyrannical Sultan, who went so far as to summon an Armenian Christian, Agathon Effendi, to the ministry. The programme of Midhat in 1876 was, generally speaking, based upon principles borrowed from the West; the supremacy of law, universal equality, the strengthening of the Divan against the Seraglio, freedom of the press, independence of the judicature, reorganisation of the administrative power with respect for the Mohammedan legal code, but also in accord with Western experience, order in the palace, a change in the Eastern principle of succession, European education for the princes, marriage of the princes with European princesses, and the consequent abolition of slavery, of polygamy, of concubines, and eunuch government. In conjunction with Fazil and Server Pasha, Midhat defended his creations, the constitution, the parliament, and the Senate, in his "Iftihad." He demanded a complete severance of the Caliphate from the Sultanate, and an abolition of theocratic government. This proposal deeply offended the strong ecclesiastical party of the Ulemas. Under the following Sultan he was overthrown; and the inheritors of his ideas, the Reform Turks, or Liberals, as they preferred to be called, continued until recently the struggle to secure the liberation of the Sultan Abd ul Hamid II and his people from the hands of the Court Camarilla; it may be noted that in May, 1904, public attention was occupied with the rumour of the imprisonment of certain young Turks of high position. This party included Ahmed Riza, the editor of the "Meschweret," Murad Bey, a kind of political chameleon, editor of the "Misan," Theodor Kassope, the brilliant journalist of the "Haial," Ismail Kemâl Bey, Vassilaki Bey, Mehemed Ubeidullah, Said Bey, Zia Bey, and Ferdi Bey, and even the Sultan's brother-in-law Mahmud Damad (died on January 18, 1903, at Brussels).

6. ABD UL-HAMID II (FROM 1876)

In sad tones does the Turkish ballad recount the deposition of the "beloved ruler Abd ul-Aziz." A gloomy fate, however, still bore heavily upon the Osman throne; on August 31, 1876, Murad V, the hope of the Young Turkish party, was deposed owing to insanity, and placed in confinement until his death on August 29, 1904.

He was succeeded by his brother Abd ul-Hamid II (born September 21, 1842), the thirty-fourth sovereign of the Osman house and the twenty-eighth since the conquest of Constantinople. A reform of education and of the constitution, the improvement of trade and economic life by a vast extension of the railway system, were the objects which this highly gifted monarch set before himself of his own free and vigorous will, for the purpose of raising "this nation of gentlemen," as Bismarck called the Osmans, to the height of civilization. In vain did the Sirdar Abd ul-Kerim drive back the Serbs at Alexinatz (September 1, 1876) into

the valley of the Morava (on November 1 the Bashi-bazouks had made their way beyond Junis and Stolatz as far as the neighbourhood of Belgrade); the telegram of the Czar Alexander II, despatched from Livadia on October 31, commanded a cessation of hostilities. In vain did the diplomatic and peaceful Sultan resolve upon the extremity of compliance in the peace concluded on February 28, 1877.

When the powers demanded an independent administration for Bulgaria, Midhat Pasha, who had been Grand Vizier since December 22, 1876, answered this move by producing a constitution which the Sultan imposed upon his empire on December 23. This representative assembly of two hundred Moslems and sixty Christians declined the proposals of the conference of the powers. Ignatieff then went round the courts of Europe and secured their agreement to the "London protocol," which recommended the Sublime Porte to recognise the autonomy of the two provinces of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia under Christian governors. However, Midhat was overthrown on February 5, 1877, by a palace revolution, and Edhem Pasha, his successor, induced the Sultan curtly to decline the Russian proposals on April 9. On April 23 the Czar Alexander II informed his troops at Kishineff that war had been declared. On the night of the 24th the Cossacks crossed the Pruth, and the whole army advanced into Roumania, not, as before, to secure the "liberation of the Christians," but that of their "Slavonic brothers." On April 16 Roumania had concluded with Russia a convention admitting the passage of troops, which was regarded by the Porte as a *casus belli* in the case of that State also. Thereupon the Chamber at Bucharest proclaimed their independence. The Turks were in position with 180,000 men along the Danube, while 80,000 troops were ready in Asia. Russia was certain of the benevolent neutrality of Germany, and in January, 1887, she had concluded the agreement of Reichstadt with Austria, which secured Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austro-Hungary, in the event of her non-interference. On May 3 the Turks declared the shores of the Black Sea to be in a state of blockade. On May 6 the Sultan assumed the title "Defender of the Faith," and proclaimed the Holy War.

At the outset the Turkish warship "Seifi" was attacked by Russian torpedo boats below Matchin on the Danube and sunk; on May 11 a Russian battery at Braila shelled the Turkish monitor "Lutfi Jalil," and blew up the ship with its crew. On May 17 the Russo-Caucasian army stormed Ardakhan and invested Kars. However, the victory of Mukhtar Pasha over Loris Melikoff forced the Russians to retire to their own country in the middle of July. A Turkish fleet, supported by the revolt of the Cherkesses in the Caucasus, bombarded the Russian forts on the Abkhasian coast and captured Sukhum Kaleh; but this possession was unavoidably evacuated in August, for the Russians had then recaptured Kars and made a victorious advance to Erzeroum. Mukhtar Pasha undertook the defence of Constantinople. The Russians indeed had not been able to cross the Danube at Sistova and Zimnitza until June 29, owing to the floods; but on July 7 they reached Trnovo, and General Gurko crossed the Balkans on July 13 (Shipka Pass). General Schilder-Schuldner was beaten back at Plevna by Osman Nuri Pasha, and the Russian line of retreat was threatened. Had the Turkish commanders been united and able to make a decisive attack upon the Russians, the latter would scarcely have reached the left bank of the Danube. Meanwhile the Russians brought up their reinforcements and the Roumanian army, in order to capture the "Lion of Plevna," who is still celebrated in the Turkish ballad (died

April 5, 1900). On September 11, the birthday of the Russian Czar, after vast preparations the great attack was begun upon the defences of Osman Pasha, and the Russians suffered their greatest defeat during the whole campaign; 16,000 dead and wounded Russians covered the battlefield, the sole result being the capture of the redoubt of Grivitza. Finally, on December 10 the wounded Osman, whose supply of ammunition had failed, was obliged to surrender to a force three times as large as his own, with 40,000 men, 2,000 officers, and 77 guns.

The fall of Plevna encouraged the Serbs at Nisch on January 11, 1878, and the Montenegrins made conquests on the coast of the Adriatic on January 19, 1878; the Greeks crossed the frontier of Thessaly on February 2. In Bulgaria, after endless marching, Gurko had subdued the Etropol district at the end of December, 1877, and had effected a junction with the army of Lom in Philippopolis. On January 29, 1878, the Russians reached the Sea of Marmora at Rodosto, after the capture of the Shipka army, the destruction of the division of Suleimân, and the occupation of Adrianople. On January 31 an armistice was concluded, and then the English fleet entered the Sea of Marmora. The Russians now advanced to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and on March 3 dictated the peace of Santo Stefano, in which they demanded complete independence for Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, the cession of Armenia to Russia and of the Dobrudsha to Roumania, and would also have cut European Turkey in half by the establishment of the States of Roumelia and Macedonia. Thereupon England threatened war, concentrated Indian troops at Malta, and joined Austria in a demand for a congress. Abd ul-Hamid had dissolved the Chambers on February 14 and had never recalled them; on May 20 he had suppressed with bloodshed the conspiracy begun by Ali Soavi in favour of Murad, and on May 25 had appointed Mehemed Rüshdi Pasha as Grand Vizier. He concluded a secret treaty with England on June 4, England undertaking the protection of Turkey in Asia, and occupying Cyprus by way of return. He, however, was replaced by Safvet Pasha on June 4.

The demands proposed in the peace of Santo Stefano were considerably reduced in the Berlin Congress (June 13 to July 13, 1878); in particular, Eastern Roumelia was left under Turkish supremacy (see the historical map facing page 166). Austria, however, was intrusted with the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was given the right to maintain a body of supervisory troops in the Sanjak of Novibazar, under the supremacy of the Sultan. Roumania's only reward for the valuable service which she had rendered to Russia was the acquisition of the barren Dobrudsha in return for Bessarabia, which was ceded to Russia. Greece secured the right to a better delimitation of her northern frontier, but it was not until 1880 that she secured possession of Thessaly and of the district of Arta in Epirus. The war indemnity paid by the Porte to Russia amounted to 802,000,000 francs. In 1882 Bosnia, which had first to be conquered step by step by the Austrian troops under Jos. Philippovich von Philippsberg, received a measure of civil government, under which the prosperity of this fertile district considerably increased. The Berlin treaty was signed by representatives of all the powers, though all were fully aware that it contained merely the germs of fresh entanglements. Prince Bismarck in his "Thoughts and Recollections" stigmatised the treaty as a "dishonourable fiction," while the Pan-Slavonic party blamed the "infidelity of their German friend" for the unfavourable results of the Berlin Congress. Russia did not feel her military power sufficiently great to begin a war

with Austria and England, after she had once lost her opportunity of occupying Constantinople. For the blunders of Russian policy, Prince Gortchakoff undoubtedly divided the responsibility with some of his younger adherents, but his freedom from blame is by no means proved.

When the great German chancellor concluded the alliance with Austria on October 7, 1879, and shortly afterwards the Triple Alliance (1883), the far-sighted Sultan at once recognised that the welfare of his State was conditional solely upon the support of these most powerful influences for European peace. In 1879 the deposition of Ismaïl had indeed been unable to restore the old supremacy of the Porte; the Nile valley fell into the hands of Great Britain in 1882 (Vol. III, p. 719), and the conquest of the Soudan immediately followed; on May 12, 1881, and June 8, 1883, France also declared her protectorate of Tunis (Vol. IV, p. 253). However, the Sultan loyally observed the conditions of the Berlin Congress, and attempted to increase the prosperity of his empire by a series of innovations. In 1880 he forced the Albanian League to give in its submission and to cede Dulcigno to Montenegro. The statesmen, Midhat, Mahmud Damad, and Nuri Pasha, who had hitherto gone unpunished, were condemned to death on June 9, 1881, and banished to Arabia. With the help of German officials, the Sultan secured in 1881 a union with the orthodox and a financial reform of high benefit to the empire. The revenue was increased by the introduction of the tobacco *régie* in 1883. The State was, however, chiefly strengthened by the Sultan's invitation to German officers to remodel the organisation of the army (1880), and to elaborate a military law, which came into force in 1887. From that date, all men capable of bearing arms were forthwith assigned to a certain arm of the service, and on attaining their majority were placed under control and incorporated in troops of the line for training. In the officers' schools, which were conducted in Constantinople by the Freiherr von der Goltz from 1883 to 1895, the number of pupils rose from 4,000 to 14,000. In 1880 the old museum of antiquities was built in the Serai gardens (Chinili Kiosk), while the new museum was constructed in 1891. In 1891 the School of Art (*école des beaux arts*) was founded close at hand by Hamdi Bey, where, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Koran against the representation of the human countenance, more than one hundred and thirty young Turks were permanently instructed in painting, sculpture, and architectural design.

The Sultan displayed even greater wisdom in holding aloof from the disturbances between the Balkan States, though Russian dissatisfaction with her Slavonic protectorates gave him every excuse for armed interference, and though his action on this occasion was stigmatised as "weakness" by the Young Turkish party. Roumania was proclaimed a kingdom on March 26, 1881, as also was Servia on March 6, 1882. On April 29, 1879, the Bulgarian Sobranje had chosen Prince Alexander of Battenberg as ruler of the country. On May 9, 1881, he overthrew the radical government and the influence of the agitators for a larger Bulgaria in Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia by means of a *coup d'état;* however, on September 19, 1883, he restored the constitution of Trnovo and undertook the government of Eastern Roumelia, much against the will of Russia, on September 20, 1885. Thereupon the jealous Servians declared war upon the Bulgarians (November 13). After one temporary success at the Dragoman Pass, King Milan was defeated by Prince Alexander on November 18 and 19, at Slivnitza and Pirot,

driven back upon Tzaribrod, and was spared in the peace of Bucharest (March 3, 1886), only at the request of Austria. The reckless financial policy of a rapid succession of such ministers as Garashanin, Ristič, Gru(j)ič, Christič, Taushanovič, Simič, etc., the agitation fomented by the radicals, the domestic quarrels in the royal family, the divorce (1888), and the abdication of King Milan in favour of his son Alexander I (1889), the latter's *coup d'état* (1893), and his marriage with Draga Maschin (1900), were events which gave the unhappy country neither peace nor justice. The rise of Bulgaria and its union with Eastern Roumelia on October 5, 1886, aroused the jealousy and the anger of the Czar and of the Panslavists. On the night of August 21 Prince Alexander was surprised in his konak and forced to abdicate; upon his return he was unable to make his peace with the Czar, and was definitely banished from the country on December 7, 1886 (died November 17, 1893). After the short regency of Stambuloff and the disturbance caused by the appearance of the Russian general Baron Kaulbars, the Sobranje chose Prince Ferdinand of Koburg-Kohâry as their ruler. Notwithstanding the aloofness of the Sultan, the anger of the Czar, and the outrages of the Panslavists in the country, this prince maintained his position, married Princess Louise of Parma in 1893, and from 1896 brought up his son Boris in the faith of the orthodox church. After the murder of Stambouloff, the prince secured a reconciliation with the Czar, his recognition by the Sultan, and was able even in Macedonia to bring about the investiture of Bulgarian bishops. Bulgaria responded by remaining neutral until 1897. However, this fruitful country was continually disturbed by its superfluity of ambitious parliamentarians and professional politicians; only in the Macedonian question was the Bulgarian preponderance decided, and this through the dissension between the Serbs and the Greeks. However, Servia and Greece displayed an attitude of greater hostility, and consequently obliged the Porte to make counter preparations and burdensome loans from the Ottoman bank. In 1889 a decision of the courts transferred the Turkish railways from the hands of Baron Hirsch (p. 187) to the possession of the Porte. German influence also secured the construction of the Anatolian railway, which had been pushed as far as Angora and Konia in 1896, and which, when continued to the Persian Gulf, will greatly strengthen the strategical and economic power of Turkey, and increase her influence upon international trade. After the failure of the unceasing efforts of the German Commercial Company for Eastern Trade, founded 1881, the company, founded at Hamburg in 1889, of the Deutsche Levante Linie was able to issue combined tariffs for maritime and railway traffic, and thus successfully to resume commerce with the East.

Before, however, this decaying empire had been surrounded by the iron girdle of the railroad beyond Bagdad, it was shaken to its depths by two disastrous events, — the Armenian revolt and the war in Thessaly. Paragraph 61 of the Treaty of Berlin had demanded protection from the rapacious officials, the Kurds, and Cherkesses, and reforms in the administration to help the oppressed people of the Armenians, who had shown excellent capacity for trade and manual labor. Thanks to the indolence and corruption of the authorities, these reforms were introduced with extreme slowness. In 1894 disturbances broke out in Sassun, and the cruelty with which they were suppressed immediately gave the signal for revolt in Trebizond, Gümishhane, Samsun, Agja Gune, and the Armenian vilayets; Turkish soldiers and Kurds were massacred with the connivance of the authorities.

The Armenians, entrenched in the mountains of Cilicia at Zeitun, sustained a formal siege for a long period, and from London, Athens, Paris, Geneva, and Tiflis Armenian agents carried the seeds of revolt into the distressed highlands of Upper Armenia and of the Taurus. These very towns in Western Europe served as refuges not only for the Armenian agents who were favoured by England, but also for their deadly enemies, the Young Turks, of whom France made occasional use to put pressure on the Porte. On September 30, 1895, certain Armenians gathered before the Sublime Porte, demanding reforms; on August 26, 1896, these Armenian conspirators surprised the Ottoman Bank, and after their liberation a massacre, apparently led by the soldiers and police, was begun upon the Armenians in the capital. When the powers protested against this bloodshed, the massacres were stopped and reforms were promised; but the Armenian question remained one of the pieces upon the political chessboard, while attention was soon diverted to North America, Eastern Asia, and South Africa. The Greek campaign proved more disastrous to the Christians than to the once forbearing Sultan. Two visits from the German emperor increased and strengthened the reputation of Abd ul-Hamid II, and made German influence supreme with the Porte.

In Crete it had proved impossible to appease the animosity between the Christians and Turks, notwithstanding their common descent, and the breach of the convention of Halepa (1878) and the imposition of a constitution which limited their freedom (1889) led to a bloody revolt; this movement was increased from 1886 by the hopes of the incorporation of the island with the mother country, notwithstanding the blockade of the Greek harbours by the powers. On a fresh outburst of hostilities in 1896–1897 the Greek Colonel Vassos, with two thousand men, occupied Platania in Crete on February 15, 1897, and took possession of the island in the name of King George. The governor, George Berovitch Pasha, left Crete. The powers protested against this violation of international law, bombarded the rebels from their ships, and blockaded the island. When Greece declined to withdraw her troops, upon an ultimatum from the powers, the Porte declared war on April 17, 1897. The Turkish army advanced into Thessaly under Edhem Pasha, and defeated the Greek army, which was badly disciplined and organised, under the crown prince of Greece, Constantine, at Turnavos, Larissa, Phersala (Pharsalos), Domokos, and in Epirus. On May 19 an armistice was arranged by the intervention of the powers, and a peace was concluded at Constantinople on September 17, 1897, under the terms of which Greece lost certain frontier districts on the north of Thessaly, and undertook to pay a war indemnity of four million pounds Turkish, or seventy-five million marks. The heaviest punishment inflicted upon Greece was the control of the finances imposed at the proposal of Germany, as the Germans had been the chief sufferers from the financial crisis. Greece withdrew her troops from Crete, and the island received complete independence under the suzerainty of the Sultan; Prince George of Greece was appointed as governor. In 1893 Greece at length completed the canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. She has not yet pushed forward her railway system to a junction with the more developed system of the Balkan States, but is now advancing towards a more prosperous development.

This short campaign had proved that the efforts of German instructors to improve the organisation, the training, mobilisation, leadership, and discipline of the Turkish troops had borne good fruit. Thus Turkey reached the close of the

century. Vambéry, Adolf Wahrmund, and Von der Goltz have prophesied a new life and power for the Osman State under certain conditions. From the intellectual renaissance in the best men of the nation, they anticipate a revival of the powers dormant in the country and a gradual replacing of Asiatic by European ideas, a reconciliation between Mohammedanism and Christianity, and the development of a *modus vivendi* for these two great religions. In view of the inexhaustible and in many cases highly gifted population of Asia, the protection of the empire, now limited to its own frontiers, is guaranteed by the organisation of the empire and the construction of railways and telegraphs. The weak spot in Turkey is the Bosphorus, which is unfortified on the land side, though the Dardanelles are strongly fortified. The source of all Turkish evils is to be found in the incapacity of the executive; the extensive spy system, which destroys all confidence; the lack of check upon the State expenditure; the permanent condition of insolvency which is only concealed by forced loans and reductions of the salaries of officials; the miserable condition of the population; the dishonourable taxation which is the natural consequence, and especially the autocracy of the Sultan, who has, with great shortsightedness, reduced the position of Grand Vizier to a shadow. The Arab Caliphate must come to some compromise with the Osman Sultanate. The centre of gravity in the Turkish Empire need not necessarily be looked for in the military force at Constantinople; much rather should it be found in a body of reliable crown advisers and capable officials. The pessimism of the Young Turkish party will remain justified until the ruler of the faithful is wise enough to abolish the seraglio government of his court favourites, and to intrust the administration to competent Europeans working side by side with capable Turkish officials. The Panislamite movement, represented by the secret society of the S(e)nussi (Vol. IV, p. 254), whose fiery ideas excite the populations of Asia and Africa, will never be dangerous, if the Christian missions are able to work against it by those deeds of mercy which alone impress the Moslem. It is not the verse of the third Sura of the Koran which is to decide the question, "Ye believers, form no friendship with those who are not of your religion," but rather the verse of the second Sura, "God is the East, God is the West. He leads all who will in the true path."

7. ARMENIA

"Ah! tell me, mother river Araxes,
Wherefore doth thy joy fail;
Art thou, like I myself, in mourning,
Even in the joyous season of Spring?"
RAFAEL PATKANIAN.

THE recent struggles for freedom on the part of the Armenians in Turkey, Russia, and Persia, which have been suppressed in blood and tears, can only be understood from an historical point of view. It was the fury of the Mohammedans and the aggressions of marauding Kurds which first turned the attention of Europe to the importance of this remarkable branch of the Indo-Germanic family of nations and of the Christian faith. Yet this little people, numbering about three million souls, can look back like the Greeks upon a great literature and history. It was at a comparatively late date that the foremost members of

the Armenian nation acquired some knowledge of this glorious past; the knowledge opened their eyes to the humiliation in which their citizens had existed for centuries. In Greece, during the nineteenth century, the war of liberation preceded the intellectual and moral renaissance, and it was not until the rise of the free kingdom of Hellas that a visible advance was made in the department of art and science; whereas Armenia can boast of no political freedom worthy of mention, nor is it likely that the Armenians will ever secure any constitutional independence and self-government within any district, however small, for the reason that they are far too widely scattered throughout Asia and Europe (see map facing page 203). At the same time, their reviving consciousness of a bygone unity in politics, literature, and above all in religion, has produced an intellectual solidarity which has its importance for the historian in view of the lack of a sharply defined geographical boundary. It was not until the close of the eighteenth century that the educated classes among the Armenians became conscious once again of the fact that they had their rights to an existence worthy of human beings, and corresponding in its main outlines to the civic life of other European nations. They could at least pride themselves upon three things, their possession of which can no longer be disputed: in the first place, upon the glorious history of a kingdom formerly united; secondly, upon the wide developments, both ecclesiastical and theological, of the Christian doctrine by which they tenaciously maintained and defended the monophysite dogma when once they had embraced it (p. 43; cf. also Vol. IV, p. 208); and, thirdly, upon their physical and intellectual connection with the civilization of Western Europe.

The area within which this history of fame and suffering ran its course is included in the three provinces of Armenia Major, Armenia Minor, and Cicilian Armenia. To the population of this area we must add the Armenians of the Dispersion, who from ancient times have migrated into Asia Minor, Persia, Caucasus, Russia, Syria, Egypt, the Balkans, even to Poland, Galicia, Hungary, and Italy. Their chief primeval habitation has, however, always been Armenia proper, the central source of supply for which was the district at the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, and of the Rion, Kur, and Araxes, in a wild but fruitful district of woods, meadows, gardens, and vineyards; while its central point was in the lofty mountains of Ararat and Alagoez, and its boundaries in the lakes of Van, Urmia, the Black and Caspian Seas, and the Caucasus. "No traveller will ever forget the effect," writes Max Friederichsen, "which is produced by the greatest of the giant mountains of the Armenian highlands, the twin peaks of Ararat, when seen for the first time, purple in the light of the setting sun." The impression made by the whole system of these volcanoes is enormously increased by their isolation and the great difference in elevation between the lowlands of the Araxes, which are but 800 metres in height, and the lofty peak of Mount Ararat, which is 5,211 metres. This relative difference in height of 4,400 metres is unparalleled throughout the world, except in east Africa, and may materially have contributed to secure the biblical reputation of Ararat as the mountain of the ark. At this point, on the boundary of three kingdoms, Turkey, Persia, and Russia, rises also the national sanctuary of the Armenia Etshmiadsin (to the west of Erivan).

The Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions of Van have, so recently as 1891 and 1898, thanks to the investigations of Wald. Belck and Friedr. Lehmann, given us more accurate information concerning the pre-Armenian empire of Urart(h)u, the

Aralodii of Herodotus, the Turanian people of the Chaldees, who fixed their capital in the garden city of Van-Thuspa, and maintained their independence against the Assyrians. After the invasion of the Cimmerians and the Sakian Scythians and Scolotes in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C., they were driven out, subjugated, and absorbed by the Armenians proper (cf. Vol. III, pp. 125, 130). Concerning the origin of this new people science is not quite clear, though their greatest historian, Moses of Khorene, in his Geography of Armenia (440 A. D.), calls them the sons of Hayk, and derives their origin from the land of "Thessalia." They may possibly be related to the makers of the great Hittite civilization whose monuments are still the admiration of travellers in Asia Minor and Syria, or they may belong to the Thraco-Phrygian race; at any rate, the investigations of H. Hübschmann have made it clear that their language is an independent branch of the Indo-Germanic family, notwithstanding the strong infusion of Persian, Syrian, and Greek elements into the old Armenian language, and of Turkish and Slavonic loan-words into modern Armenian. From the anthropological point of view they are to be regarded, according to Felix von Luschan, as remnants of a primeval population of Asia Minor which has suffered little change. Their cranial developments point in this direction; in the pure types like Druses and Maronites they are characterised by the abrupt flattening at the back of the skull. Of a lighter color than the Persians, with nearly the same complexion as the dark races of Southern Europe, they are for the most part distinguished by a luxuriant growth of deep black hair on head and chin; their hooked noses and thick lips give them a strongly Semitic appearance.

A. The Heroic Period

After the Armenians had reached the place of their settlement they were first under Median and afterwards under Persian and Parthian supremacy. By religion, by their ethical code, and by many ties of blood they were closely connected with the court and great men of the Parthian empire, until Tigranes I broke away and founded the Armenian State, which succumbed in 69 B. C. to the generalship of Lucullus and Pompeius (Vol. III, p. 296). The national Armenian "Songs of Old Times," of which Moses of Khorene repeatedly speaks in laudatory terms, go back to the age of that great "King of Kings" of Armenia, Pontus, and Syria. The conversion of the people and the dynasty to Christianity belongs to the period of the Parthian Arsacides, and to the rise of the Sassanid kingdom in Persia, 226 A. D. (op. cit. p. 297; further above, p. 28, and Vol. IV, p. 212). King Trdat (Tiridates; died 341) was baptised in 291 by the apostle of the Armenians, Grigor Lûsarovitch (Gregory the Enlightener), who had enjoyed a Greek education at Cæsarea Mazaka in Cappadocia; this king obliged the nobility and the people to give up the heathen Mazdaism of Persia (Vol. III, p. 283). The Byzantine Church made its entrance into Armenia, as did the Greek and Syrian languages and customs (above, p. 58). This, however, was not long to continue. The Catholikos Šahak (died 439) and his friend Mesrôb (died 441) invented the Armenian alphabet and created an Armenian literary language, a translation of the Bible, and a national literature, though this was founded on Greek and Syrian models. When, however, the council of the Catholikos Babken at Valirsapat recognised in 491, together with

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the Syrians and Egyptians, the strict monophysite doctrine as alone orthodox, and solemnly condemned the council of Chalkedon (451), the breach between this church (which had been self-governing since 367) and the Greek Church became complete. After the downfall of the Sassanid kingdom (651; Vol. III, p. 303) the Armenians came under the dominion of the Arabs, and since that time have been subject, with short interruptions, to the Mohammedans, Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols, Tartans, Persians, and Osmans, without, however, accepting Mohammedanism. The Mohammedans tolerated their religion, and set them free from East Roman supremacy, which they hated, until the late Middle Ages (above, pp. 59 and 90), with a hatred which runs like a blood-stained thread through the whole of their theological literature, notwithstanding all the attempts at reunion which were occasionally made on either side.

How far the Armenians were successful during the Parthian and Sassanid period in assimilating the people of Greater Armenia is a question which has never yet been thoroughly investigated. However, H. Kiepert has pointed out that in the valley of the Upper Tigris and Euphrates during the first thousand years of the Christian era the express testimony of Armenian and Syrian authors and the place names of the district show the predominance of Aramaic, Syrian, and (in the eastern mountains) of Kurdish populations, and in the northern district as far as Basean (Phasiane) the dominant Armenian population is decidedly in the minority compared with the foreign populations, which belong chiefly to Iberian and Georgian stocks; this, indeed, is the state of affairs at the present day (see map facing this page, "Distribution of the Armenians"). From these facts H. Hübschmann has concluded, basing his argument upon the place names collected by Indshidshean, that only in Upper Armenia was there anything like a dense Armenian population, which had settled in the district of Airarat, Turuberan, and Vaspurakan. According to Wilhelm Tomaschek there was in the cantons of Sassan and Khoi a non-Armenian people speaking a non-Armenian language so late as the tenth century. Upon the restoration of the old limits of the Byzantine Empire in Thrace after the downfall of the east Bulgarian Empire (970 A.D.; p. 87) it was not so much the Greek nationality that brought about the revival, but, on the contrary, the Armenian population which gave the Byzantine Empire its best rulers and generals between 867 (Basileios I) and 1025 (Basileios II; cf. p. 49). The Armenian John I Tsimiskes followed the example of Constantine V (p. 71) in settling numbers of his compatriots about the newly conquered town Philippopolis to secure its safety.

The kingdom, however, reached its highest pitch of prosperity under the Jewish race of the Bagratids, nine kings of which between 859 and 1045 ruled almost independently the great buffer State between the empires of the Arab caliphs and the East Roman emperors. At that time the fortified capital of Ani on the Arpatshai and Alajajai was decorated like a second Ilion with castles, palaces, and churches, the ruins of which astonish, even at the present day, the wanderer in the west of Alagoez. Tshoruk in the Caucasus was the cradle of the race of the Bagratids; after their conversion they secured the royal power in Grusia as well as in Armenia, and, like their great ancestor Tigranes, showed themselves invariably friendly to the Jews. In consequence, numerous colonies of the Israelites settled in Erevantashad, Van, Nachitshevan, and Artaxata. However, in terror before the invading Seljuks, Senekherim, the last of the Arts-

runians, ceded his kingdom in 1021 to the East Romans, an example followed by Gagik the Bagratid in 1045; but submission naturally failed to prevent the utter devastation of these districts by the Seljuk and Mongol invaders.

After the destruction of Ani (p. 91) numbers of fugitives fled into the Caucasus and mountains of Pontus, to Trebizond, to the Byzantine Empire, to Russia, to the Crimea, to Poland and Galicia. A large number settled on the far side of the Taurus in the kingdom of Cilicia. At this point in Tarsos and Sis the Armenians once founded a native kingdom ("Armenia Minor"), which from 1080, under the Bagratid Rhupen (Reuben; Vol. III, p. 355) and his successors, repeatedly joined in battle with Byzantium and in friendship with the crusading States, and even attempted a union with Rome, which was often concluded and as often broken, for the reason that the Armenians clung tenaciously to their national liturgy.

When, however, in the year 1375 the last king, Leon VI of the house of Lusignan (cf. p. 106), was obliged to surrender his last castle to the Egyptian Mamelukes, the nation preserved a merely ecclesiastical existence in the patriarchate seats of Sis and Etshmiadsin. However, like fire in the ashes, their own poetry and literature remained alive, cherished in the numerous monasteries of Asia Minor and Southern Europe; while the industrial population gained a living as shepherds and farmers in the gorges of the Tauros and in the mountains of Upper Armenia, and the capable townspeople laid the foundation of their wealth in Byzantium, Smyrna, Damascus, and Alexandria. The most brilliant representative of the abundant Armenian literature of that period was Nerses Klajetsi, otherwise Šnorhali (the Graceful), Catholikos from 1066 to 1073. Many hymns and songs were collected in the "Sharakan," the Armenian liturgical book, while the ballad singers, "Ashuges and Sasandares," whose names have disappeared, guarded the perennial fountain of popular poetry, and formed a society under the protection of their patron the Surb Karapet (St. John), and instituted annual poetical contests in his sanctuary at Mush.

In the fourteenth century, when the Armenians both in the South and in the North succumbed to the Turks, the Turkish yoke was not oppressive; and, shortly after the conquest of Constantinople, in 1463, they received permission to retain their own patriarch, while they secured the confidence of the Sublime Porte itself and grew rich in its service. In Persia, however, they had to undergo a period of deep tribulation when Shah Abbas I (Vol. III, p. 382) transported the best portion of the Armenian nation, under circumstances of great cruelty, to Ispahan (the suburb of Julfa), and in 1614 went so far as to transfer the national sanctuary to Persia; it was not restored to Etshmiadsin, with the relics of St. Gregory, until 1683.

B. The Armenian Renaissance of the Mechitarists

During the Persian persecutions the Armenians had been dispersed far westward, even to Italy and France. In particular a considerable colony was received in the Polish town of Lemberg, which with its bishop was induced by Jesuit influence in 1625 to accept union with Rome. This was the beginning of the great intellectual movement which was soon to embrace the whole of Armenia. Clergy were sent out from Etshmiadsin to found Armenian printing-presses. These were erected in 1616 at Lemberg, in 1640 at Julfa and Livorno, in 1660 at

Amsterdam (transferred to Marseilles in 1672), in Constantinople in 1677, and elsewhere. "But the imperishable service of winning back the Armenians to European culture," says H. Gelzer, "is the glorious work of Mechitar and of his order the Mechitarists, who settled at Venice in 1717 on the island of San Lazzaro, together with the mission to the Catholic Armenians; but apart from this, their labours as authors and their splendid printing exercised a highly important influence upon the development of modern Armenian literature and upon scientific knowledge among their nation." Mechitar (the Consoler) da Pietro was born in Sebaste (Savas) on February 7, 1676, and after long persecution on the part of his compatriots founded a congregation of Armenian Christians in Constantinople in 1701, a community which soon fell under the suspicion of the patriarch on account of its leanings to the Latin Church. In consequence Mechitar removed in 1703 to Methoni (Modon) in the Morea, where he received permission from the Venetian republic to build a monastery and church. After their secession to the communion of the Armenian Uniates, the congregation was confirmed by Pope Clement XI in 1712, and received a rule similar to the Benedictine. The war which broke out in 1714 between Turkey and the Venetians necessitated a migration to Venice, where the Senate granted them the island of San Lazzaro (1717), upon which their magnificent monastery was erected. Mechitar died there on April 27, 1749.

The Mechitarists had a ritual of their own for purpose of worship, and devoted themselves after 1798, when the first printing-press was set up, more particularly to the publication of the classics in Armenian. Their most famous productions are their Bibles; the text was improved by Mechitar in 1733, and appeared in 1805, based on the collation of nine manuscripts. The press catalogue of 1716 to 1898 includes one thousand entries of books, chiefly in the Armenian language, which provided numbers of the nation with first-hand information upon Western science, and upon the history of the Armenian East as derived from manuscripts. Armenian had been previously written in Europe by the Italians Rivola, Firomalli, and Clement Galanus in the seventeenth century, and by the Frenchmen Villotte, La Croze, and Villefroye in the eighteenth century; the brothers William and George Whiston translated the history and geography of Moses of Khorene in 1736; and the "Thesaurus of the Armenian Language" by J. J. Schröder (Amsterdam, 1711–1733) is of permanent value. These efforts were, however, isolated and sporadic; the united efforts and determination of the Mechitar brothers led to the age of renaissance in Armenia, and laid the foundation of Armenian philology in Europe.

From 1810 the Mechitarists possessed also in Vienna a large monastery, the Mechitarist College, a printing-press, and publishing house of their own. After the death of Mechitar twenty-one priests migrated from San Lazzaro to Trieste, where the support of the bishop and the authorities of the town enabled them to found the Mechitar congregation of Trieste on May 19, 1773. The empress Maria Theresa conferred important privileges upon the congregation, and on March 20, 1775, secured their recognition by the State as an ecclesiastical order, and gave them a piece of ground. Shortly afterwards the Mechitarist printing-press was opened in Trieste in 1776. The French administration, however, of 1810 brought about the suppression of the monastery and of the press, which had produced many books in Armenian, German, Latin, ancient and modern Greek, Italian, and French. The Mechitarists expelled from Trieste came as pilgrims in a state of complete

poverty to Vienna. Here they were hospitably received by the emperor Francis, and in 1811 founded a new printing-press on a larger scale, which in spite of many difficulties (1848) reached a high state of prosperity, producing in particular editions of the Latin and Armenian "Fathers of the Church," and liturgies, rituals, choral books, and breviaries; with the support of the Aramian union it exercised a wide influence in the East (compare the statement of accounts of Kalemkiar, 1898). A branch association exists in Moscow.

As regards its wealth of Oriental manuscripts, the library at San Lazzaro is one of the most important in Europe. In 1816 the congregation assumed the title of "Academy," and nominated even non-Catholics as honorary members. The Mechitarists, with whom the most promising of the Armenian youth continued their studies, performed valuable services to their own nation by publishing the hidden literary treasures of their people, such as the works of Michael Tshamtshian (Tscchamtschan), Arsen Bagratuni, Leonces Alishan, who celebrated the heroic age of their nation in vigorous descriptions and poems; but they also co-operated with the Orientalists of Western Europe, who upon their side brought west European methods to bear upon the Armenian language and history. The pious fathers performed a meritorious service in the fact that they not merely stimulated the religious life of their nation, but that under the inspiration of the Italian sky they imparted to their compatriots the art and science of the West by their sound translations of classical authors. They translated into modern Armenian the poems of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, the writings of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch, Demosthenes, and Tacitus, the poetical works of Byron, Schiller, Alfieri, Corneille, Racine, Dante, and Tasso.

The scholars who proceeded from the high schools of the Mechitarists in Venice and Vienna went for the most part to Constantinople and Smyrna, and made their home in the Turkish capital, where the dignitaries of the nation gathered round their patriarchate; they were treated by the Porte, comparatively speaking, with great confidence, were employed in the Seraglio, were given the most distinguished posts in the Osman administration, and ruled the trade, finances, and even the manufactures of Turkey. During the last three centuries, under the careless rule of placid Sultans, Turkey had to thank the Armenian population, together with the Greeks and Jews, for such advances as the country made in education and capacity for taxation. The Armenian was the public singer and musician, he was the actor and comedian in what was known as the "Turkish Theatre," he was the architect and artistic worker; the principal palaces and mosques of Constantinople were designed by Armenian architects and executed by Armenian artists. This population of artists, merchants, tax collectors, middlemen, traders, money changers, pedlars, handicraftsmen, and porters, together with priests, scholars, and teachers, was thus well prepared to receive the sudden revelation of freedom and enlightenment. It must, however, be said that their increasing wealth and their superior industrial capacities brought forth hatred and envy on all sides, as was the case with the Jews elsewhere in Europe.

The first harvest was a growth upon every side of modern Armenian literature, composed not in the difficult language of the old church, but in the language of the people, which, like modern Greek, differs materially from that of antiquity. Poets like Dzerentz, Khorene Narbey, a friend of Victor Hugo, and of Lamartine, Beshiktashian, Tersian, Turian, Osganian, Russignan, and Odian brought the

dramatists of the West to the Armenian theatres. Intoxicated with the spirit of 1848, they reflect the ideas of the French romantic school, a spirit which brought about dissensions with the "Amiras," the dignitaries, and the ecclesiastical party. The strongest impression upon the nation was made by the translations of the "Misérables" of Victor Hugo, and the "Juif errant" of Eugene Sue by Mamurian. In the heroes of these works they recognised the type of their own race. Acrimonious pamphlets came forth from the pen of Baronian, fiery speeches from Demirdshibashian, Berberian, and Chera, who in thousands of fugitive publications and journals disseminated the views of Schopenhauer, Leopardi, and Baudelaire, while Madame Dussap preached the emancipation of women, and reopened the social question with Arpiar Arpiarian. Scholars, such as Karakashian and the Vartabed Elisé Turian, were beginning the political history of Armenia. The energy of this intellectual revolution led to the foundation of elementary and secondary schools in Constantinople and in all the provinces of the three empires inhabited by Armenians. Their leaders in Asia were the Catholikos Khrimian, the bishop Sirvantzdiantz, and others in the monasteries of Etshmiadsin, Varak in Van, and St. Jacob in Jerusalem. In the Caucasus, Tiflis was a stronghold of the liberationist movement; there Abovian, the friend of Friedrich Bodenstedt, and Rafael Patkanian (cf. p. 200) were influenced by the German romantic movement to stir the nation from its apathy. Ballad and epic poetry found an honoured representative in the Caucasus in the person of the "ashug" or "sasandar" Sajatnova of Tiflis (1712–1795); it was also carefully cherished at Zeitun in Cilicia, the first hearth on which the fire of Armenian freedom blazed, and in Sassun, the centre of the outburst of the year 1895.

C. The Relations with Russia

The efforts of the Russians to secure the favour of the Armenians, who had obeyed the Osmans and the Persians since 1555, were highly encouraging. In the year 1768 the empress Catherine II reminded the Catholikos Simon that her predecessors upon the throne, Peter the Great and Catherine I, had assured the Catholikos of their particular respect for the Armenian nation by autograph letters in 1724 and 1726. Further communications from the Czar Paul I in 1798 and 1800 opened to the Armenian leaders and clergy the prospect of placing their countrymen under the protection of Russia. The Persian rulers had made similar promises to the patriarchs; hence in 1768 Catherine II resolved not to let slip the opportunity of "protecting" Armenia, concluded a formal convention with the archbishop Arguthianz, afterwards patriarch. In this document Armenia was promised nothing less than the restoration of her old independent Christian kingdom. Intoxicated by these promises the Armenians rendered important services to the Russians in all their campaigns against the Osmans and the Persians; their numerous emigrants were so many fiery apostles on behalf of the holiness of Russia, the protector of the Gregorian Church. In steady pursuance of her policy Russia slowly advanced beyond the Caucasus and acquired Georgia in 1802. The treaties of Turkmanchai (February 10, 1828; p. 178) and of Adrianople (1829) enabled her to wrest from Persia the most important part of Upper Armenia, and from the Porte the district about Achalzich and Achalkalaki, while the war of 1853–1855 secured her possession of an additional portion of

Turkish Armenia (p. 186); the treaty of Berlin of 1878 (p. 196) advanced the Russian frontier in Asia Minor even further into the Armenian district. Railways were constructed from Tiflis to Baku and Batoum, from Tiflis to Kars, that is to say, almost to the gates of Erzeroum, the Turkish Belfort. At the present day the formerly "independent" kingdom of Armenia is a second Poland, partitioned between the Turkish, Persian, and Russian powers. The sphere of Russian interest extends to Angora, by the last agreement concluded with the Porte (1900), and the Persian Aserbeijan is equivalent to a Russian province.

Since 1828 the three old monasteries of Etshmiadsin, Haghpad, and Sanahine have been situated on Russian soil. In this year the hopes of the Armenian nation were buried with the corpse of their great patriarch Arguthianz. In 1827 again General Sibiatshin issued a proclamation to the Armenians: "Armenians, your services will be rewarded; you will fight henceforward under your own flag, and the emperor of Russia will provide you with weapons for the defence and protection of your fatherland." But in 1828, when Russia had brought her war with Persia to a successful conclusion, the patriarch Nerses, who had made great sacrifices in providing magazines of corn and equipping an Armenian volunteer corps, was curtly referred to the Czar by General Paskevitch. Since that time the choice of the patriarch has been conditional upon the Czar's assent. Well-informed travellers have often described the Russian government as beneficial, for the reason that it has removed and quelled the ancient feuds among the different Transcaucasian chieftains; this is more especially the case with regard to the last kings of Mingrelia, the "Dadians," who were closely related to the Abkhasian family of the Šarvašidze. But the Armenians were deceived then, and have been deceived ever since. Their hopes were now concentrated upon the giant peak of Ararat, the "high altar" of the world; here the monastery of Etshmiadsin formed the eastern landmark of culture, and was in fraternal union with the western landmark, San Lazzaro in the Venetian lagoons. Nerses, however (deceased 1857), expended his powers in written protests against the infraction of his privileges, which the Russians had formerly recognised, and especially against the detested Poloshenie of 1836, which began the process of Russification, closed the elementary schools, forbade the Armenian language as a medium of instruction in the public schools, and made the Armenians liable to service in the Russian army amid Russian troops.

At that moment one of the most fiery of the Armenian apostles of freedom, Raffi, uttered the following cry in his novel "Jelalledin" ("The Executioner"): "Oh, fathers and forefathers, I bless not your memories! Had you built fortresses in place of the monasteries which cover our country, had you bought weapons instead of crosses and holy vessels, had you preferred the smoke of gunpowder to the incense which fills our churches, our land would now be prosperous. In truth, I bless your memories not, ye holy writings and sciences, because ye have not given us what life requires and what the world demands. Ye have filled our brains with the futile complexities of abstract speculation, have made us corpses, dead to all chivalrous feeling. Ye have placed chains upon us, and accustomed us to the dishonourable yoke of slavery." Krikor Artsruni gave vent to a similar outburst in Tiflis (1879): "Perhaps it is still reserved to the Armenians to overthrow by their quiet passivity that modern moral principle which even in our enlightened century is predominant in Europe, and is the leading thought of civilization, '*Je*

m'insurge, donc je suis ;' it is difficult to avoid a supposition that the Armenian has said hitherto, 'I work, I suffer, therefore I am.' If the Armenian with these virtues should fall short of victory, if he should be annihilated or forced to migrate from his primeval home, this would be a scandal for Europe, since Europe has not helped him to realise the principle of future culture, that is to say, peaceful revolution, or, in one word, reform. If the Armenian in Turkey, who has so often striven and suffered for the Christian faith, would fly to arms at the moment when Zeitun pours forth its blood (1879), for the sole purpose of self-defence against tyrants, and not with the object of attack; if the Armenian would take with one hand the hammer, the ploughshare, or the spade, and with the other the rifle, then possibly some means might be found for perpetuating his national life." Words like these could not pass without an echo, and the sounding-board was ready to hand. Popular feeling had already resulted in the sending of a deputation to lay the national grievances before the Berlin Congress in 1878. A band of Armenian authors and poets (Arparian, Shahnazar, Pashalian, Zohrab, Sevajian, Hrant) had been at work earlier in Constantinople, Geneva, Paris, London, Athens, and Tiflis, forming committees and founding newspapers to inspire national enthusiasm among the educated circles of Armenia, while the common shepherds, artisans, and peasants endured in dumb silence the oppression, the robbery, and the outrages of the Lases, Kurds, and Cherkesses. As early as 1840 Abovian had summed up the situation in realistic terms in his novel "The Wounds of Armenia;" while Nalbandian had composed the "National Song of Liberation," which, like the Greek hymn, stirred the nation to its depths: "Let powder, fire, and sword thunder upon my head, yet will I show courage before the enemy." Artsruni was the first to scatter this song far and wide in his newspaper, "Mshak," while Aghaian, Kamarkatiba, Kerope, Rassi, Pyatkanian, and Emin preached the gospel of force.

D. The Struggles of the Gregorians with the United and Protestant Party

A movement at once intellectual and political had moreover stirred the Armenian people to its depths and evolved unity from struggle and quarrel, and a consciousness of national solidarity as opposed to ecclesiastical division. This was the struggle of the Gregorian Church, and in particular of the patriarchate of Constantinople, with the Roman Catholic Uniates and with the Protestants among their own compatriots.

(*a*) *The Uniate Armenians.* — The Armenian Uniates had maintained their position since the period of the Crusades and the Unitores, and had gradually increased, though to no great extent. In 1562 Pope Pius IV erected in Rome for their benefit a printing-press with Armenian type, in which the Psalms and other works were printed in 1567. Pius IV presented them with the Church of Saint Mary of Egypt, the hospital, and the surrounding buildings. From the time of Urban VIII the Armenian youths were brought up in the great college of the "Propaganda." Almost contemporaneously with the rise of the Mechitarist movement (p. 205) a Catholicate was created in actual communion with Rome. Abraham, the Catholic Armenian bishop of Aleppo (1710), founded the monastery

of Kerem in Lebanon, to which he gave the rule of St. Antonius. In 1740 his adherents made him patriarch of Sis, and in 1742 he received the pallium from Pope Benedict XIV. He was, however, unable to maintain his position in Cilicia against the persecutions of the Gregorians, and the old (orthodox) Catholikos transferred his residence to Lebanon, where he died in 1749. At that time many Catholic Armenians emigrated to Livorno and established themselves with their church under the protection of the grand duke of Tuscany, "the heir and descendant of the Rhupenids and of the Lusignans of Cyprus." From 1740 to 1866 eight patriarchs held the titular throne of Sis in the capital of Bezumar in Lebanon. Their influence extended to Cilicia and Syria.

On the other hand, the Armenian Uniates of Constantinople and Asia Minor were under the authority of an apostolic delegate from Rome in the capital; as regards their temporal relations they were subordinate to the orthodox patriarch of Constantinople. An impossible situation was thus created, which ended in 1828 in a violent persecution of the Catholic Armenians in Constantinople. At the beginning of January, 1828, some Uniate sarafs, or bankers, were banished from Stamboul; some time later, in the midst of an unusually hard winter, a Hatti-sherif was suddenly published, according to which every member of this communion, including people belonging to Angora and the neighbouring villages, were obliged to return to their own homes within twelve days. About twelve thousand souls, including forty-two clergy, were expelled from Constantinople; some four hundred children are said to have succumbed to hunger and cold on the road of Angora. Many became converts to Mohammedanism to escape the cruelty of these regulations. Pertev Effendi, a fiery Turk, had been won over to the patriarch by bribery, and had succeeded in gaining the consent of the Sultan Mahmud II by a report which accused the hated rivals of the orthodox sarafs of high treason and of alliance with a "foreign sovereign," — the Pope. The Monophysite patriarch then attempted to turn the necessities of his compatriots to the advantage of his own sect, but his attempts at proselytising were forbidden by the war and police minister Khosrev Pasha, who explained to him that if the Porte had been interested in the conversion of the Catholics he would have desired them to embrace Islam, and not to turn from a bad religion to a worse one. It was not until after the Russo-Turkish war, and then only by French intervention, that the "dissidents" secured their independence as a Millet (nation) in 1831, notwithstanding the Russian opposition, and obtained a Mohammedan as their vekil (representative; p. 183, above). In 1830 they even obtained a patriarch in the person of Bishop Agopos Chukurian, with rights over the Melchites and Chaldeans, the united Greeks, Syrians, and the Nestorians of Mesopotamia. The ecclesiastical power obtained a primate dependent upon the Pope, while the patriarch, with the temporal power, remained a subject of the Sultan.

A hybrid arrangement of this nature was bound to lead to complications; the more so as the Catholic Armenian Church was increasing in strength by numerous conversions in Urfa, Birejik, Marash, and Malatia. In 1867 Pius IX, at the wish of the Catholic Armenians, transferred the seat of the primate from Libanon to Constantinople by the bull "Reversurus." A synod of the Uniate clergy then declined to recognise the patriarch of the Pope, Hassun, because he had hitherto limited the freedom of the union, and in 1870, on the occasion of the Vatican council, they broke away from Rome entirely. The consequences were quarrels

and outrages in Constantinople, in which the Turkish soldiery took part. Upon this side were the most distinguished intellects of the Antonians and most of the Mechitarists of Venice. It was not until 1888 that a reconciliation was brought about, after Kupelian, their patriarch, had made submission to the Pope in 1879. Leo XIII solemnly agreed to their demands, especially to the maintenance of the Armenian language and liturgy. According to the lists of the Propaganda, the total number of the Armenian Uniates amounts to 103,000 souls, an estimate which does not however include those to be found in Hungary, Russia, and Persia.

(*b*) *Protestantism in Armenia.* — The history of Armenian Protestantism is a history of suffering. As early as 1760 the priest Debashi in Constantinople had unsparingly inveighed against the priests and bishops of his nation, had exposed the contradictions between their doctrine and their life, and reproached them with their senseless superstition and the formalism of their public worship. The formation of evangelical communities was a comparatively recent event, originating directly (1813) from the distribution of the old Armenian translation of the Bible by the Russian (1815) and the English (1817) Bible societies. A strong impression was thereby made upon the clergy, and in 1832 the English Bible society attempted to make Holy Scripture accessible to the laity by means of translations into modern Armenian and Turkish, but met with the strongest opposition from the Gregorian Church. In the same year in which the American Congregationalist Society of Foreign Missions first sent out their missionary Porson to Jerusalem, the first German missionaries were sent from Basle to Armenia. They laid special emphasis upon two principles, which have guided the policy of their beneficial energy to the present day; the first object was not actual missionary work or "conversion," but the revival of the extinct early Christian church by means of the Word of God, and this without the object of ultimate communion with any one of the existing Western churches. This object was to be attained by means of translation, exposition, and introduction to the understanding of the Bible by word of mouth and by writing in the school and in the pulpit. The Basle mission worked in Shulsha from 1822 to 1835 under its pioneers Dittrich, Zaremba, Hohenacker, Wöhr, Pfander, Haas, Judt, Sprömberg, Hörnle, Schneider, and Kreis, until the Russian government and the Catholikos prohibited their work. With equally beneficial results the Americans and Swedes worked in Shamaki, Karakala, Tiflis, Baku, Lenkoran, until recent times. There, upon occasion, they suffered considerably from the difficulties thrown in their way by the intolerance both of the Russian government and the Armenian clergy. From 1831 the missioners of the American board continued their work at first in the capital, where the Armenians themselves had founded a school of theology; their energies were then transferred to the theological seminary founded by the Americans in Bebek between 1840 and 1862, which in 1862 was transferred to Mersivan, and splendidly provided by the American Robert. Under Eli Smith, Dwight, and Goodell its beneficial influence soon extended over the three kingdoms in numerous schools and hospitals. Much of the efficacy of their work among this people was due to the fact that they taught in the Armenian language. In cases of illness, want, or famine their help was given regardless of race or creed. Thousands of Armenians, Greeks, Syrians,

Jacobites, and other Christians received their education in Protestant schools, without thereby breaking their connection with the Church; but the Mohammedans were restrained by the authorities from attending.

The great influence exercised both directly and indirectly by the Protestants was very plainly seen in the help they were able to give when the persecution broke out among the Armenians after the Berlin Congress. In 1883 the journey of inspection undertaken by the American board throughout the stations of its missions made it clear that in reality the bulk of the Armenians would profess only the faith which Gregory the Enlightener had preached. Among the Armenians, religion and nationality are indissolubly connected. It was for this reason that the Americans came into collision as early as 1839 with the higher clergy, and in 1844, at the request of the patriarch of Etshmiadsin, the Russian government, and the Sultan, the patriarch Mattheos of Constantinople pronounced a terrible curse against the new sect, which seemed equally dangerous to all three parties. The results were persecution, imprisonment, confinement in asylums, banishment, and outrage from the mob. Martyrs of the gospel suffered hatred and contempt and the closing of their schools at the hands of their own compatriots, until the English ambassador Stratford Canning warmly espoused the cause of the oppressed, gained toleration for them in 1846, and complete independence in November, 1850, as a religious community (= Millet) under a vekil (pp. 183, 210), and complete equality with the other Millets in 1853. The Porte had long hesitated to grant such a recognition, chiefly for fear of endangering the authority over the rayahs which Mohammed II had granted to the priests in 1453; this was valuable for securing the slavish and unquestioning obedience of the rayahs.

(*E*) The Armenian Question

Now, however, the last fearful convulsion shook the Turkish Empire. In 1876 Russia stood triumphant in Erzeroum and before the walls of Stamboul. In the sixteenth article of the peace of Santo Stefano (1878) the following portentous phrase was to be read: "As the evacuation of the district which the Russian troops had occupied in Armenia, and which is now to be restored to Turkey, may bring about disputes and complications which might be dangerous to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries, the Sublime Porte undertakes, without further delay, to introduce into practice the improvements and reforms necessitated by local circumstances in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to secure the safety of these provinces against the Turks and Cherkesses."

The English government (Lord Beaconsfield) entered protests against this compact, as it made Turkey dependent upon Russia's good will, and conflicted with earlier agreements whereby Turkey was placed under the influence of the great powers. On the motion of the English government the Berlin Congress, at which all the great powers were represented, met in the summer of 1888. On the 13th of July of that year was signed the Treaty of Berlin between Russia, England, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Turkey, which superseded the peace of Santo Stefano. The Treaty of Berlin recognised the cessions of territory demanded in Asia, with the exception of the Valley of Alashgerd and the

district of Bajasid, and introduced in favour of the Armenians the following resolution into the sixty-first article instead of that above quoted: "The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out without further delay the improvements and reforms demanded by local necessities in the Armenian provinces of Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Mamuret el-Asis, and Sivas (see map facing page 203), and to guarantee the security of these provinces against the Cherkesses and Kurds. The Sublime Porte shall from time to time inform the six signatory powers who will supervise the execution of these reforms of such steps as have been taken in this direction." This sixty-first article was proposed by Lord Salisbury, then secretary of state for foreign affairs (Vol. VIII); its effect was to remove the obligation of Turkey to Russia with reference to the protection of the Armenians, and to make her responsible in this matter to the six powers. The Armenians, who had been encouraged to regard Russia as their friend after Santo Stefano, were now induced to turn their gaze upon those powers. The Armenian patriarch Nerses, whose representation had brought about the introduction of the sixteenth article into the peace of Santo Stefano, had explained the bitter lot of his people to the Berlin Congress; one of his deputies was the archbishop Khrimian, Catholikos of Etshmiadsin. Although the Armenians as subjects of the Sultan had no *locus standi* before the congress, yet the sixty-first article was practically an answer to their request.

On June 4, 1878, another document was secretly signed by the English government in Turkey, which was published shortly afterwards before the conclusion of the Berlin Congress. The "Treaty of Cyprus" assured Turkey of an alliance with England in the event of Russia retaining some of the Armenian territory, promised reforms to the Armenians, and secured England in her occupation of the island of Cyprus (p. 196). English politicians, like all acquainted with the East, were well aware that it might be impossible for Turkey to carry out the desired reforms in the face of opposition from her own Mohammedan subjects, especially the Kurds and Cherkesses, who were almost independent, if she were not supported by compulsion, that is to say, by the Russian troops still on foot in Turkish Armenia. However, the British minister for foreign affairs insisted upon the withdrawal of these troops previous to the introduction of reform, and thereby surrendered the Armenians once again to their executioners, the Kurds and Cherkesses. The short-sightedness which characterised the idea of making Cyprus a base for the protection of the Asiatic frontier of Turkey was now surpassed by the simplicity displayed in demanding voluntary reforms from the Sultan, which would have created a second Bulgaria and East Roumelia in the east of the empire. An admirable judgment upon this policy was passed (twenty years before the outbreak of the Boer war) by the Duke of Argyll: "In no quarter of the globe has our national policy been dictated by such immoral and senseless principles." However, the English government calmly pursued their policy. In 1879 they erected military consulates in eight important centres of Turkey, and forced the Porte to introduce the desired reforms into the administration without delay. The result was *nil*. The military consulates inspired the Armenian population with the erroneous idea that the time of independent government was close at hand for them, and their petitions and complaints were now no longer directed to the Turkish officials, but were sent immediately to the consuls.

The Gladstone ministry secured an identical note from the powers on June 11, 1880, demanding a "complete and immediate" execution of the sixty-first article of the Treaty of Berlin on the part of the Porte, and a collective note on September 7, 1880, recounting the reforms individually and characterising them as pressing. One sentence in the note may be regarded as prophetic; it was to the effect that the degree of lawlessness prevailing in the Armenian provinces would most probably result in the destruction of the Christian population in this district. However, when England occupied Egypt in 1882, she lost her claims to confidence on the part of the Porte. A wholly different attitude with regard to the Armenian question was now adopted by the powers. Germany publicly retired, England maintained her military consulates only in Van, Diarbekir, and Erzeroum; Russia's attitude also changed, a fact connected with the change of policy immediately following the death of Alexander II. Now began a period of attempts to spread Russian influence and a growing want of confidence in all movements towards national freedom. Since 1884 it was well understood in Constantinople that Russia was occupied with extensive plans in Central and Eastern Asia, and that it was improbable that she would intervene in the Armenian question.

F. The Revolts and their Suppression

However, in Armenia events moved rapidly; the sultry stillness that forbodes the tempest had been produced by the disregard of law and justice, by the oppression of the tax gatherers, and the robbery of the Kurds and Cherkesses, both among the enlightened population of the towns and among the patient peasant folk, thanks to the presence of the English military consuls and of foreign Armenian agents. The Cherkesses had migrated into Turkey at the period when Russia conquered the Caucasus, and regarded the right of robbery in Upper Armenia and in the Taurus as their legal privilege. The Kurds, who extended from their chief centre Bitlis on Lake Van to the Euphrates and the Halys, had never been entirely subjugated by the Porte, and levied tribute (khafir) from the Armenian villages. Like the wild animals of the mountain range, these nomads continually changed their scene of operations from one to the other side of the inaccessible passes of Kurdistan and Persia, spreading terror now into one valley and now into another by robbery, murder, and outrage. Unfortunately in 1891 the Sultan conceived the idea of organising these lawless tribes into a cavalry regiment (hamidied), and armed them with modern weapons in the hope of guiding their warlike instincts into some more profitable channel. In the Russian war they had been conspicuous for their want of discipline and tactical training; in peace they became the curse of the country, hateful alike to the Turks and Christians. It is true that the unsettled state of those districts and the consequent uncertainty of justice brought forth among the Armenians themselves bold palikars and klephts, like the Greek heroes of the liberation; these, favoured by the timid country population and by the designedly inefficient guard that was kept upon the Russian and Persian frontiers, plundered and murdered in the service of avenging justice with grievous results to the country and sore suffering to just and unjust, as the innocent had to suffer with the guilty. A case in point was the robber chieftain Serop, who harassed for years the Vilayet of Bitlis with

his well-armed band of fugitives ("Fedai"), which was continually reinforced from Russia and Persia.

It was, however, not in Upper Armenia, but in the Cilician Tauros northwest of Tarsos and Iskanderun, that the revolt first broke into flame. In the mountain district of Zeitun, near Sis, Marash, and Andrum, there had been living since the fall of the Rhupenid Empire (p. 204) a strong, prosperous, and industrious population of shepherds, mountaineers, and peasants, who had maintained almost complete independence of Turks and Turcomans. The families of the "princes of Zeitun" certainly paid tribute to the Porte, but in other respects were independent, as, for instance, are the Albanians and Kurds at the present day. Their ballad singers, the Ashuges, extolled their victories over the Turks (1819, 1849, 1857, and 1862) and kept alive a sense of patriotism. On January 15, 1876, new struggles broke out during the Russo-Turkish war. In the year 1878 the Turkish commission proposed to introduce the sixty-first article of the Treaty of Berlin. The Zeituniots submitted, owing to the representations of the English consul of Aleppo, and permitted the construction of a Turkish barracks; but in 1884 blood was shed in offering resistance to the oppressive methods by which the Turkish soldiers extorted money. Revolt broke out; a secret society called the Siragan (the living) spread the guerilla war from place to place. Educated Armenians like Garabed Nishan hurried from Paris and London to the help of their compatriots. The four "barons" of Zeitun — Mleh, Hratshia, Abah, and Aghassi — organised a resistance to the death under the leadership of their chief Garabed Gir Panossian, otherwise known as Jellad (the executioner). Like the Greek and Albanian palikars or the heroes of Crnagora, he created a little Montenegro in the Tauros. When the Turks destroyed the Franciscan monastery and murdered the Pater Salvadore, the Armenians hurried to the help of the Catholics. It became clear that the division which different missions had brought about in the Armenian Church had long since been absorbed by the higher "unity in Christ." Until 1896 they held out, with their brave women, against the Turks, who finally surrounded Zeitun with forty thousand men under Khemsi and Edhem Pasha. At length they submitted after European intervention, received forgiveness, a Christian Kaimakam, and a police of their own. Then began the beneficent work of Europe and America, as famine and plague were devastating the country.

The successful resistance of Zeitun had, however, also aroused the spirit of independence in the mountains of Upper Armenia. As early as 1887 the chief representative in Russia of Armenian nationalism, the Armenian and Russian general Count Loris-Melikov, had been co-operating with his Egyptian compatriots, the ministers and statesmen Nubar, Tigranes, and Boghos; the *Association Anglo-Arménienne* had been formed, with the object of restoring old Armenia by diplomatic means. However, the Russians of those days (p. 213, below) had no intention of creating a new "thankless Bulgaria" on the east of Turkey. By Russian politicians Armenia was rather regarded as the fruit which was to ripen and fall into their own laps. As in Poland, Hungary, Persia, and Egypt, so also in Russia, rich and clever Armenians had long since been playing their part. The generals Dergugasso, Lazarev, Bebutov, Argantinsky, Madatov, and the artist Adamian were Armenians.

For the moment, however, their influence had to yield before stronger forces.

In London and Paris two secret societies had been simultaneously formed in 1887, under Hampuntzun, Daniel, Garo, and Danadian; these were known as the Hintshak ('he Bell) and Droshak (the Banner), and were destined to oppose the declaration of the Turkish minister to the effect that "to rid the world of the Armenian question, the only way was to rid the world of the Armenians." It is possible that anarchists and nihilists may have been represented in the revolutionary committees which had their centres at Tiflis, Odessa, Athens, and Geneva; at any rate, the auxiliary federations which were formed, upon the outbreak of the massacres, in India, America, and Europe, among the educated of every class or faith, had nothing whatever to do with either anarchism or nihilism. Indeed, the population and the clergy, like the American missions, were strongly opposed to any such movements, owing to their entire lack of prospect.

To the south of the fruitful plateau of Mush, and dividing it from the northern portion of the great plain of Mesopotamia, there lies a wild district with fruitful valleys, from seven to ten thousand feet above the sea, traversed only by mountain paths, and in many parts overgrown with forests. Armenians and Kurds were here settled in close proximity, the former paying the usual tribute (khafir) to the latter. In the year 1893 some of these robbers were instigated to an attack on the Armenian villages in the district of Talori. The Kurds were defeated, and complained to the authorities of the "revolt," and Turkish troops then helped them to "collect taxes." The result was the massacres of Sassun, where nine hundred to fifteen hundred men fell victims. At the representations of the powers a Turkish commission was despatched on January 26, 1895, "to investigate the traitorous dealings of Armenian robbers." Finally the consular deputies visited the district of Sassun and Mush in person, and established the innocence of the Armenian population. The powers, on May 11, 1904, issued demands for some permanent inspectorial authority under a definite governor. The Turkish government replied with a counter proposal for an extensive plan of reform in sixteen articles, and agreed to a general amnesty for all Armenians under suspicion.

On September 30, 1895, the Armenians of Constantinople proposed to emphasise the demands of the powers for the accomplishment of the promises in the Treaty of Berlin, by handing a petition to the Grand Vizier in which the grievances and demands of their nation were laid down. A procession of two thousand Armenians marched through the streets from Stamboul to the Sublime Porte. Blows were exchanged with the Softas; shots were fired, a major was killed, when the police scattered the demonstrators; some were stricken down by the mob or were shot by the police, prisoners in police stations were bayoneted, and Armenian khans (inns) were stormed in the night. Five hundred Armenians were subsequently taken prisoners; a general panic drove the others into the Armenian churches, whence they were only liberated by the interference of the ambassador. This unfortunate occurrence was the signal for hundreds of massacres which, accompanied and concluded by the blast of trumpets, broke out in all the six provinces which were to be the subject of reform, scourged the Christian population in four additional provinces, and forced the survivors either to die of hunger or change their faith. From Constantinople the massacre extended to Akhissar, Trebizond, Erzinghian, Baiburt, Bitlis, Erzeroum, Arabkir, Diarbekir, Malatia, Charput, Sivas, Amasia, Aintab, Mersivan, Marash, Kaisarieh, Urfa. According

to the ambassador's report to the Sultan of February 4, 1895, it is to be supposed that from seventy thousand to ninety thousand human beings were slaughtered between August, 1895, and February, 1896, and that even more perished from hunger and cold. In Germany, Switzerland, and above all in England, the best minds of the nation were anxious to send help. Johannes Lepsius in Berlin moved thousands by his pamphlet "Armenia and Europe," and by his newspaper article "The Christian East." Amirkhanyanz, Avataranian, and Garabed Thoumayan wrote and spoke to procure relief for the misery of their co-religionists.

However, the revolutionists of the "Hintshak" were by no means idle. Excited by the revolt of the Greeks in Crete, they had appealed to the ambassadors to invite the Turkish government to introduce reforms, and threatened disturbances if an end were not made of persecution, imprisonment, and murder. These threats were renewed in August, 1896. On August 26, twenty-six Armenians of the revolutionary party made a sudden attack upon the Ottoman bank in Constantinople. They declared that they would retain possession of the building and blow it into the air in case the Sultan should refuse their demands. They were persuaded to abandon their capture under a promise of safe conduct from the Russian dragoman. Meanwhile, however, the excited town, led by the Kurds and Lases, prepared a counter stroke which cost seven thousand human beings their lives. On the 27th, the English agent threatened to land sailors if the general massacre was not stopped. The despatch of the ambassador to the Sultan ran as follows: "Greatly regret events; these must stop forthwith, or the existence of Turkey and her dynasty will be endangered." The collective note of August 31 emphasises the fact that it was in no way a question of the chance meeting of a fanatical mob, but that all indications pointed to the existence of a special organisation known to the agents of the authorities, if not actually guided by them. No movement was, however, made towards reform; the demands of the great powers did not go beyond the paper on which they were written.

Armenia was bleeding to death under these fearful wounds. The Armenian question began to appear less imperative, though a repetition of the former horrors continued to some extent, limited to special localities, and resulting from the independent spirit and lawlessness of individual Armenian bands (a case in point was that of Antraniks between Mush and Sassun, November, 1901, to May, 1904). The jealousy of Russia (which in 1904 deposed the Gregorian archbishop of Georgia, Kevork Surenian, for his resistance to an attempt of Russia to appropriate the financial administration of the eparchate) and of England had prevented energetic interference for half a century; the eyes of Europe were turned to more important events, to the war in China, Cuba, the Philippines, and South Africa. As early as February 20, 1894, the French ambassador Pierre Paul Cambon wrote to Casimir-Périer, "There is no solution to the Armenian question." The Armenian question is but a portion of the Eastern question, and this again is but one piece upon the chess-board of European politics. The political objects of the Armenians are not the restoration of their old kingdom; in view of the infusion of foreign nationalities throughout their area (see map facing page 203) this would be impossible; but they desire to maintain their nationality, their church and language, and to improve their social and moral condition. What they are anxious for is a movement for freedom by means of administrative reform, reform of the clergy, and episcopal administration, means for improving the national education of Christians

and of other classes, and means of checking emigration. These were the ideals of the recently deceased Catholikos of Etshmiadsin. Paul Rohrbach has justly emphasised the fact that all judgments upon the Armenians are from the outset distorted, unless they are based upon the fact that by birth, education, and disposition the nation is Oriental. And if the mistakes of the Armenians fill to overflowing one scale of the balance, their sufferings are more than an adequate counterpoise.

III

THE ALBANIANS

By †PROFESSOR DR. KARL PAULI

Revised and Enlarged by Dr. Hans F. Helmolt

1. THE COUNTRY OF ALBANIA

THE country known to us as Albania lies on the coast of the Balkan Peninsula, between the thirty-ninth and forty-third degree of latitude north. It is a district about four hundred miles in length and one hundred and twenty in breadth upon the average, and is inhabited by a population of strongly marked nationality. The country has been but little investigated; in fact, there are but two men who have devoted themselves to the knowledge of it. The first of these is Johann Georg von Hahn, who carefully explored the country and its inhabitants when Austrian consul-general some fifty years ago, and collected a mass of valuable information upon the subject; the other is Gustav Meyer, and to him we owe a scientific examination of the Albanian language. The Albanian people are known by the Serbs as Arbanassi, to the Greeks as Arvanitis, by the Turks and Bulgarians as Arnauts, while in their own language they call themselves Shkyipetars. The first of these names is derived from the district of Arberi, as it is known in the Toskish dialect, or Arbeni, as the Geg(h)ish dialect has it, the district of the Akrokeraunian Mountains, and has from thence been extended to include the whole people. The name Shkyipetar means "the understanding," and thus denotes those who understand the national language.[1]

The Albanian is not the only inhabitant of the territory above defined. Only the north is pure Albanian, while the southeast is pure Greek; and the southwest, on the other hand, contains both races, so intermingled that the children learn both languages simultaneously. Moreover, the Roumanians inhabit the district of Pindos, and Bulgarians and Serbs the district which borders their frontiers; on the other hand, the Albanian race has also extended far beyond the frontiers of the country. On the Shah Dagh Albanians have appropriated the whole western portion of Turkish Servia, extending to Bosnia, and inhabit the mountain region lying west and southwest of Novi Bazar. Large numbers of Albanians also dwell

[1] This hypothesis is not, however, to be taken as certain. If we had before us merely the forms škyipóig, "I understand," which is said to be derived from the Latin excipere, and škyipětár, little could then be urged against the theory. There is, however, a simpler form, škyip, which is an adverb, meaning Albanian. From this was immediately derived the adjective škyipe, "the Albanian" (language), but the adverb škyip can hardly be derived from the Latin excipere. Von Hahn has already pointed out this difficulty, observing, "As the verb 'škipóig' appears from its form to be a derivative, the question arises whether it had not originally the meaning 'to understand Albanian,' which was generalised at a later period." In any case the fundamental meaning of "škyip" appears to be "clear, intelligible."

within the kingdom of Greece; in fact, the whole of Attica, with the exception of Athens and the Piræus, Megara, with the exception of the city, Bœotia, and the islands of Hydra and Spezzia, together with many other districts, are inhabited by them. However, during the course of the nineteenth century the Albanian nationality in these parts has apparently suffered a considerable decrease, owing to the fact that many Albanian families have adopted Greek manners and the Greek language, as the Greek is considered the more distinguished nationality. About eighty thousand Albanians are settled in Italy, divided among the former provinces of Nearer and Further Calabria, Basilicata, Capitanata, Terra d'Otranto, Abruzzo Ulteriore, and Sicily. The first mentioned were brought over about 1460 by Ferdinand I to Naples. Their number was originally considerably greater, but many of them have been entirely Italianised in language, dress, and manners. Finally, three small Albanian colonies exist upon Austrian soil, — one on the Save, between Shabatz and Mitrovitza, one at Zara, and one at Pola.

2. THE POPULATION OF ALBANIA

THE Albanians are divided into two main branches, which are also distinguished from one another by language, — the Toskans and the Geg(h)es. The former inhabited the south, the latter the central and northern parts of the country. Their respective dialects are so different that they have the utmost difficulty in understanding one another, and members of one branch are obliged by degrees to learn the dialect of the other. In other respects, too, a strange divergence between the two branches has existed from early times. An attempt has been made to explain the difference of dialect on the supposition that the inhabitants of the north were the Illyrians of antiquity, and those of the south the Epirots. This hypothesis is scarcely defensible. Apart from the fact that our knowledge of the ethnography of the old Epirots is by no means complete, it will be demonstrated later that the ancestors of the Albanians, far from being Illyrians, were Thracians. It may be stated that Gegish is the Thracian language as spoken by Illyrians, and that Toskish is that language as spoken by Greeks; in other words, that the difference corresponds to that between Lombard and Tuscan Italian, namely, Latin in the mouth of Gauls and Latin in the mouth of Etruscans.

In respect of religion the land is again by no means uniform. The north is predominantly Roman Catholic, while in the south Greek Catholicism holds the upper hand. Mohammedanism, moreover, has spread throughout almost the whole country, and the number of its devotees is nearly equivalent to that of the Christians. The distinguished families, especially in the towns, are Mohammedans; there are, moreover, isolated country districts which are Mohammedan. It will be understood that all of these were at one time Christians, and that they have gone over to Mohammedanism in consequence of the very various forms of pressure which the Turks were able to exert at different times, even within the present century. The only tribe which has remained pure Catholic is that of the Miridites, in the north, from the fact that every apostate was immediately forced to leave the district. There are besides districts which are Mohammedan only in seeming, and acknowledge Christianity in secret, at the present day as previously.

Although, as we have said, the Albanians are thus divided by geographical, religious, and linguistic differences, yet they form one nationality with a strongly marked national character. The Italian Albanian, Vicenzo Dorsa, was entirely right when he dedicated his book upon Albania in 1848, "Alla mia nazione divisa e dispersa ma una." The chief reason for this uniformity of national character is the conception of the family, which has dominated the whole life of this people. It is by the solidarity of family life that we must explain their tenacious observation of ancient customs, which accompany every detail of household life, birth, engagement, marriage, and death; thus, too, is explicable that fearful scourge of this nation, the blood feud, and also the political impotence of the country in spite of the great bravery of its inhabitants.

A. The Remnants of a Popular Religion from Heathen Times

The strongly marked conservatism apparent in all these facts has also contributed to the maintenance of numerous survivals of the old heathen popular religion side by side with the different religions which individuals have adopted as their official belief. As survivals of this nature Von Hahn quotes the belief in the Elves, a household spirit, three monsters known as Kutshedra, Sükjennesa, and Ljubia, the Ore, Mauthi, Fatiles, Dive, Fljamea, Kukudi, Vurvulak (known among the Geges as Ljuvgat and Karkancholi), the Shtrigea, Dramgua, and the men with tails. There is no reason to suppose that these demoniacal beings are the survivals of some old pure Albanian popular belief; they probably represent, to some degree, remnants of early Greek, Roman, Slavonic, Turkish, and perhaps gipsy superstition. The origin of the component parts of this popular belief cannot be pointed to with certainty. When we examine the appellations of these separate beings, it might be supposed that they originated from the nation from whose language they took their names; but no reliance can be placed on this theory. The Albanian vocabulary for every department of life is a motley mixture taken from all possible languages, so that it is highly probable that in mythology foreign names might often represent native conceptions.

The Elves, known as the "Happy Ones," or as the "Brides of the Mountain," display a considerable resemblance to the fairies of German mythology, who bear the same name. They are generally feminine, about the size of twelve-year-old children, of great beauty, clothed in white, and of vaporous form. They come down in the night from the mountains to the homes of men, and invite beautiful children to dance; often, too, they take little children out of the cradles to play with them upon the roofs of the houses, but bring them back unharmed. Similar is the character of the Mauthi, as she is known in Elbassan, who is probably to be identified with the southern Albanian "Beauty of the Earth." She, too, is a fairy clothed in gold, with a fez adorned with precious stones; "the man who steals this is fortunate for the whole of his life." Goddesses of fate are the Ore and the Fatiles; the former goes about the country and immediately fulfils all the blessings and curses which she hears. The Fatiles are the same as the ancient Greek Moirai. The Attic Albanians have only one of these deities, who still bears the ancient name of Moira; however, all the gifts which are offered to her upon a birth in the house are tripled. Horrible demons are the cannibal female monsters Kutshedra, Sükjennesa, and Ljubia. Connected with them is the Fljamea

of Elbassan, also a female demon, who can afflict with epilepsy. The Dif, or the Dive in the plural, are giants of supernatural size, while the household spirit, the Vittore, is conceived as a brightly coloured snake, which lives in the wall of the house, and is greeted with respect and wishes of good fortune by any one of the inhabitants who catches sight of it. The Vurvulak, known in some places as vampires, are sufficiently explained by this second title. Of a similar nature are the Ljuvgats, "Turkish corpses with long nails, which go about in their grave clothes, devouring what they find, and strangling men," as also are the Karkantsholjes or Kukudes, the corpses of gipsies whose breath is poisonous.

B. Albanian Literature

The literary monuments of the people are very few; all that can be called literature is confined to translations of the Bible and similar ecclesiastical compositions, to national songs, and a few attempts at poetry among the Italian Albanians, and in Albania itself. Among the former we may mention Girolamo de Rada (1870), who has treated of the heroic period of his nation, that is to say, the wars of Skanderbeg (p. 225). The poet of Albania most famous amongst his compatriots is Nezim Bey of Bremet. He was a scholar acquainted with Arabic and Persian literature, and it was under the influence of these Oriental literatures that his poems were composed, as they indeed declare by their strong infusion of Arabic and Persian words. The spirit also is unmistakably Oriental, and their similarity with the poems of Hafiz, for instance, is unmistakable. The national songs are not without a beauty which is strikingly foreign to our ideas.

The creation of a true literature implied the fulfilment of one previous condition, the creation, namely, of a uniform alphabet. Publications have hitherto appeared partly in Greek and partly in Latin script. As, however, the Albanian language contains a large number of sounds, these two alphabets were found insufficient, and it was necessary to supplement the deficiency by diacritic sounds, dots and marks, and so forth. The best of the alphabets employed hitherto is that of Konst. Kristoforidis of Elbassan; he employed the Latin alphabet increased by a number of diacritic signs employed upon a sound system. There is, moreover, in Elbassan and Berat a so-called national alphabet, consisting of fifty-two signs, which was invented, according to Gustav Meyer, by the Greek schoolmaster Theodore in Elbassan towards the end of the eighteenth century

3. THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIANS

A. Their Origin

The problem of Albanian origins and of the ethnographical affinities of this nation has not yet been entirely solved. The general hypothesis is that they are descendants of the old Epirots, whose Greek origin is denied by many scholars. It has been further supposed that these Epirots were Illyrians, and individuals have again assumed the identity of these Illyrians with the Pelasgians (concerning these last see Vol. IV, p. 259); others again have supposed an immigration of the Albanians from the Caucasus, where a people of like name exist (Vol. III, p. 297). This theory is supported neither by history nor philology, though it must be said that all other hypotheses are raised upon foundations no less insecure.

Modern Albanian is a mixed language to an extent without parallel elsewhere; Latin, Illyrian, Roumanian, Greek, Turkish, and Slavonic words from different dialects have been infused among the pure Albanian words. This much, however, is absolutely certain, that Albanian is an Indo-Germanic language; hence the connection with Illyrian is not intrinsically improbable, for this latter also belonged to the Indo-Germanic family. However, the phonetic changes which are characteristic of Albanian by no means entirely correspond with those characteristic of Illyrian. Adequate remnants of early Illyrian have come down to us in the proper names of the Roman inscriptions from the different Illyrian-speaking provinces, and also in the Messatic and Venetian inscriptions. From these sources it appears that the Indo-Germanic palatal sounds become in Illyrian *c* and *g* (χ), while in Albanian they become *s* and *z*; the Indo-Germanic aspirated media become spirants in Illyrian and pure media in Albanian. Finally, Indo-Germanic intervocalic *s* appears to become *h* in Illyrian and š in Albanian. These phonetic differences definitely remove Albanian from Illyrian, and point to an entirely different group of the Indo-Germanic languages.

From the nature of the question, only one hypothesis remains open to us, that the Albanians were Thracians, and the phonetic changes above mentioned entirely correspond with those characteristic of Thracian. Moreover, Gustav Meyer has adduced the further fact that the transformation of the Latin element in Albanian is in complete correspondence with the similar transformation in Roumanian. He is therefore entirely justified in concluding one ethnological origin for the two languages, but he is mistaken in his supposition that either the pre-Roman Roumanians spoke a language related to the Illyrian, or that both nations before coming under Roman influence absorbed a foreign and non-Indo-Germanic element. It is hardly disputable that the pre-Roman element of the Roumanian was the Dacian nationality; this, however, is shown to be of Thracian race, both by the records of antiquity and by the remains of its language, though these are certainly exiguous. Hence it follows that the basis of Albanian was Thracian. We have, moreover, no record whatever of the existence of any non-Indo-Germanic people in these districts; the Bulgarians belonged to a much later period.

From the geographical point of view, no difficulty stands in the way of the hypothesis of a Thracian origin for Albanian. The Thracian nationality extended formerly to the borders of Macedonia, whence the road to Illyria and Epirus lay open through the valley of the Haliakmon (the modern Grammo), and from the sources of these there would be no difficulty in descending the valley of the Eordaieus (the modern Devol). Thus the immigrants would arrive in the district of Elbassan. Though this town is not the Albanopolis, the capital of the Albanoi mentioned by Ptolemæus (Elbassan was known in antiquity as Skampa), yet, on the other hand, the district of those Albanians was situated precisely in this neighbourhood. They are mentioned side by side with the Taulantians, the Eordaians, and the Dassaretes, and the modern district of Arberi, from which, as we have mentioned above, the name of Albanian is derived, lies but a little further south.

B. The History of Albanian Independence to the Time of Skanderbeg

Our information upon the actual history of the Albanians is for the most part very fragmentary. Native historical sources there are none; we are reduced to the references derived from the history of those nations with whom the Albanians were brought into connection. Hence our chief sources are the Byzantine chroniclers, "who trouble themselves very rarely about these remote provinces." Our earliest direct information belongs to the year 1042; at that date, after subjugating the Bulgarian revolt, Michel Paphlago, the governor of Dyrrhachium, gathered an army of sixty thousand men from his province and advanced with it against the Serbs. When the Normans made their expeditions of conquest (1081–1101; p. 92), the rule of the despots of Epirus from the house of the Komnenes begins (until 1318; p. 109). The land then fell again into the hands of the Byzantine emperors; but the restless population repeatedly rose in revolt, and the most cruel coercion failed to secure a definite pacification. In the year 1343 fresh disturbances broke out, of which the Servian king, Stephan Dusan, took advantage to conquer the whole of Albania, Thessalia, and Macedonia, and assumed the corresponding title of emperor of these countries (p. 109 f.). Upon his death the Servian kingdom fell into confusion, and Nicephorus, son of the last despot, attempted to seize the government of Albania, but was defeated by the Albanians and killed in battle (1357–1358). The Albanians now fell again partly into the hands of the Servian despot Simon. As, however, he troubled himself but little about the country, the Albanians founded two practically independent provinces,—a southern province under Gjinos Vayas, and a northern province under Peter Ljoshas. Then began a period of Albanian migration, during which large portions of Macedonia, Thessalia, Ætolia, and Acarnania were occupied by parties starting from Durazzo. Thence the Albanians spread further to Livadia, Bœotia, Attica, South Eubœa, and the Peloponnese (see p. 219). After the death of Peter Ljoshas (1374), John Spata seized the town of Arta. His rule was a period of long struggles with different opponents, which continued almost until his death in 1400. About this time most of the country was conquered by Carlo I Tocco (died July 4, 1429); he bequeathed what he had won to his nephew Carlo II Tocco of Cephallenia (p. 133), but was obliged, however, to cede the town of Janina in 1430 to Murad II, and to acknowledge his supremacy.

The process of converting the country to Mohammedanism then began, which has continued till within the last century. It was chiefly the upper classes that embraced Mohammedanism, and for this reason they were able to found native dynasties, which in some cases actually acquired hereditary rule. Of these native pashas of Janina the best known is Ali, who was born in 1741 at Tepeleni, and murdered on February 5, 1822, in a summer house on the lake of Janina, by Khurshid Pasha (see Fig. 2 of the plate facing page 188).

North Albania, which had become a Servian province, has a history of its own. About the year 1250 it went over to the Catholic Church, as appears from the letters of Pope Innocent IV. The family legend of the Miredite chieftain preserves the memory of this event. The disruption from Servia, in which the noble family of the Balzen took a prominent part, occurred after the death of Stephan Dusan (1355) about 1368.

With the year 1383 begin the invasions of the Osmans, which the Albanians opposed with Venetian help. Among these Turco-Albanian struggles those of Skanderbeg stand out prominently. Shortly after 1403, when the son of Yban Kastrioti (Johann Kastriota), the dynast of Mat, and Voisava, the Servian princess of Polog, was born,[1] Georg Kastrioti was carried off in 1423, with his three brothers, by the Emir, Murad II, in the course of an incursion into southern Albania, kept as a hostage for his father's fidelity, and employed in the royal Seraglio. There he was brought up in the Mohammedan faith, and given the name of Skander (Iskander or Alexander) Beg. Conspicuous for his handsome form and intellectual powers, he soon obtained a superior post in the administration. In 1442, upon the death of his father, Yban, his principality was occupied by the Emir, and his brothers were killed. The revolts conducted by Arianites Komnenos (died 1461), Depas (Thopia), and Zenempissa were crushed by the Osmans. Kastriota concealed his thirst for vengeance, and remained in the Turkish service as if nothing had occurred. When, however, at the close of 1443 the Hungarians defeated the Turks (p. 134), Georg escaped, with three hundred Albanians, from the Turkish camp, and seized Kruja, (Kroja, Croja) by treachery. He readopted Christianity, inspired his compatriots to fight for their independence, and occupied the whole district in a month. All the chiefs placed themselves under his command, and paid tribute for the maintenance of the revolt. Skanderbeg continued the war with vigour, and in 1444, with fifteen thousand men, he defeated the Turkish army forty thousand strong under Ali Pasha and other Osman generals in the district of Dibra (Divra, on the Black Drim). In the year 1449 he attacked Murad with one hundred thousand men, but was defeated and forced to withdraw from Kruja, which he besieged. After the death of Murad II, in 1451, he remained victorious upon the whole (p. 142), notwithstanding disunion among the chieftains and several defeats which he suffered; in the ten years'

[1] Branilo, Serb, captain of the Servian prince Alex. Gioritch of Ballona at Kanina (about 1356)

Descendants, intermarried with Albanians (Thopia and others)

Johannes Kastriota, count of Mat, from 1410 vassal of the Osman emir, G. Voisava, daughter of the Servian lord of Polog

Staniša G. Türkin — two other sons — Georg (Skanderbeg), * after 1403, † 1478 G. Andronike, daughter of the Arianites Komnenos — daughter married G. Stefan Tshernoievitch of Montenegro (1419–56) — daughter married brother of the Arianites Komnenos — daughter married one Thopia — two other daughters

Hamsa (Branas Kastriota)

Musachi Thopia, † 1455

Johann, lord of Soleto in Naples and duke of San Pietro in Galatina married Irene of Servia

daughter

Baron Fossacena of Naples (1900)

Marchese Auletta Kastriota of Naples [about 1900]

"Prince" Juan d'Aladro Kastriota, * in Spain, diplomatic agent of Spain at the Hague, Albanian pretender since Feb. 1902

armistice of May, 1461, Albania was formally ceded to him. He showed great organising ability, and made the country a stronghold of Christianity, and his vigorous services to this faith induced Pope Pius II to select him as general for his proposed crusade in the year 1464 (p. 144). The result of this movement was a further outbreak of war, and once again the Turks were defeated. But on January 17, 1468, Skanderbeg died at Alessio (Ljesh, near the mouth of the Drin). His son being still a minor, the Turks were victorious. It cost them, however, ten years' fighting before they reconquered Kruja, on June 15, 1478, and succeeded, thanks to the retreat of Venice (p. 146), in bringing the land under their sway in 1479. After that date large bodies emigrated from North Albania, and the majority of the Albanian colonies in Italy belong to that period (cf. above, p. 220). Another part of the conquered Albanians preferred to remain upon the spot and accept Mohammedanism, while the remaining third fled into the mountain gorges.

C. Albania in the Nineteenth Century

The forty years of struggle carried on by Ali to secure his despotism (pp. 176, 224) had so entirely accustomed this wild people to a military life, that when the Greek revolution broke out upon and after the fall of the despot (capitulation of Janina, January 10, 1822) they eagerly seized this fresh opportunity for plunder and booty. The Mohammedan Albanians joined the Turks, while the Christians, especially the Armatoles and Klephts (in particular the Suliots), living in the southern mountains joined the Greeks. In the course of this long struggle with their Mohammedan brothers the Christian Albanians were largely exterminated. After the battle of Navarino, 1827, the energy of the Albanians was turned against the Turks. They revolted under Arslan Bey and Mustafa Pasha of Scutari, and their rising was favoured by the Russo-Turkish war, the simultaneous revolt of Daud Pasha in Bagdad, and the insurrection of Mehemed Ali in Egypt. After the conclusion of the peace of Adrianople in 1829 Reshid Pasha appeared upon the scene with the whole of the Turkish army. In 1831 the revolt broke out once again; but, when Mustafa was defeated by Reshid Pasha at Perlape, the Albanians were again obliged to submit. A later revolt of the Mohammedan population extended into Albania after 1843, as a consequence of a general levy of troops from the mountain regions of Rumelia to Bulgaria. Omar Pasha defeated the Albanians in 1844 at Kaplanly and Kalkandelen and conquered Prishtina. A further revolt in the summer of 1848 was speedily suppressed.

In the year 1879 the Northern Albanians opposed the concession of a part of Albania to Servia and Montenegro, which had been arranged by the treaty of Berlin, but in 1880 and again in 1881 their revolts were subdued by Dervish Pasha. In 1887 disturbances broke out in Albania upon the imposition of a new land tax. These movements were repeated from year to year in the pursuit of blood feuds, frontier quarrels, etc. So lately as the outset of 1902 Khemsi Pasha had some trouble in restoring peace at Diakovo; but in 1904 the revolt was renewed. A significant fact is the vigorous interest taken in the solution of the "Albanian question" by the leader of the Young Turkish movement, Ismail Kemâl Bey (p. 194), who made Brussels his base of operations. In the spring of 1902 Aladro Kastriota, a supposed descendant of Skanderbeg (see genealogical tree on p. 225), attempted to stir national Albanian feeling, though without any immediate success.

IV

BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, AND SILESIA PREVIOUS TO THEIR UNION WITH AUSTRIA IN THE YEAR 1562

By DR. BERTHOLD BRETHOLZ

1. PRELIMINARY GEOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATION

THE general term "Sudetic Lands," as employed to include Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, is only partially founded upon geographical facts. These countries, as compared with the neighbouring regions of the Alps and Carpathians, form in any case a uniform district, of which the component parts are not divided from one another by any great mountainous frontier, while they are collectively distinguished from the adjoining territories by the uniformity of their elevation. On the other hand, all three countries are completely independent of one another by reason of their respective hydrographical isolation, and from the fact that they are watered by different river systems. Bohemia's river system converges on the Elbe and flows towards the North Sea; Moravia's waters are carried by the March to the Danube, while the main river of Silesia, the Oder, empties itself into the Baltic. In respect of configuration, also, two of these countries are not materially distinguished from the adjoining territories. Bohemia alone is a land enclosed on all sides by natural frontiers; the southern boundary of Moravia, on the other hand, lies entirely open towards Austria, while its boundary on the Bohemian side is marked by the Bohemian and Moravian highlands. Silesia, again, possesses a natural frontier only upon the south and southwest, — that is, on the side of Bohemia and Moravia, and not upon the north and the east.

Three great independent mountain ranges divide Bohemia from its non-Austrian neighbours: the Böhmer Wald divides it from Bavaria, the Erz Gebirge from Saxony, and from Silesia the Riesen Gebirge and the Sudeten, which at the same time form the northeastern boundary of Bavaria. The boundary between Moravia and Hungary is chiefly occupied by the western spurs of the Carpathians, offshoots of which form a natural bridge between the Carpathians and the Alps. All these mountain ranges are, however, but of moderate height (the highest peaks in the Riesen Gebirge reach an average height of just over five thousand feet); they are, however, distinguished by thick forests and great scenic beauty, while the Erz Gebirge is volcanic in character, as is proved by the numerous ancient and historically famous hot springs and baths of Bohemia.

The hydrographical system of Bohemia appears as one isolated watercourse running through the centre of the country from north to south, and receiving all the streams from west and east. The Moldau rises in the Böhmer Wald, and first flows in a northerly direction from Prague to Melnik until its confluence with the

Elbe, the Elbe flowing from the Riesen Gebirge first in a southerly and then in a northwesterly direction. The course of these rivers and of their tributaries — on the left the Vottava, Beraun, and Eger, and on the right the Luschnitz and Sazava — points to a gradual slope of the country from the frontiers towards the centre. Moravia, on the contrary, slopes southwards, as is shown by the course of the March; this also receives the streams from the Bohemian and Moravian highlands on the west, the Zwittava, Schwarzava, Oslava, Iglava, and Thaya, together with tributaries from the Sudeten and Carpathian Mountains, the Thess, Bistritza, Bechva, and Oslava. The upper reaches alone of the Oder lie within our district; it rises on Moravian soil, forms part of the frontier between Moravia and Silesia, and receives tributaries both from the Sudeten (the Oppa) and from the Beskiden (Ostravitza, Olsa). The natural and comparatively easy passage from the Oder to the March at the "Moravian Gate" made the valley of these two streams one of the most important lines in communication from the earliest period; its importance has been commemorated in the name "Amber Road," and its value consisted in the fact that it was an immediate means of communication between the Baltic coast and the Danube, and thus formed a passage from the Roman Empire to German territory. Thus geographical configuration informs us of the important part which two at least of these districts have played in the commerce of the world, at an epoch upon which we have no written source of information.

Access to Bohemia was made possible in antiquity by a number of mountain passes as well as by the waterway of the Elbe; here were formed the earliest lines of commercial intercourse, which, in spite of advanced civilization and intercommunication, have remained fixed by the topographical character of the country. In particular the need of salt, which was not to be found in the Sudeten countries, obliged the early opening of intercourse with all parts of the world, from Bohemia to the Saxon districts (Halle), from Bohemia and Moravia to the Danube district (Salzkammergut), from Moravia and Silesia to Hungary and Poland. In Carolingian times we hear of imports of iron and metals into these Slavonic countries, and also of exports of furs, wax, horses, and slaves. Prague was an important commercial centre of the tenth century, and, according to the evidence of a Jewish traveller, Ibrahim ibn-Yakub, was visited by Russian and Slavonic merchants from Cracow, and by Mohammedans and Jews; it was in connection with Passau and Regensburg by means of tracks over the Böhmer Wald, with Erfurt and Halle by the passes of the Erz Gebirge, and with Meissen by the difficult "Serbensteig." The Riesen Gebirge, according to the testimony of Thietmar, was crossed from early times by the difficult path which ran towards Iglau, that is, towards the Bohemo-Moravian frontier; it there joined the ancient line of communication leading from the interior of Bohemia through Moravia to Poland upon the one hand and Hungary upon the other. The connection of Moravia with Austria was early accomplished by means of bridges over the Thaya River. As the navigable rivers and the tracks which entered the country from without, and were continued within it, formed the first sign-posts pointing to permanent settlements, so also did the complex system of smaller rivers within the country. Apart from the earliest Germanic civilization in the first centuries of our era, concerning which geography has no clear evidence to give, we may at any rate establish the fact that Slavonic emigrants crossed the frontier forests and took possession of the

valleys and plains. Here they founded their little villages in circular form, or more often in oblong shape, upon either side of some one thoroughfare; here the nobles erected their "castles," often in swamps and upon river islands. The above-mentioned Ibrahim has given us a description of the road to Prague as it was in the second half of the tenth century: "The road runs across mountains and through wildernesses; at the end of the forest there is a swamp of about two miles in length, over which a bridge has been thrown to the town of Prague." Kosmas says of the Moravian castle of Podivin, that it lay in the middle of the river Zuratka (Schwarzava).

German colonisation then produced a great transformation in the topography of the country. In Silesia the Slav had brought scarcely one-third of the arable area under cultivation in more than six centuries, and when we consider what wide districts in the east and north of Moravia the Germans were the first to colonise, we can gain a general picture of the civilization of the Sudeten country from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The princes who invited the Germans into Slavonic territory were well aware of the advantageous configuration of their district, and knew that it promised a new and profitable sphere for all those branches of agricultural activity which had long been practised in Western Germany. The employment of the heavy German iron plough instead of the light Slavonic mattock vastly increased the productivity of the soil. New objects of cultivation, especially the vine, which were introduced by the colonists, have for centuries played a most important part in the domestic economy of the towns and monasteries. The clearing of the forests and the deforestation of the country advanced uniformly with colonisation. The Germans by their mining operations opened up a source of wealth and financial activity of which the Slavs had never dreamed; a number of towns (Kuttenberg in Bohemia, Iglau in Moravia, Benischau in Silesia, and others) owe their origin and development to copper smelting. This work of civilization was originally led by the monasteries, which were founded and maintained in large numbers by the princes and nobility, especially the monasteries of the Cistercian and Præmonstratian orders, whose activity can be clearly traced, especially in Moravia and Silesia. Both countries, which were but ill provided with monasteries and foundations until the middle of the twelfth century, developed in the course of this and the next century many such centres of intellectual and economic life which rapidly developed into large territorial lordships. Side by side with these, the towns and villages developed on the basis of German rights into independent corporations, partly in connection with older and smaller settlements, but in many cases by fresh settlements in the districts hitherto uninhabited. Another new feature which completed the transformation was the rise, in and after the twelfth century, of numerous castles belonging to the great and small landowners of the upper and lower nobility. These were erected for the most part upon heights, mountain peaks, steep precipices, and dominated the adjoining territory, with the land or water ways which pass beneath them. In the fourteenth century most of them became notorious as the eyries of robber knights, who were a continual object of annoyance to the town populations; now their romantic ruins remain to us as the last memorial of their former political and economic power.

Upon the whole the distribution of nationalities corresponds with this historical course of development, although here, too, many changes in detail have taken

place from age to age. At the present day the plains of Bohemia, with the central part of the country and the east boundary towards Moravia, are occupied by the Slavonic population, while the Germans surround them in a fairly continuous ring on the north, west, and south. Colonies of German-speaking nationalities of greater or smaller size are also to be found sporadically in the interior. Finally, the German race has largely modified the population of all the larger towns; in fact the central point and the earliest settlement of the Germans in Bohemia is the German colony in Prague, the existence of which is evidenced as early as the eleventh century. In Moravia national distinctions are less strongly marked; but here also the largest continuous Germanic area exists in the mountainous north and on the lower Austrian frontier. In Moravia the essentially German character of all the large towns is more strongly marked than in Bohemia; these again are in connection with the greater or smaller isolated German settlements, such as Iglau, Brünn, Wischau, Neutitschein, and others. In Silesia the conditions are entirely similar.

As regards the numbers of the populations in the mediæval towns of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, direct evidence is hardly obtainable in any case, and calculations have been made concerning very few places. Thus it is said that in the year 1390 Eger had 7,155 inhabitants, in the year 1446, 7,340, and in the year 1500, 5,525. Information from a wholly unreliable source concerning the town of Olmütz (in the year 1060, 10,000 inhabitants, in the year 1415, 29,000) contradicts all other experience. On the other hand, the estimate of 1466 taken from the papal document of that year, to the effect that there were about 12,000 communicants in Brünn, appears not incredible.

The natural position of the Sudetic countries as a link between the east and west and the north and south of Europe, together with the great wealth and fertility of their soil, explains the important position which they once occupied. Attempts have been made at different times to make them the centre of a great empire; as, for instance, in the time of Samo, under the Moravian dynasty of Moimir, or again in the case of Bohemia during the domination of the Přemyslids, and finally by the Luxemburg kings. These efforts have sooner or later resulted in total failure, probably in large measure from the fact that the interconnection of these three countries is by no means so strong as that of Silesia with the north and of Moravia with the southern neighbouring States, a relation further indicated by the configuration of the country.

2. THE PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD

THE conclusions of those who have investigated the pre-historic period in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia are marked by wide divergency. While the majority of them support the view that here, as in other districts of Central Europe, Celts, Germans, and Slavs followed one another, yet other inquirers assert that the Slavs are indigenous to these districts. Between these two views stand suppositions apparently more moderate, to the effect that the Hercynian Boii were not in any way related to the Celtic Boii, that the Marcomannian kingdom had its centre on Bavarian soil, or that both the Celtic and the Germanic people occupied but very limited portions of Bohemia and Moravia. In view of all this uncertainty

it would appear difficult to suppose that in the heart of Europe a wide district remained untouched for centuries, like a lonely island in the midst of the heaving ocean, or that the mighty waves of Celtic and Germanic migration, which are attested by sure evidence, were beaten back by the mountain ranges of Bohemia and the neighbouring countries on the east. It is far more probable that one of the earliest waves of that Germanic migration which drove the Cimbri and Teutons southwards about the year 115 B. C. washed over the soil of Bohemia and Moravia. Poseidonios informs us that the Cimbri upon their march attacked the Boii in the Hercynian forest, were driven back, and turned aside to the Ister. We may interpret this information to mean that the Cimbri invaded Bohemia over the Erz Gebirge from the north, that after an unsuccessful struggle with the Boii they turned aside to the plains of the March, and thence reached the Danube, Pannonia, and eventually the Skordiski on the Save.

About two generations after these events, about the year 60 B. C., the Boii evacuated the country to which they have permanently given their name, — Boiohæmum, Boiahaim, Bœhmen, or Bohemia, — most of them removing to Pannonia or Noricum. In the time of C. Julius Cæsar the inhabitants of the Hercynian mountain forest are said to have been a Celtic tribe of the Volcæ Tectosages. They, however, were expelled or subjugated by the advancing Marcomanni, who had settled earlier on the Main; this movement was carried out under the leadership of Mar(o)bod about the year 12 B. C. About the same time the Quadi, who were related to the Marcomanni, found a settlement in Moravia. The name of this country in its oldest form, Mar-aha, Mar-awa, appears as a compound of two old German words, the one meaning "a spring" and the other "water;" as a matter of fact, the name of the district corresponds with the name of the main river, the March. Our evidence for the early Germanic occupation of Silesia rests upon a basis no more certain than the evidence for Bohemia and Moravia; the name of Silesia is derived from that of the German tribe of the Vandilian Silingi, of whom Ptolemaios also speaks as dwelling in this district. The history of the Marcomanni and the Quadi in Bohemia and Moravia, so far as it is known to us, is confined to military conflicts with the Romans, which grew more frequent under the emperor Marcus Aurelius (165–180 A. D.). The triumphal column which he erected in Rome in memory of his victory over these nations displays, even at the present day, a magnificent representation of these struggles, with many valuable details of the life of the Quadi in ancient Moravia.

Though the result of this war seemed to have portended the destruction of these nations, yet their name continues for another three centuries, until the westward expedition of Attila drove the main body of the Marcomanni and the Quadi, like so many other German tribes, out of their settlements. During the fifth and sixth centuries the deserted districts are said to have been occupied by many other German tribes, — the Heruli, Rugii, Langobardi; of these events we have no accurate knowledge. The historical centre of gravity lay at that time exclusively in the European west and south, where a number of Germanic races were attempting to found new empires upon the ruins of Rome.

During these centuries, when the history of Central Europe is veiled in deep obscurity, proceeded the steady emigration of the Slavs into the wide districts between the Elbe and the Vistula, and southwards to the Danube districts, which had been deserted by the general migration of the Germans

to Roman territory. It is indeed not entirely clear whether the stream came exclusively from the upper reaches of the Vistula, or whether strong bodies of emigrants may not have come to Moravia and Northern Hungary from the Slav kingdoms on the south.

However, before the Slav races could attain any political organisation in their new homes, they succumbed about the middle of the sixth century to the Avars, who advanced from the south of the Danube in a westerly and northerly direction as far as Thuringia. The period of their subjugation seems to have lasted for about half a century, until the Slav population on the central Danube succeeded in shaking off the yoke of the Avars under the leadership of one Samo, whose Frankish origin cannot be disputed. The result of this success was the founding of an extensive Slav empire, the central point of which may have been situated in the Moravia and Bohemia of to-day. It had, however, no permanent existence, and after the death of Samo (685) the empire fell to pieces.

3. THE MORAVIAN EMPIRE OF THE HOUSE OF MOIMIR

THE further development of the Slav settlement, its extension, and its political organisation are hidden from us by a gap in tradition, extending over more than a century and a half. We may, however, conclude that the international development of the country progressed considerably, from the Bohemian legend as related by Kosmas in the beginning of the twelfth century, which tells of Krok, Libusha, and of Přemysl, the farmer of Staditz, who was called from the ploughshare to the throne, and became the ancestor of the first royal house of Bohemia.

It is probable that political and social life in Moravia developed much more quickly and strongly during the same period; for before Bohemia emerges from the obscurity of legend into the clear light of history, there rises on Moravian soil, quietly and without any legendary history, a self-contained principality known as the Moravian kingdom of the Moimirids, after the founder of the dynasty, Moimir (Mojmir). During the military period of Charles the Great it is unknown, and only appears in its full power during the peaceful reign of Louis the Pious. While Moimir did homage to the German emperor and offered presents, he extended his power eastwards, driving out of his country the neighbouring Slav prince who had settled in Neitra. The Frankish counts in the East Mark and in Pannonia had every opportunity of watching the growth of the neighbouring Moravian kingdom, and the fact that the Slav prince took refuge with them upon his expulsion, and received their support, tends to show that Moimir's aspirations met with no approval upon this side. However, serious opposition to the powers rising on the frontier of the empire formed no part of the policy of Louis the Pious.

After the treaty of Verdun (843) Louis the German took over, with his districts in the East, the task of securing the supremacy of the empire formerly founded by the emperor Charles over the neighbouring Slavs; it was inevitable that a struggle between the two States should break out, as indeed the Franks had already expected on their side. Even the fragmentary descriptions which have come down to us give an idea of the fury and extent of this struggle, in which the weaker side, the Moimirid principality, always reappears upon the scene, heroically maintaining its position in spite of repeated defeat. Moimir himself escaped into his fortified

castles from the first attack which the German king delivered in the year 846. His rule, however, was brought to an end by a domestic conspiracy led by his own nephew Rastiz (Rastislav). The second Moimirid then received the inheritance of his uncle from the hands of the Franks, to govern the land likewise under their supremacy. The struggle, however, soon broke out anew, because Rastislav followed in his predecessor's footsteps, and strove to secure complete independence of the Frankish kingdom. German armies repeatedly marched upon Moravia in the years 855, 864, 866, and 869. However, no decisive battle took place. At one time by pretended submission, and at another by flight into his impregnable castles, Rastislav forced the Franks either to make peace or to retire from the inhospitable country. Once again domestic treachery placed the Moravian prince in the power of Louis (870). The defeater of Rastislav, his nephew Svatopluk (Zwentibold), secured the supremacy over the whole of Moravia under the protectorate of France, while his uncle was punished by blinding and confinement in a French monastery.

The political struggle for the foundation of a powerful Slav empire was accompanied, from the outset, by a serious attempt to break the ecclesiastical ties which united these countries with Germany. German, Italian, and Greek priests were working simultaneously in the country, and the obviously disastrous consequences to the land afforded the prince Rastislav a plausible excuse for appearing before the Roman Pope Nicholas I with a request that he should decide what priests should henceforward be permitted to preach and teach in Moravia. The Pope, however, is said to have declined to consider the question, or perhaps to have decided it against the wishes of the Moravian prince, who in 863 asked for fresh teachers from the Greek emperor Michael III, to preach the true faith to the Moravian nation in their own language. The mission was entrusted to the brothers Constantine (Kyrillos, Cyrillus) and Methodius of Thessalonica (p. 77). Their spiritual work in Moravia began in the year 864; as, however, they possessed no high ecclesiastical rank, they confined themselves at first to the education of the children. As they desired to fulfil the object of their mission, the introduction of divine service in the Slavonic language, both into the Moravian and also into the neighbouring Slav kingdom of the Pannonian prince Kozel, the brothers, accompanied by the most capable of their scholars, betook themselves to Rome in 867, in order to secure the Pope's permission for the use of the Slavonic liturgy. Pope Hadrian II is said to have fulfilled the wish of the Moravians in 868. Feeling, however, a presentiment of approaching death, Constantine resolved not to return to Moravia; he entered the monastery at Rome, took the name Cyril as a monk, and died shortly afterwards, on February 14, 869. The continuation of his apostolic work was left to his brother Methodius, who had been consecrated bishop in Rome. Hardly, however, had he returned to Moravia with the intention of resuming the struggle against the German clergy, so successfully begun, when the revolution took place, which cost Rastislav his throne and freedom, and transferred Moravia practically into a Frankish mark. Methodius then succumbed to his opponents; for two years and a half, during the first years of the reign of Svatopluk in Moravia, he remained a prisoner in a German monastery.

Friendly as were the relations existing between the new Moravian prince and the neighbouring German Empire, and in particular with Karlmann the count of the East Mark, they continued but a short time. So soon as Karlmann had

reason to suspect the fidelity of Svatopluk, he seized his person and his property, and retained him at his court in honourable confinement, with the idea that his removal would make it easier to establish Frankish supremacy in Moravia. However, the oppressed Moravian population began a desperate attempt to secure their freedom. Karlmann thought that he could intrust the task of crushing this movement to no more suitable person than Svatopluk, so entirely had the Slav won the confidence of the German. Hardly, however, did Svatopluk find himself among his own people than he gave rein to his long-repressed fury, and with one blow destroyed not only the army which had been sent to his support, but also all semblance of Frankish dominion in Moravia. In the two following years (872 and 873) Karlmann was unable to break down the resistance of Svatopluk. Not until the year 874 have we direct evidence of the conclusion of a peace at Forchheim, under which Svatopluk promised fidelity, obedience, and the usual annual tribute. Peace for eight years followed this act of submission.

During the period of this national rising the Moravians also remembered Methodius in his imprisonment abroad; their representations at Rome eventually induced Pope John VIII to order the Bavarian bishops to liberate the Moravian apostle. Methodius immediately proceeded (about the outset of the year 873) to Kozel, in the Pannonian principality, and shortly afterwards to Moravia, where he was received with marks of high respect on the part of the prince and people. Svatopluk, however, failed to appreciate the help which might have been given to his political plans by a firm establishment of the Slavonic church in the country. During the dogmatic quarrels between Methodius and the Bavarian clergy he maintained a position of neutrality; he went so far as to express the wish that Methodius should prove his orthodoxy in Rome before the Pope. The latter was thus for the second time obliged to journey thither, and in the year 880 returned to his diocese under full papal protection, and with further recognition of the dignity of his position. Even now, however, it was impossible for him to gain a complete victory over his opponents in Moravia; the Bavarian clergy maintained their position in the country, and threw obstacles in his way. It was not until the last years of his life (he died on April 6, 885) that his position in Moravia became more peaceful.

Within this period (882–884) occurred many violent political struggles between Svatopluk and the neighbouring Frankish districts. The Moravian prince then appeared as the protector of one portion of two families who were struggling to secure the position of count in the Traungau and in the East Mark, while Arnulf (Arnolf), the son of Karlmann, who governed the marks of Karantania and Pannonia, supported the opposition party. The war began in 882. In 883 Svatopluk was raging in Pannonia "like a wolf," and in the following year hostilities were renewed. The feud was only repressed upon the interference of the emperor Charles III in the East Mark in August, 884. In 885 peace was concluded between Svatopluk and Arnulf, which resulted in a mutual understanding so complete that, when Arnulf became candidate for the crown of Germany in Frankfort in the year 887, Svatopluk zealously supported him.

Under such circumstances the work of Cyril and Methodius could not flourish in Moravia, the more so as the death of the latter had thrown the entire responsibility upon the feeble shoulders of a disciple. In the very year of the death of Methodius, the year of Svatopluk's reconciliation with the Franks, a general perse-

cution of the disciples of Methodius began in Moravia; only a few received permission from Svatopluk to leave the country. The Slav priests then took refuge in the south Slavonic countries, where their liturgy found a field unexpectedly productive (p. 78).

Thus politically as well as ecclesiastically Moravia remained in peaceful dependence upon the Frankish empire until the year 890. At that time divergent conceptions concerning the relation of the Moravian princes to the German king brought forth new points of difference, which were only to be solved by further fighting. In the first campaign in 892, and more especially in the following year, the Moravians held the field; but in the year 895, when the power of the Slav kingdom for resistance was to be tested for the third time, Svatopluk died a sudden but natural death. With him disappeared irrevocably the whole splendour of the Moravian kingdom. The violent struggle between the brothers, who were the heirs of Svatopluk, accelerated the downfall, and the strength of the country was further weakened by the secession of both Bohemian and Silesian districts, over which the military power of Svatopluk had extended his dominion. Under these circumstances it was impossible for the country to resist for any length of time the fearful attacks of the Magyars, who advanced with barbaric ferocity. In the year 906 Moravia succumbed to this enemy, whom she had hardly had time to observe, much less to fear, after concluding in the year 901 a peace with her great enemy the Franks, which in no way limited her constitutional independence. The Moimirids had eyes only for the limitations which hindered their national development upon the West, and failed to see the dangers which threatened their unprotected eastern frontier; this neglect brought about the downfall of their carefully constructed empire.

4. THE EMPIRE OF THE PŘEMYSLIDS

A. The Struggles of Early Development (until 1140)

The downfall of the old Moravian kingdom made room for the development of other Slavonic States which had existed under the protection and government of the Moimirid Empire at the time of its highest power; such were the Bohemian duchy on the west and the Polish duchy on the northeast of Moravia. The fortunes of Bohemia in particular were, during the ninth century, often closely linked with those of her more important neighbour on the east. The expeditions of the Franks were on several occasions directed against both countries. The activity of the Slav apostles in Moravia seems not to have been unheeded in Bohemia; there is evidence for the fact that the Bohemian Duke Bořivoi was baptised by Methodius. In individual points, however, the relations of the two countries in politics and religion are somewhat obscure, for the reason that the history of Bohemia is of a very legendary character until late in the ninth century. Bořivoi, a contemporary of Svatopluk, is the first historical prince in Bohemia, and his name follows a long series of mythical rulers.

However, the foundation of a uniform kingdom, and the definite establishment of the Christian faith in Bohemia, belongs to the period of the sons of Bořivoi, Spitigněv (Spitihněv) and Wratislav, and his grandsons Wenzel the Saint and

Boleslav I. As early as the reign of Wenzel (Wenceslaus; see Figs. 1 and 2 of the plate facing page 248) took place the first inevitable collision between the German Empire, which had gained in strength since the time of Henry the Fowler, and the Slav power, which had grown up during the Hungarian wars. The struggle had fatal effects upon German prosperity. Wenzel was a peace-loving prince, whose mind was bent more upon the salvation of the Church than on temporal success; he readily recognised the supremacy of the German king, and agreed to the old tribute, when Henry I appeared before Prague in the year 928. When, however, Wenzel in the course of domestic struggles lost his life in the year 935 at the hands of his brothers and allies, and Boleslav I, "the fratricide," became duke, the war with Germany broke out afresh. The Bohemian prince held out for a long time in the frontier fortresses and abattis, which protected his country against King Otto I, then hard pressed by enemies on many sides; eventually, however, Boleslav's strength grew feeble, and in 950 he submitted to the same conditions under which his brother and predecessor had recognised German supremacy. In the battle of the Lechfeld in the year 955 a Bohemian auxiliary force fought side by side with the troops of the united German races. Boleslav, who protected his frontiers against the impetuous Magyars, pursued the defeated enemy, and inflicted further defeat upon them.

About this time appeared a dangerous rival to the rising Přemyslid principality; this was the Polish Empire. We first become acquainted with the existence of this new power in the lowlands between the Oder and the Warthe about 963; its political centre was Gnesen, and it extended southwest to the modern Silesia, where it touched the Bohemian kingdom. At first the two Slav principalities maintained friendly relations; the Polish Duke Mesko I (Mieczyslav, Mscislav, Miseco; died 992) married Dubrava, the daughter of Boleslav I of Bohemia. She it was who won over both her husband and his people to Christianity. As early as the year 968 a Polish bishopric was founded in Posen, whereas the bishopric of Prague did not exist before the year 973 (probably 975). Bohemian auxiliary troops supported Mesko in his struggles against his northern neighbours. The Polish and Bohemian princes (this latter the son and namesake of Boleslav I) made an alliance, and joined in helping the Bavarian duke Henry against the Emperors Otto II and Otto III in the years 976 and 983–985. Then, however, the band of friendship between the two brothers-in-law was broken; Dubrava had died in 977. In the year 990 our authorities speak of the "bitter hostility" existing between the two, as the Pole had captured a considerable district "Regnum" from Bohemia, and had succeeded in maintaining his position in a series of battles. Accurate geographical information is wanting, but from the mention of the place Niemtsch (Nemci) it has been concluded that the scene of the war was Silesia. A long period of bitter struggle between the two neighbouring States followed, which severely tested the resources of the Přemyslid kingdom.

After about a century of development Bohemia had now arrived at a turning-point which is marked upon the one hand by a decline in political power, and on the other by violent domestic convulsions. That period came when Adalbert, the second bishop of Prague, abandoned "the blind nation rushing to its own downfall," left his country and his home, and preferred to sacrifice his life in missionary work among the savage Prussians (997). It is the period when a noble native family, the Slavnikings, from which Adalbert was sprung, was exterminated by Duke Bole-

slav II and the nobility. The contagion of discord soon extended to the royal family, and the Přemyslids and the Bohemians were governed by dukes, designated by the chroniclers as "basilisks," or "poisonous vipers."

Hardly had Boleslav III, the son of Boleslav II, assumed the government in the year 999 than he attempted to destroy his two younger brothers, Jaromir and Udalrich, and upon the failure of his attempt drove them out of the country with their mother; they found a refuge at the imperial court in Germany. The condition of affairs naturally enabled the warlike Polish Duke Boleslav I Chabri (Chrobry or Chrabry; 992–1025) to seize Bohemia, with the help of dissatisfied Bohemian nobles, at the outset of the year 1003, after previously conquering the German frontier land between the Oder and the Elbe, and also Moravia. He declined, however, to do homage to the emperor for his new dominions, and Henry II resolved to deprive the Pole of his latest acquisitions. Bohemia was reconquered at the first attack (1004), and Prince Jaromir was invested with the duchy of Bohemia. The struggle for the other conquests of the Pole ended in a long war between the German emperor, who was supported by the Bohemians, and Boleslav Chabri; the war occupied almost the entire reign of this prince.

In the course of the struggle between the Bohemian and Polish powers victory returned to the flag of the former, especially after the death of Boleslav Chabri (1025), when a period of internal confusion began in Poland; while in Bohemia, after the short rule of Jaromir, his brother Udalrich seized the reins of government, with the support of his bold son Břetislav. To Břetislav is in particular due the achievement of obtaining from Poland the land of Moravia in 1029, the last of the great conquests of the period of Boleslav Chabri. The union of this district with Bohemia materially increased the prestige and the strength of the Přemyslid dynasty.

After the death of his father Udalrich (1034) Břetislav took over the sole government. In 1039 he undertook an expedition into Poland with a large army, and made a victorious advance as far as Gnesen, plundering and devastating the land on all sides. At the point where the corpse of the Bishop of Prague, Adalbert, had been laid to rest after his martyrdom at the hands of the Prussians (997), Břetislav atoned for the ingratitude of his forefathers to this noble man; he made his Bohemian and Moravian subjects renounce at the martyr's grave, while they were in arms, a number of heathen customs of long standing, against which Adalbert had already inveighed. The "sacred burden," the remains of the martyr, were then brought back to his native land. The conquests, however, of certain districts of Poland had to be abandoned when the emperor Henry III protested against them. Like Henry II before him, his son was determined to prevent the creation of a great Slav empire on the east of Germany. Břetislav accepted the challenge forthwith, and in the first year of the war (1040) he secured a great success. In the following year, however, the course of the campaign was so disastrous to the Bohemians, owing to the treacherous desertion of certain nobles to the emperor's cause, that the Bohemian ruler was forced to sue for peace. Only two Silesian districts of his Polish conquests were left to him, and these were shortly afterwards perforce restored to the Polish prince in return for a yearly tribute. Henceforward Břetislav renounced all military operations against the German Empire, and indeed supported the emperor in his campaigns, especially against Hungary. Břetislav

secured peace and quiet for the advancement of civilization and economic prosperity in his own territories. During his government in Bohemia and Moravia several important monasteries were founded. In the interior of his extensive empire he hoped to be able to secure permanent order, even after his death, through his heir. He bequeathed to his first-born son, Spitigněv, the government in Bohemia, together with the general right of supremacy; Moravia he divided among his three younger sons, Wratislav, Konrad, and Otto. A fifth son, Jaromir, was intended for the ecclesiastical profession.

Břetislav had, however, taken inadequate measures to secure the performance of these conditions, and the reaction began immediately after his death (1055). Spitigněv deprived his Moravian brothers of their rule, destroyed the nobility of Moravia, who attempted to offer resistance to his aggressive measures, and finally, for unknown reasons, expelled from Bohemia the Germans, who had acquired great influence during his father's reign; he also banished his mother, Judith von Schweinfurt, the first German princess who had occupied the throne of the Přemyslids. However, the government of Spitigněv lasted scarcely six years (1055–1061).

His brother and successor, Duke Wratislav II, reverted to his father's policy, both with relation to the government and the adjoining Moravian districts, and also in regard to his relations with the German emperor. Břetislav had given Moravia its first monastery by his foundation at Raigern (1048), and Wratislav, notwithstanding the great difficulties raised in his path by his brother Jaromir-Gebhard, bishop of Prague, founded the bishopric of Olmütz in 1062, which afterwards became the ecclesiastical centre of Moravia. Of very considerable importance to Bohemia and to the German Empire are the personal relations upon which Duke Wratislav entered with the emperor Henry IV; these endured unchanged during the whole government of the two rulers, notwithstanding the general secession of the princes from the emperor and the warnings of Pope Gregory VII. As a reward for this personal fidelity and for the constant military help which the formidable reputation of his troops was able to give the emperor, the Bohemian duke was rewarded at different times by neighbouring pieces of territory, though he was unable to maintain a permanent supremacy over them; and in the year 1086 he was allowed to assume the dignity of king, though this was merely a personal concession to himself. So great was the reputation possessed by Wratislav in Germany that the archbishop Wezilo of Mayence announced the elevation of the Bohemian duke to the dignity of king in these words to the Pope: "All are agreed that he would have been worthy of even higher favour, if any such could have been found for him." Only in his own house did Wratislav fail to secure peace. There were continual quarrels now with his brother the bishop of Prague, now again with his other brothers the Moravian princes, and also with his son and his nephews. These differences often caused local disturbance, and sometimes forced him to take up arms against his opponents. The cause of them among the Přemyslids — and they were to endure for almost the next century and a half — consisted in that regulation for the succession, the "Justitia Bohemorum," which Duke Břetislav is said to have arranged upon his death-bed; according to this, supremacy was to fall to the eldest son of the house.

It was the Moravian princes who more particularly revolted against the power of the Duke of Bohemia in the attempt to establish their claim to the Bohemian

throne. During the reign of the two successors of Wratislav (died 1092), his sons Břetislav II and Bořivoi, we have struggles with Udalrich of Brünn and Lutold of Znaim (1101), and some years later (1105 and 1107) with Duke Svatopluk of Olmütz; these produced very serious disturbances. At the same time the Přemyslid Empire was involved in numerous military enterprises abroad: at one time against Hungary, at another against Poland; now upon its own initiative, and again as following the German kings. The relations of the country to the empire were by no means disturbed by this internal confusion; on the contrary, the emperor was often called in as arbitrator. This struggle increases in dramatic force until it reaches its highest point in the year 1125. Duke Vladislav, also a son of Wratislav II, had died, and had been succeeded in the government by his younger brother Soběslav; he was opposed by his cousin Prince Otto of Olmütz, who found a powerful ally in King Lothar of Süpplingenburg. Hitherto German kings had offered no direct interference in the struggle of the Bohemian rivals, but Lothar led the army to Bohemia in person to support the cause of his protégé Otto. The result was the fearful battle of Kulm on February 18, 1126, in which not only the German knights in the king's service met with total defeat, but the Moravian prince was also slain.

The wars of succession were, however, not concluded. During the government of Soběslav (1125–1140) the country was in a continual state of internal ferment. However, the duke vigorously suppressed one conspiracy after another, and thus secured time to carry on his numerous foreign wars, chiefly against Poland, which he repeatedly devastated (1132–1135), then in the service of King Lothar, with whom he had made peace immediately after the battle of Kulm; he took part in Lothar's wars in Germany, Italy, and Hungary.

B. Vladisav II and his Successors until the Agreement of 1197

Under the successor of Sobeslav, his nephew Vladislav II, the smouldering fire blazed up. The youthful Bohemian duke was opposed simultaneously by a number of Bohemian Přemyslid princes, by the Moravian princes of Brünn, Olmütz, and Znaim, and by a portion of the Bohemian nobility. Thanks, however, to his own determination, to the fidelity of his followers (including his brother Thebald and the bishop of Olmütz, Heinrich Zdik), and also to the vigorous support afforded by the emperor Konrad II, a half-brother of his wife Gertrude, he forced the allies to retreat.

The struggles of the Duke of Bohemia with the Moravian Přemyslids, especially with Konrad of Znaim, endured for years. Eventually the forces of the latter were exhausted, and the world-inspiring idea of a second crusade diverted men's minds from the monotony of domestic strife. The close relations of Bohemia to the German Empire at that time, and also the energy of Bishop Heinrich of Olmütz, made the political movements felt in this country in full force. The summons for a crusade to Palestine (1147), and for a simultaneous enterprise against the heathen Wends on the lower Elbe and Vistula, was enthusiastically received by Bohemia and Moravia. Under the leadership of Bishop Heinrich and some of the Přemyslid princes, one party started off with the northern crusading army, while Duke Vladislav with a no less splendid force joined Konrad III and the eastern host,

though the duke was forced to return from Constantinople or Nikaia by reason of the great hardships of the campaign.

A few years later, on June 25, 1150, death deprived the duke of his faithful counsellor, Bishop Heinrich of Olmütz. The bishop was a personality of very high importance both in the ecclesiastical and political world. Fully penetrated by German ideas and German culture, he was respected both by the emperor Conrad and by Pope Eugenius III, who selected him for important diplomatic missions, such, for instance, as the attempted union between the Greek and Roman Churches proposed by the Pope. The Pope's words to the emperor respecting this bishop are more than a mere compliment: "Though we should have been very glad to keep with us for some time in high honour and affection this good and pious man, yet we send him back to your Highness, knowing as we do how great is your need of him." Between the years 1142 and 1147 we see Heinrich at least once every year at the German court, and in personal attendance upon the emperor Conrad. Heinrich's position in the empire can be well inferred from the words of the emperor in an official document, to the effect that he had chosen the bishop of Olmütz in preference to all the bishops in the empire, on account of his stainless faith as a teacher and mediator in all things pertaining to the service of God. His energy as regards Bohemia and Moravia was very considerably paralysed by the endless quarrels of the Přemyslids among themselves. The fact is, however, of importance that he was, by means of his connection with Germany, the first means of bringing the ideas of German civilization into Moravia and the Přemyslid countries; for the church of Olmütz, for instance, he secured, in full accordance with German custom, a grant of jurisdictional immunity, — a privilege which had hitherto been unknown in this district, and was soon to become of great importance to legal developments in Bohemia and Moravia.

The reign of Vladislav continued long after the death of Bishop Heinrich; the king lived in prosperity and fame to his latest years. The dangers threatened by Moravia had been obviated for the moment by establishing Bohemian Přemyslids in the divided principalities; it is true that many a banished Přemyslid prince was living abroad, only waiting for the moment when the throne of Vladislav should begin to totter; yet he was successful in preserving his rule for a long time from any shattering blow. An important means to this end was the fact that upon the accession of Frederic I Barbarossa to the German throne in 1152 Vladislav continued in the traditional path of fidelity to the emperor and empire. At the right moment, and by means of the dexterous mediation of Bishop Daniel of Prague, the tie between the two princes was drawn even closer (June, 1156). The Duke of Bohemia undertook to place his subjects at the emperor's disposal for military expeditions, and in return for this he received certain small concessions of territory, and also the honour of kingship, which, exactly seventy years before, had been conferred by the emperor Henry IV upon Wratislav II, the grandfather of Vladislav.

Bohemia now entered upon a military period. First of all the country shared in Barbarossa's Polish campaign of 1157, crossed the Oder, and cleared the path far into a foreign country for the imperial army. Though the enterprise had no importance for Bohemia itself, it was of great import to the independent principality of Silesia. This campaign, which was repeated in 1163, resulted in the recall of the sons of Vladislav II by the Polish duke Boleslav IV Kendzierzavy.

In 1146 he had driven his brother Vladislav II from the throne, and forced him to flee to his half-brother, the emperor Conrad III[1] of Germany (he died about the end of 1162 or the beginning of 1163). These children were then reinstated in their father's inheritance, Breslau, Glogau, and Oppeln. The Polish supremacy over these districts was indeed maintained for a considerable period. But the three princes, Boleslav, Mesko (Mieczyslav, Mscislav), and Conrad, who had spent the whole of their youth in Germany, were the first who brought Silesia within the area of Western civilization. It is of great historical importance that the Bohemian king co-operated in the first attempt to sunder Silesia from Poland, and connect it with the German Empire.

In the year following the Polish war the Bohemians received a summons to a campaign against Milan. The youthful Bohemian knights enthusiastically supported the summons, though the older nobility regarded the new policy with suspicion and distrust. Vladislav, without consulting his nobles, had been crowned by the emperor on January 11, 1158, at an imperial diet in Regensburg, and had agreed to Frederic's conditions, without their consent. Their opposition, however, went for nothing. The spirit and bravery of the Bohemian warriors contributed largely to secure victories for the emperor, both in this year and in his later campaigns and conflicts in Italy (1161, 1162, and 1167). It must be said that their plundering habits procured them an evil reputation both abroad and in the emperor's countries. Successful, too, was an expedition which King Vladislav led to Hungary in 1164, in order to support his protégé Stephan III in the struggle for the succession against Stephan IV, who was supported by the Byzantine emperor. The treasures of the Greek campaign provided a rich booty.

Towards the end of Vladislav's reign his relations with Frederic Barbarossa were clouded, for many reasons. Upon his resolve to transfer the government of Bohemia to his son Frederic without the consent of Barbarossa, the German emperor opposed this arbitrary action on the part of the Bohemian king, and, instead of Frederic, made his cousin Soběslav II duke of Bohemia. The immediate consequence was a protracted struggle for the throne. Frederic was obliged to give way at first, but at a later period he recovered the emperor's favour and reconquered the supremacy from Soběslav (1179).

In this struggle he was supported by Germany, and also, in particular, by the

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[1] The emperor Henry IV, † 1106

Agnes married 1. Frederic (I) of Suabia, † 1105; 2. Leopold III, the saint of Austria, † 1136 — Emperor Henry V, † 1125

1. Frederic (II) the one-eyed of Suabia, † 1147 married Judith, sister of Henry the Proud
Emperor Conrad III, † 1152
2. Leopold IV, † 1141
Henry II Jasomirgott, † 1177
Otto von Freising, † 1158
Agnes married Vladislav II of Poland, † end of 1162 or beginning of 1163

Emperor Frederic I Barbarossa, † 1190
Boleslav I the Long of Breslau (see Fig. 9 of plate facing p. 248)
Mesko of Ratibor
Conrad of Glogau (see Fig. 10 of plate facing p. 248)

Moravian prince Conrad Otto, who, in all probability, was sprung from a collateral branch of the Bohemian Přemyslids, and had succeeded under King Vladislav II to the principality of Znaim upon the extinction of a native line of rulers. From the beginning of Soběslav's reign, Brünn and Olmütz were governed by his younger brothers, Udalrich and Wenzel, so that the Moravian branch of the Přemyslids became entirely extinct about the year 1174. However, the struggle between Bohemia and Moravia broke out once again. The second reign of Frederic, the "inexperienced helmsman," as a contemporary chronicler names him, was no less short than the former; a popular rising forced him to flight, and he applied for help to the emperor. The ducal throne of Bohemia seemed destined to fall to the Moravian prince Conrad Otto, who already united under his rule the three component kingdoms of Moravia. However, Frederic Barbarossa summoned the two Přemyslids to appear before his court at Regensburg, and delivered his decision on September 29, 1182: Frederic was to reign in Bohemia, as before, while Conrad Otto was henceforward to govern Moravia as a margraviate, immediately depending on the emperor and in complete independence of Bohemia. This decision if maintained in its original form would have had great importance for the internal development of the Přemyslid Empire. This, however, did not prove to be the case; the interests of Barbarossa and of his successor were diverted from the affairs of the East by events in other parts of the empire, and it was inconceivable that the weak country of Moravia could maintain its independence of Bohemia without support. The emperors, it is true, did not entirely renounce their claims to treat Moravia as an immediate dependency of the empire; at the same time they did not prevent the Bohemian and Moravian princes from arranging their mutual relations according to their own will and pleasure. Apparently, Conrad Otto acknowledged the dependence of Moravia upon Bohemia in the year 1186, in return for a guarantee of the succession to the Bohemian throne. This arrangement was made after a military conflict, the result of which was indecisive. In any case he was duke of Bohemia in 1189, and thus united both countries under his government.

He died on September 9, 1191, far from his home in Sicily, in the train of Henry VI. The struggle for the supremacy in Bohemia and Moravia thereupon broke out again between the two lines of the Soběslavids and Vladislavids, and the emperor eventually decided in the favour of the latter, conferring Bohemia (1192) upon Premysl Ottokar and Moravia upon Vladislav Heinrich, the two younger brothers of the duke Frederic, who died in 1189. Peace, however, was not even then secured. In the following year the brothers were driven out by their cousin Heinrich Břetislav, who was also bishop of Prague, and ruled over both countries until 1197. His death seemed likely to become the occasion of a further struggle for the succession between the two brothers, Přemysl Ottokar and Vladislav Heinrich. The latter, however, was a peaceable character, and found a solution of the difficulty by offering his brother an arrangement for the partition of the empire, which occurred to his mind when the armies were drawn up for battle on December 6, 1197. The proposition was that Přemysl Ottokar should rule in Bohemia and Vladislav Heinrich in Moravia, while both "were to have one mind as they had one rule." Though this arrangement does not in the least represent the nature of their subsequent relations, it none the less remains certain that with this convention a new age begins in the history of the Premyslid kingdom.

C. The Přemyslid Kingdom at the Height of its Prosperity

This fraternal compact of 1197 brought to a somewhat unexpected conclusion the unfruitful period of Bohemian history, during which the domestic policy of the country was dominated by continual quarrels concerning the succession, while economic development and the progress of culture was checked, and only the unbridled warlike temperament of the people was stimulated. However, towards the close of the twelfth century the military element falls into the background of the history of the Bohemian territories, while civilization and progress gain the upper hand. Feud and quarrel in the royal family disappear, and brotherly love and unity promote the bold plans conceived by the head of the family, the Duke of Bohemia, for the aggrandisement of his empire and his royal house. The German emperor no longer settles Bohemian affairs at his own will and pleasure; on the contrary, the Bohemian princes derive considerable advantage from the struggles and confusion prevailing in the German Empire.

Supported with unselfish devotion by his Moravian brother, the Margrave Vladislav Heinrich (died 1222), both in his diplomatic and military enterprise, the new duke of Bohemia cleverly utilised the quarrel of the rival German kings, Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick, to secure the recognition of Bohemia as a kingdom for himself and his successors, first from Philip, then from Otto after Philip's secession to the other side, finally from Pope Innocent III (1204). Hardly had the youthful Hohenstauffen Frederic II appeared upon the political scene than the duke induced him also to confirm the existence of the kingdom, first in the year 1212 and afterwards in 1216, to recognise his firstborn son as a successor to Bohemia, and to grant other privileges in addition. This event marks the advancement of the right of primogeniture as the principle of succession against the right of seniority which had previously been accepted. Advancement in political prosperity was accompanied by great changes in the interior of the country. Under these two princes, Přemysl Ottokar and Vladislav Heinrich, Bohemia and Moravia, the civilization of which was then somewhat backward, strove to rival the economic prosperity of Western Germany.

German colonisation gave the Slav territories, from a political standpoint, a new constitution for town and village, and from a social standpoint a class of free peasants and citizens, hitherto unknown. The colonists taught the country the need for more thorough tilling of the soil, the method of making forest and swamp a source of economic profit, and the mode of extracting and working copper. They gave a new impulse to trade, developed and improved the handicrafts and the arts. In the course of this revolution in every department of life the Czechs displayed a receptivity to foreign institutions, customs, and manners which is surprising, in view of their strong national spirit, and unparalleled in their later history.

The prosperous beginning of German colonisation received a further impulse under King Wenzel I (1230–1253), notwithstanding the numerous military entanglements into which Bohemia was then drawn, chiefly with Austria, and in spite of the appalling danger threatened by the Mongol invasion of the year 1241. For the moment, however, Bohemia was spared.

It was Moravia, and especially Silesia, that suffered most heavily from the barbarians. The years 1157 and 1163 (p. 240) were, as regards the progress of political development and civilization, an important turning point in the history of

Silesia, as the government of the three Silesian princes betokens an entry of Germanising influences upon a large scale. The figures most distinguished from this point of view are Duke Boleslav I, the Long (1157–1202); his son Heinrich, the Bearded (1203–1238), who is known for his participation in the founding of the German orders in Prussia; and his descendant Heinrich II (1238–1241). The dominions of the latter extended far beyond the three original Silesian principalities. He ruled Cracow and part of Great Poland, which his father had already conquered in the course of continual wars against his Polish cousins. However, this brilliant development of the Silesian principality was shaken to its depths in March, 1241, by the invasion of the Mongols, who reduced Poland to a desert as they advanced, and forced the Duke of Silesia to oppose them, if he did not wish to see the destruction of the civilization laboriously acquired in the course of the last hundred years. The bloody battle on the "Wahlstatt" at Liegnitz (April 9, 1241) cost the lives of Heinrich and of numerous knights in his following. But the thunder-cloud which threatened Western Europe had burst. The Tartars changed their course, avoided the army which had been prepared for battle at Zittau on the frontier of Bohemia and Silesia, under the leadership of King Wenzel, and hastened to join their main force in Hungary. Moravia alone suffered severe devastation in its Eastern district. The further history of the Mongol invasion, which continued until the spring of 1242 and kept the neighbouring territories of Austria and Moravia in suspense, ran its course upon Hungarian soil (cf. Vol. II, p. 175).

The next important event in the history of Bohemia was the death of Frederic II, duke of Austria, and the last male descendant of the house of Babenberg, who was killed on June 15, 1246, in the battle on the Leitha against the Hungarians. The marriage between his niece Gertrude and the Bohemian prince Vladislav, who was now also margrave of Moravia, was not celebrated until this time, although it had been arranged years before; it seemed destined to bring the heritage of the house of Babenberg into the hands of the Přemyslids. The most dangerous opponent of the Bohemian claims was the emperor Frederic II, who desired to secure the Austrian territories, as being an imperial fief in abeyance. However, the struggle for the inheritance of Duke Friedrich soon came to a rapid end, owing to the death of the Margrave Vladislav in 1247 and of the emperor in 1250. The claims of inheritance and of constitutional right were now thrown into the background; the disputed possessions passed to the greater power and the greater diplomatic capacity of the neighbouring princes of Bohemia-Moravia, and of Hungary and Bavaria, who were struggling for the prey. The new margrave of Moravia, Přemysl Ottokar, the grandson of King Wenzel I, soon defeated Otto, the duke of Bavaria, after a short struggle in Upper and Lower Austria. In the year 1251 he was recognised as duke by the nobility and the towns of that district, and further secured his conquests by his connection with Margareta, the sister of the last Babenberg and the widow of King Henry VII; in February, 1252, he married her, although she was considerably older than himself.

For the possession of Styria a lengthy struggle began between King Béla IV of Hungary and Přemysl Ottokar II, who also inherited the crown of Bohemia on the death of his father in 1253 (see Fig. 17 of the plate facing page 248). At the outset, success inclined to the side of the Magyar, chiefly owing to the support of the Pope (1254); eventually, however, the Bohemian king proved victorious in this quarter after his success at the battle of Kroissenbrunn (the neighbourhood of Marchegg).

In July, 1260, the dissolution of his marriage with the aged Margareta, his marriage with Cunigunde, the young granddaughter of the Hungarian king (1261), and his investiture with the two duchies of Austria and Styria by the German king Richard (1262), crowned the remarkable prosperity which had marked the first period of the reign of King Přemysl Ottokar II.

The following decade (1273) also brought to the Bohemian king fame and victory in many of his military enterprises, and an increase of territory through his acquisition of Carinthia and Carniola, and of a certain power of protectorate over Eger and the surrounding district. Přemysl Ottokar II had then reached the zenith of his power. The domestic policy of his reign was marked by the continuation and the increase of the work of German colonisation, which his father and grandfather had introduced into the Přemyslid kingdom. In this task he found a zealous helper in Bishop Bruno of Olmütz, who was descended from the family of the Holstein counts of Schaumberg and administered the bishopric of Moravia from 1245 to 1281; he proved the king's best councillor in all diplomatic and political undertakings. Bishop Bruno, together with Bishop Heinrich Zdik of Olmütz and Bishop Adalbert of Prague, formed a spiritual constellation in the history of the Přemyslids. They set in motion a religious, civilizing, and political influence which were felt far beyond the boundaries of their respective dioceses.

The privileges of the German towns greatly increased from that period in Bohemia and Moravia; and the settlements of Germans in villages and towns, with their activity in trade and manufacture, especially in mining, rapidly advanced. This advance in civilization is the permanent result of the wide activities of Přemysl Ottokar II; for that vast political construction, the Bohemian-Austrian monarchy, which he seemed to have erected with so much cleverness, proved to be unstable; it was too largely founded upon the weakness of the German Empire and upon the vacillation and helplessness of the nominal kings of Germany. Hence for Přemysl Ottokar the choice of Rudolf of Hapsburg as the Romano-German emperor (October 1, 1273) marks the beginning of the decline of the Bohemian power. This declension was rapidly completed. Premysl Ottokar refused to acknowledge his feudal dependency upon the new German king, thus challenging the emperor and the empire to war. For almost two years the Bohemian king succeeded in staving off the threatening secession of Styria and Austria, for the reason that Rudolf's attention was fully occupied elsewhere, while his means were insufficient to provide any vigorous support for his open and secret adherents in these territories. However, in the autumn of 1276 the Hapsburg led the imperial army through Austria to the walls of Vienna. Ottokar was abandoned, both by the Austrian nobles and by some of his most powerful Bohemian nobility, with the result that the two opponents never met in conflict; the Bohemian king preferred submission to the hazardous alternative of giving battle. The peace of Vienna (November 21, 1276) deprived Přemysl Ottokar II of his position as a great power; he was obliged to surrender Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and other districts which he had conquered and not inherited, and to receive Bohemia and Moravia as the vassal of the German emperor.

This humiliating settlement, however, could not possibly be regarded by the proud prince as a permanent embargo on his schemes. Concerning the future relations of Bohemia with the empire, and regarding certain important points in the peace of Vienna, more particularly the amnesty to the Bohemian lords who had

deserted Přemysl Ottokar, and the proposed marriage of a son and daughter of the two princes, misunderstandings broke out, which soon ended in that fresh struggle with Rudolf which the Bohemian king was anxious to provoke. In the battle of Dürnkrut (on the Marchfeld), on August 26, 1278, Přemysl Ottokar was captured, in a condition of exhaustion after a heroic struggle, and murdered by certain knights who had a private grudge against him.

The Přemyslid territories now surrendered, almost without resistance, to the German king, who was regarded with considerable favour by the German population of the towns, by a portion of the nobility, and not least by Bishop Bruno. However, disturbances and revolts of the nobility were caused by the appointment of the margrave Otto of Brandenburg to act as regent for Wenzel, the son of Přemysl Ottokar, who was only seven years old; Otto was installed in Bohemia by Rudolf of Hapsburg, who took Moravia entirely under his own care, leaving the administration of it to Bishop Bruno. Additional causes of disturbance were a famine, and the general misery resulting from many years of war. Thus the first years after the death of their great king were a time of misery for Bohemia. When, however, Wenzel II (who became the son-in-law and received the support of the German king) ascended the throne in 1283 (see Fig. 18 of the plate facing page 248) an Indian summer of prosperity seemed to have begun for the house of Přemysl. A return to prosperity was facilitated both by a peaceable and serious government and by the riches of the country, especially the income from the silver-mines. The young king, with his vivid interest in art and science, gained a great reputation for the Bohemian court, and made it a favourite resort of artists and scholars.

This internal development was accompanied by a successful foreign policy. After the struggle with the Mongols, Silesia ceases to rank among the countries of importance in the history of the world, and from 1241 its history is purely local. Once again the country was broken into petty principalities, some of which were in continual hostility with Poland, and were thus driven into connection with the Přemyslid kingdom through affinities of civilization and race. In the decisive battle on the Marchfeld the dukes of Breslau, Glogau (see Fig. 10 of the plate facing page 248, "Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian Princes"), and Oppeln acted as the independent allies of the Bohemian king. Among the Silesian princes, Heinrich IV of Breslau (1273–1290; see Fig. 12 of the same plate) became prominent at that time; like his grandfather Heinrich II, he acquired the principality of Cracow, and thus gained supremacy over the whole of the Polish Empire. However, when he died, leaving no issue, the confusion in Poland and Silesia broke out the more violently. In the course of these troubles, King Wenzel of Bohemia, supported by several Silesian dukes, who recognised him as their feudal overlord, succeeded in conquering Cracow in 1291, and assumed the crown of Poland in Gnesen in 1300, thus uniting the heritage of the Piasts with that of the Přemyslids.

Nor was this the end. In the following year (1301) the male line of the Hungarian royal house of Árpád became extinct, and one party in the country offered this crown to the Bohemian king; he did not accept it himself, but transferred it to his son Wenzel III, who was crowned king of Hungary at Stuhlweissenburg. However, this period of brilliant prosperity lasted but a short time for the Přemyslids. The Hungarian crown could not be retained in face of the Angevin

claims, and in the year 1304 Wenzel III abandoned Hungary. At the same time Wenzel II became involved in war with the German king Albrecht. In the course of this struggle he died in 1305, at the age of thirty-four. When his heir was meditating an advance upon Poland in the following year (1306) to crush the rising of Vladislav Lokietek, the Polish claimant to the throne, he was murdered by an assassin in the castle of Olmütz; he died at the age of seventeen, the last male descendant of the house of the Přemyslids, leaving no issue, although married.

5. THE LUXEMBURGS

A. King Johann

Claims to the Bohemian inheritance were now raised from two quarters: Duke Heinrich of Carinthia relied upon the claim of his wife Anna, the eldest sister of King Wenzel III; on the other hand the German king Albrecht regarded Bohemia and Moravia as escheated fiefs of the empire, and conferred them upon his eldest son, Duke Rudolf of Austria. After the premature death of Rudolf in 1307, Heinrich of Carinthia succeeded in securing a majority of the votes of the Bohemian nobility, and it was only in Moravia that King Albrecht could secure recognition for his second son Friedrich. However, when Albrecht fell in the following year (1308) under the murderous attack of his nephew Johannes ("Parricida"), Duke Friedrich was obliged to refrain from all attempts to continue the war against Heinrich in Bohemia, and also to surrender Moravia, with the exception of certain towns which remained in his possession as a pledge for the repayment of the expenses of the war.

Heinrich of Carinthia was, however, unable to cope with the difficult party questions which troubled Bohemia. King and nobles, nobles and towns, were in a state of perpetual hostility. The result was seen in disturbances and acts of aggression which lost Heinrich his prestige in the country. A new party arose, led by the abbot Conrad of Königssaal, which attempted to secure a new ruler by the marriage of Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of King Wenzel II. Their choice fell upon Johann, the young son of the new German emperor Heinrich VII of Luxemburg.[1] On September 1, 1310, the marriage of the German prince, who was fourteen years of age, with the Bohemian princess, who was eighteen, was celebrated in Speyer. The German emperor had previously released the Bohemians from their oath to the Duke of Carinthia (in the previous July) at Frankfort, and had invested his son with Bohemia and Moravia, as escheated fiefs of the empire. The conquest of the country was not a lengthy task, as King Heinrich, recognising the hopelessness of resistance, speedily entered upon negotiations and voluntarily left the country. The occupation of Moravia was accomplished with equal facility. Johann even assumed the title of king of Poland, as a sign that he proposed to maintain the claims of his Přemyslid predecessors to this crown.

The course of his government was soon, however, considerably disturbed, chiefly in consequence of the hostile feeling entertained by the high Bohemian

[1] See Figs. 3 and 4 of the plate facing page 248, "Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian Princes at the Close of the Middle Ages."

nobility for Archbishop Peter of Mainz and other German counsellors, whom King Heinrich had sent to direct his inexperienced son. Johann found his difficulties increased by the death of his imperial father (1313), which deprived him of the support of the German Empire. He was obliged to consent to the expulsion of the Germans from Bohemia, and to resign the government of the country to Heinrich of Lipa, the most powerful of the Bohemian barons. Peace, however, was not even then secured. Financial disputes between the king and his chief adviser, the extraordinary connection between Lipa and the Dowager Queen Elizabeth, the former consort both of Wenzel II and Duke Rudolf, who resided in Königingrätz, and overshadowed the court of the queen proper, together with other causes, led to the forcible removal of Lipa (1315), whereupon Archbishop Peter again received the position of chief minister. After a rule of two years he was again forced to yield to the powerful nobles (1317). King Johann was weary of these domestic troubles, and turned his attention to foreign affairs, especially to the rivalry between Ludwig of Bavaria and Friedrich the Fair of Austria for the German crown; consequently the government of Bohemia and the work of resistance to the nobles devolved upon his wife Queen Elizabeth, who received very little support from her husband. The result was a general revolt against the king (1318), which he was powerless to suppress. Finally, by the intervention of Ludwig of Bavaria, a somewhat degrading compromise with the revolted barons was effected at Tauss, and the king was forced to content himself with his title, his position, and the rich income of his territory.

King Johann, a restless, cheerful, somewhat extravagant, but highly gifted and chivalrous character, secured a great extension of territory for Bohemia in the course of the numerous enterprises and intrigues in which he was continually involved. After the death of the margrave Waldemar of Brandenburg, the Oberlausitz fell into his hands (1319). In 1322 he received in pawn from Ludwig of Bavaria the town of Eger, with its territory, which have ever since remained in the possession of Bohemia. He was able definitely to liberate Moravia from all the claims and demands which the Hapsburgs could make upon that province. For a few years (1331–1333) he even secured possession of part of Lombardy, the government of which he intrusted to his eldest son Karl, while his youngest son, Johann Heinrich, received the province of Tyrol, with the hand of Margareta Maultasch, in 1330; but Johann Heinrich was unable permanently to maintain his hold of this possession (only to 1441).

The most important acquisition made by King Johann was that of Silesia, which gave to Bohemia an enormous increase of extent and power. The connection of the Silesian princes (see Figs. 13 to 15 of the plate facing this page) with Bohemia had begun under the last of the Přemyslids, and had been dissolved upon the extinction of this race; it was made permanent under the rule of King Johann. As early as the year 1327, upon the occasion of an expedition against Poland, Johann received the homage of the dukes of Upper Silesia, including those of Teschen, Falkenberg, Auschwitz, Ratibor, and finally of Oppeln. In the same year Breslau recognised the Bohemian king as its feudal over-lord; this example was followed in 1328 by most of the duchies of Lower Silesia, Liegnitz, Brieg, Sagan, Öls. In 1331 Johann forced Glogau to do homage by a threat of invasion. These acquisitions were further secured by a treaty between King Johann and the Polish king Casimir, son of Vladislav Lokietek (p. 247), in 1335, whereby Johann

EXPLANATION OF THE DOUBLE PLATE OVERLEAF

1 and 2. Duke Wenzel the Saint (Saint Wenceslas, † 935).

1. The left third of the triptych of Thomas of Modena; Madonna with child between St. Wenzel and St. Palmatius. Until 1780 on the wall of the high altar of the Kreuzkapelle of Karlstein, now in the Hofmuseum at Vienna. (After Josef Neuwirth's work: "Mediæval Wall Paintings and Panels of Castle Karlstein in Bohemia.")
2. Statue of the fourteenth century with the sign manual of Peter Parler, from Prague cathedral.

3. King John (1311–1346), and
4. Queen Elisabeth of Bohemia.

(From a manuscript in the Vienna Hofbibliothek. After Josef Neuwirth; "The Cycle of Luxemburg Paintings at Karlstein.")

5 and 6. Charles IV (1346–1378).

5. As margrave of Moravia, or crown prince.
6. As emperor.

7. Wenceslas IV, as German king: Wenzel (1378–1419).
8. Jobst Margrave of Moravia (1375–1411).

(5–8 after miniatures in the Iglau Bergrecht manuscript preserved in the town archives at Iglau.)

9–15. Seals of Silesian Princes.

9. Boleslav the Long (1162–1201); the only genuine seal, from a document dated Leubus, 1175. Inscription: Bolezlaus dux Zle(sie).
10. Conrad I (— 1266) of Glogau. First ducal seal engraved both on obverse and reverse; from a document dated Leubus, 1253. Obverse: Conradus dei gra(tia) dux Zlesie et Polonie. Reverse: S(igillum) ducis Conradi.
11. Heinrich III (1241–1266), in coat of mail and armour, with sword and eagle shield, bareheaded, under the gate of a castle or town; from a document dated Breslau, 1266.
12. Heinrich IV (1266–1290); the features somewhat obliterated; bareheaded, the figure in striking correspondence with that on the tomb in the Breslau Kreuzkirche; a great seal of high technical excellence from a document dated Breslau, 1288. Outer inscription: Sigil(lum) Henrici quarti dei gra(tia) ducis Slesie. Inner inscription: et domini Wratizlavie.
13. Konrad of Öls; from a document dated Trebnitz, 1341.
14. Wenzel I of Brieg; from a document dated Breslau, 1353.
15. Ladislaus of Oppeln; from a document dated Breslau, 1386.

(9 and 10 after Alwin Schultz, Silesian seals to 1250; 11 and 12 after Paul Pfotenhauer, Silesian seals from 1250 to 1300; 13–15 after vol. xxvi of the Vereins für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens.)

16–24. Seals of Bohemian Kings.

16. Wenceslaus I (1230–1253); from a document dated 1232. Obverse.
17. Přemysl Ottocar II (1253–1278). Obverse.
18. Wenceslaus II (1283–1305), the last but one of the Přemyslids. Obverse.
19. Sigismund (1419–1437).
20. Ladislaus Postumus (1452–1457); imperial seal.
21. Georg Podiebrad (1458–1471).
22. Wladislaw (1471–1516).
23. Matthias Corvinus (1479–1490).
24. Ludwig (1516–1526).

(16–24 from the originals in the Moravian State Archives at Brünn.)

BOHEMIAN, MORAVIAN, AND SILESIAN PRINCES AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

renounced the claims to the Polish crown, which he had hitherto maintained as heir of the Přemyslids, receiving in return the cession of the Silesian districts under Polish government.

B. King Charles IV

When Johann fell, "the crown of knighthood," in the battle of Crecy-en-Ponthieu (on August 26, 1346, the anniversary of the death of Přemysl Ottokar II), the domestic resources of Bohemia had been greatly shaken by his extravagant and unsystematic government. However, his successful foreign and military policy, which secured a position for his son and heir, Charles, had largely counterbalanced these disadvantages; for a time the Bohemian king ruled over a more extensive territory than any of his predecessors had ever acquired, with the exception of Přemysl Ottokar II. To this power was now added the dignity of the empire. Thanks to the diplomacy of his father, Charles was elected as "Charles IV" on July 11, 1346, after the deposition of the emperor Ludwig of Bavaria.

On the death of his father, Charles was more than thirty years of age, and had enjoyed a wide experience in his youth (see Figs. 5 and 6 of the plate facing page 248). His father had sent him at an early age to complete his education at the court of Paris, and his intellectual powers soon made it possible for him to take part in the business of government. At the age of fifteen he was sent to Parma to administer, to guide, and to defend his father's Italian acquisitions. In the year 1332, at the age of sixteen, he won a brilliant victory over his powerful adversaries at San Felice. However, the Italian lands eventually proved untenable, and were sold by King Johann in the following year. In 1333 Charles received the title of margrave of Moravia, and took over the government of the hereditary dominions. He at once reduced the shattered resources of the kingdom to order. Intrigues among the nobles caused at times serious dissension between father and son. These quarrels reached their highest point in the years 1336–1337 when Charles was forced to resign the administration of Bohemia. But in 1338 a complete reconciliation was effected, and in 1341 King Johann, of his own initiative, secured the recognition of Charles as his successor in the Bohemian kingdom, during his own lifetime. Of special importance to Charles was the year 1342, when his former tutor and his father's friend at the French court, the archbishop Pierre Roger of Rouen, ascended the papal chair as Clement VI. These two highly gifted men are said to have predicted their careers to one another during their intercourse in Paris. The support of the Pope enabled Charles in 1344 to raise the bishopric of Prague, which had hitherto been subject to the metropolitan see of Mainz, to the rank of an independent archbishopric, with jurisdiction over the bishopric of Olmütz in Moravia and the newly founded bishopric of Leitomischl in Bohemia. Clement VI also took an honourable share in the promotion of the future king of Bohemia to the throne of Germany. Charles was spared the trouble of a struggle with the emperor Ludwig of Bavaria, who had been deposed on July 11, 1346, for as he was on the point of marching against Ludwig he received the news of his rival's death (1347).

Charles was therefore able to devote himself with greater vigour to the difficult task of conducting the business of the empire. As regarded the administration of his hereditary territories, he found a welcome supporter in his brother Johann

Heinrich, upon whom he conferred the margraviate of Moravia as an hereditary fief (December 26, 1349). So long as he lived, this brother was bound to Charles by ties of affection and friendship, and supported him zealously and unselfishly in his military and diplomatic enterprises. Their mutual relation is comparable to that which existed between King Přemysl Ottokar I and Vladislav Heinrich (p. 243). Moravia being thus secured by inheritance to the second line of the Luxemburg house, the diocese of Olmütz and the province of Troppau were declared fiefs of the crown of Bohemia and made independent of the margraviate of Moravia. The duchy of Troppau had been already founded by King Přemysl Ottokar II, who had reserved it for the support of his illegitimate son Nikolaus I; it had also been conferred as a fief by King Johann in 1318 upon the son and namesake of Nikolaus, so that the arrangement of Charles only confirmed his father's dispositions. The rest of Silesia Charles had already in 1348 incorporated with the Bohemian crown as emperor of Germany.

The assertion of the emperor Maximilian that Charles IV was the stepfather of the empire and the father of Bohemia is justified as regards the latter part of the remark. The whole of Charles's political activity was inspired by the idea of making his family and his country a great power. From the beginning of his independent reign to his death he exerted every effort to raise Bohemia to the level of civilization and intellectual development already attained by more advanced countries. He extended his capital of Prague and laid the foundation of its great development, increasing its beauty by such constructions as the Cathedral of St. Veit, the Castle of Hrads, the Teyn Church, and the bridge over the Moldau. He summoned artists of famous capacity, both German and Italian, architects and painters, brass founders and sculptors, goldsmiths and other miniature art workers. To his lively interest in science — he was himself an historical and theological author — the University of Prague owes its origin, at a time when such educational institutions were rare on this side of the Alps except in France (1348; Vol. VII, p. 152). Bologna and Paris served as patterns for the organisation of the university. Charles showed an extreme interest in jurisprudence. He was able to regulate imperial affairs by ordinances establishing a land peace, by the "Golden Bull" of 1356 (op. cit. p. 179), and other edicts; he conceived the idea of providing a uniform legal code for Bohemia and Moravia in the *Majestas Carolina*. However, his intentions were frustrated by the resistance of the native nobility. Further important legal work was achieved in Silesia during his reign, such as the land register for the duchy of Breslau, "a magnificent work, which has been a model for all later surveys;" the Silesian common law code, a redaction of the "Sachsenspiegel," with special modifications; and, finally, a special municipal code for Breslau. And Charles worked no less vigorously to secure material prosperity in his own dominions. Mining, forestry, agriculture, and cattle farming then became extremely productive. Prague, next to Breslau, which he regarded with no less care, became one of the most important commercial centres in Central Europe, and a meeting-place of traffic from the south to the north, from the west to the east.

The energy manifested by Charles IV in promoting the advance of intellectual and material prosperity deserves the more recognition for the reason that severe plagues ravaged the country during the first years of his rule; such were the black death, the Jewish plague, the flagellant outburst (see coloured plate facing page 178 of Vol. VII). Though these plagues did not prove so destructive in the

hereditary lands of Charles as elsewhere, they were none the less a powerful obstacle to the development of trade and intercourse, of education and art.

It must also not be forgotten that the emperor's time was largely occupied by political business, military campaigns, and journeys to different parts of the empire, so that he was often absent from his hereditary territories for months at a time. The results of the energy which Charles IV displayed through the thirty years of his reign seem, in brief, to have been the securing of a prosperous future to the house of Luxemburg, which then counted numerous male descendants. Partly by bold opposition, partly by clever diplomacy, he gradually overcame the influence of the Wittelsbach family, which had hitherto been powerful, and finally secured from them the important Mark of Brandenburg for his own house (1373; op. cit. p. 180). At the beginning of his reign he was opposed by the king of Poland, whose hostility was supported by Duke Bolko of Schweidnitz-Jauer, the last of the Silesian princes who remained independent of Bohemia. In the year 1348, however, Charles concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Bohemia, while he so far secured the good favour of Bolko as to induce him to conclude a pact of inheritance with Bohemia in 1364; by this agreement Charles, who entered upon a third marriage in 1353, with Anna, daughter of the Duke of Schweidnitz, secured a reasonable prospect of acquiring the latter's principality. These hopes were realised in a few years by the death of Bolko in 1368.

Charles had also a difficult problem to deal with in his relations with his stepson, Rudolf IV of Austria. This prince was inspired by an invincible ambition for supremacy and power. He was anxious to secure an exceptional position for his kingdom among the German principalities, and when Charles opposed these ambitious designs, Rudolf was ready to adopt any and every means for their execution. He produced forged documents, and, what was more dangerous, made alliances with foreign princes against the emperor, supporting especially King Ludwig of Hungary, who caused Charles IV serious anxiety on more than one occasion. However, the diplomatic skill of the Luxemburg monarch was able gradually to overcome these dangers, and eventually to turn them to his own account. After 1363 the attention of Duke Rudolf was occupied by the acquisition of the Tyrol, and he began to feel the need of the emperor's support. In February, 1364, in the course of a meeting of nobles at Brünn, he concluded with Charles an important succession treaty, whereby the Luxemburg and Hapsburg families were respectively to inherit one another's lands in case either house should become extinct in the male and female line.

Charles considerably increased his dominions by purchase and by acquisition in other ways, especially in the Upper Palatinate and in Lausitz; in other ways, too, he attempted to secure for his family the prospect of succession to neighbouring thrones, particularly by well-considered family alliances. Both Rudolf IV, and also his brother Duke Albrecht III, who succeeded him as Duke of Austria in 1365, were married to daughters of Charles IV. His son Wenzel (born 1361), by Anna, was originally betrothed to the niece, at that time the heiress of King Ludwig of Hungary. When, however, in after years, this monarch had daughters of his own, the betrothal was dissolved, and in 1371 Wenzel married Johanna, the daughter of Albrecht, duke of Bavaria. Charles IV attempted to marry his second son, Sigismund (Siegmund), to Maria, the elder daughter and heiress apparent of Ludwig of Hungary.

Charles IV left his family in a strong position when he died, at the age of sixty-three, on November 29, 1378. Wenzel had already been appointed German emperor (1376) by the Electors, and was also in possession of Bohemia and Silesia. The second son, Sigismund, received the Mark of Brandenburg, and the youngest, Johann, part of the Lausitz. The margraviate of Moravia had been governed until 1383 by Wenzel, the brother of Charles IV, who also ruled the duchy of Luxemburg. The Bohemian king held the feudal rights over this province, and after the death of the margrave Johann in 1375 the country was divided among his three sons, Jo(b)st (Jodok), Prokop, and Johann Soběslav.

C. King Wenzel; the Rise of the Hussites

Rarely do grandfather, father, and grandson display differences of life and character so profound as may be noted in the case of Johann, Charles, and Wenzel. The diplomatic powers of King Johann reappear as practical statesmanship of a high order in the case of Charles; in Wenzel, however, scarce the humblest remnant of political capacity is discernible; again, the extravagance of the grandfather becomes remarkable economy in the son and avarice in the grandson. Johann is a fiery, impetuous, chivalric figure, seeking and finding death in the press of battle; Charles is a more patriarchal character, with no preference for war, though far from cowardly; Wenzel, as years pass by, exhibits a voluptuousness immoderate and even brutal, cowardice conjoined with cruelty, a blend of indolence and vacillation.

Feeble as was his capacity for empire (see Fig. 7 of the plate facing page 248) this prince was now confronted with the task of governing not only the realm of a great dynasty, but also the administration of the vast German Empire, with its various and divergent interests; this, too, at a period when all the material for political and social conflagration had been collected. Shortly before the death of Karl IV an event had occurred which threw the critical nature of the general situation into strong relief. Two Popes were disputing the tiara, each with his own following among the princes and the clergy, — Urban VI at Rome and Clement VII at Avignon. Wenzel, whose special business it should have been, as German emperor, to allay the schism in the Church, calmly contemplated the spread of this disorder in every direction. Another difficult problem for his consideration was the position of his brother Sigismund in Hungary. The Luxemburg prince had married Maria, the elder daughter of King Ludwig I, who had no male issue, and occupied the throne of Hungary and also, after 1370, that of Poland; on Ludwig's death in 1382 his son-in-law claimed the Polish and Hungarian kingdoms in the right of his wife. The attempt to secure Poland resulted in total failure, while Hungary was only secured after a severe struggle, which absorbed more of Wenzel's resources than he could well spare. Within the empire, again, the king was hard pressed by the struggle between the princes and the towns. The partiality which he at first displayed for the latter was succeeded by indecision when his support proved inadequate to secure victory for the towns, and his diminishing interest in German affairs eventually lost him the sympathies of all parties alike.

These various foreign complications, for the successful solution of which Wenzel possessed neither the judgment, the force of will, nor the tenacity, became

far more dangerous on account of the rise of political, social, and religious difficulties, with which he was too weak to cope, within his own hereditary territories. However, these menacing dangers were not apparent at the outset of his government in Bohemia. The organisation which Karl IV had set on foot continued to work excellently for a time, and Wenzel was not the man to strike out a line of his own. He continued the great architectural works which his father had begun; he extended the university; literary work, especially in the Czech language, met with his zealous support. It was at this period that Huss altered and simplified the Bohemian orthography.

But the signs of dissension in the public life of Bohemia grew more and more distinct. The University of Prague in particular was the starting point of the first line of cleavage. The Bohemian element in the population had grown until it outnumbered the other three nationalities, the Bavarians, Saxons, and Poles, and the result was a demand for a corresponding redistribution of votes in municipal and other corporations. Soon, again, the Bohemian nationality diverged from the other three nations upon religious questions, which had entirely occupied the attention of the clergy since the days of Charles IV. The German preacher Conrad Waldhauser, whom Charles had summoned from Austria to Prague, then supported the Czech Milicz of Kremsier in his crusade against the immorality of laity and clergy. They both died during Charles' reign, and the activity of their successors became rather nationalist than religious, and was directed against the German mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Augustinians on the one hand, and on the other against the upper clergy, the archbishop of Prague and the chapter. Wenzel became involved in the quarrel, and treated the archbishop of Prague, Johann von Jenstein, and his officials with undue severity. In the course of the conflict they were taken prisoners, examined under torture, and severely punished; one of them, Doctor Johann von Pomuk, otherwise Nepomuk, who had been so brutally mishandled as to be past all hope of recovery, was drowned in the Moldau at the king's orders. This happened in the year 1393.

In the very next year the king was to discover the weakness of the foundations supporting the power which he exercised with such despotism in Bohemia. The most distinguished noble families formed a confederacy with the object of overthrowing the king's advisers and of recovering their former rights to a share in the administration.

Their enterprise was especially dangerous to Wenzel, for the reason that they had secured the support of the king's cousin Jost (Jobst, Jodokus), the margrave of Moravia. Jost, whose personality is henceforward of considerable importance in the history of Wenzel's reign, had been margrave and over-lord of Moravia since the death of his father Johann (1375; see Fig. 8 of the plate facing page 248). Important estates had been bequeathed to his two brothers, who were independent of Jost. But no love was lost between them from the outset, and the enmity between Jost and Procop resulted in a furious struggle between the brothers in Moravia, which caused great suffering for a long period to the whole margraviate, and especially to the bishopric of Olmütz. Jost, an ambitious and capable character, succeeded in securing the confidence of the self-mistrustful king of Bohemia, and was allowed to assume part of his imperial duties in return for an adequate consideration. To begin with, he was appointed (1383) vicar of the empire for

Italy, as Wenzel hoped that his cousin would clear his way for a progress to Rome. In return for the military and pecuniary help which he gave to Wenzel and Sigismund in the Hungarian war, Jost obtained the Mark of Brandenburg on mortgage in 1388; to this were soon added Luxemburg and the governorship of Alsace. When Wenzel first (about 1387) entertained the idea of abdicating the German crown, he had thoughts of transferring it to his Moravian cousin. Jost had serious hopes of securing that dignity, as is proved by the fact that in 1389 he concluded compacts with Duke Albrecht III, "in the event of his becoming king of Germany." The plan, however, came to nothing. In the year 1390 Jost was again appointed imperial vicar for Italy, with a view to the more serious consideration of the papal question and the crowning of Wenzel as emperor; but the margrave was induced to decline the honour by reason of the outbreak of disturbances in Bohemia, and personally took the lead of the aristocratic league against the king, and secured for this movement the support of King Sigismund of Hungary, Duke Albrecht of Austria, and the margrave Wilhelm of Meissen.

Wenzel was able to rely only upon the humble resources of his cousin Procop of Moravia and of his youngest brother Johann of Görlitz. But before hostilities were actually begun the confederates succeeded in capturing the king's person (May 8, 1394). His two allies attempted to rescue him, the sole result being that Wenzel was confined first in a Bohemian and afterwards in an Austrian castle. Meanwhile Jost administered the government of Bohemia. Germany then began to menace the conspirators, who liberated the king. A war broke out in Bohemia and Moravia which seemed likely to be prolonged by the weakness of Wenzel and the mutual animosity of the several members of the royal family. At the outset Sigismund, king of Hungary, drove his cousin Jost out of the field by the conclusion of a secret reconciliation with his brother Wenzel, whereby he secured the office of General Vicar in Germany (March, 1396), with the reversion of the German crown. About a year later (February, 1397) Wenzel in turn made peace with Jost and allowed him to establish a kind of co-regency in Prague.

Suddenly, however, he renounced his compact with Jost and summoned Procop to be his permanent adviser (1398); this, too, at a time when the temper of the German electors had grown threatening owing to the weakness of Wenzel's government. Wenzel then betook himself to Germany, held a diet in Frankfort (1398), and travelled thence to Charles VI of France to discuss the difficult problem of allaying the papal schism. Meanwhile, the federated nobles, supported by Jost and Sigismund, began war in Bohemia against Wenzel and Procop. The struggle continued until the end of August, 1400, when Wenzel received the news of her own deposition and of the election of Ruprecht of the Palatinate as king of the Romans. Wenzel was naturally furious at the insult. He could not, however, summon up resolution to strike an immediate blow for the recovery of his position. He made a second attempt at reconciliation with Sigismund; but the brothers again quarrelled concerning the conditions under which the king of Hungary should take up arms against the empire on behalf of Wenzel, and Sigismund reluctantly retired to Bohemia. Jost seized the opportunity for a decisive stroke. In alliance with the Bohemian barons, the archbishop of Prague, and the margrave of Meissen he forced Wenzel to accept a regency for Bohemia, and again secured his possession of Lausitz and of the Brandenburg Mark (August, 1401).

Wenzel was anxious to put an end to this tutelage; for this purpose he again

concluded a compact with Sigismund at the beginning of 1402, appointing him vicegerent or co-regent in Bohemia, and conferring on him the imperial vicariate for Germany. The king of Hungary repaid this mark of confidence by making Wenzel a prisoner (March, 1402), and by capturing shortly afterwards his most faithful supporter, the margrave Procop. Sigismund entered upon relations of extreme intimacy with the Austrian dukes, intrusted them with the care of the person of the Bohemian king in August, 1402, and concluded with them important pacts of inheritance, considerably to the disadvantage of Jost of Moravia, whose Mark of Brandenburg he treated as his own. The position was at length entirely changed by a rising in Hungary which obliged Sigismund to abandon Bohemia, and by the flight of Wenzel from Austria to his own country (November, 1403), where he was received with much jubilation, owing to the general hatred of the Austrian rule. Jost was reconciled to Wenzel, chiefly for the reason that his brother Procop, with whom he had been in continual hostility, had died in the year 1405, and the attacks of Sigismund and the Hapsburgs upon the Bohemian king were successfully repulsed. Southern Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria suffered terrible devastation between 1404 and 1406 from the wars between the princes and also from the ravages of the dangerous robber bands which then became the curse of the country.

Silesia suffered no less than Bohemia and Moravia under the unhappy government of King Wenzel. At the outset of his reign he interfered in a violent quarrel between Breslau and the local chapter, and espoused the cause of the town against the despotic aggression of its opponents (1381). Shortly afterwards he involved this important commercial centre (p. 250) in a long feud with the dukes of Oppeln upon the question of a heavy guarantee for the king's financial necessities. In the course of this struggle the travelling merchants of Breslau suffered heavy losses in property and purse. Some of the Silesian princes, in particular those of Teschen, remained faithful to Wenzel and secured high offices at the Bohemian court; others, however, broke their feudal ties with Bohemia and formed connections with Vladislav Jagellon, the reigning king of Poland.

These numerous indications of retrogression and decay in the hereditary Luxemburg territories would perhaps have been less ominous had not the religious and nationalist movement among the Bohemian nation then attained its highest point, declaring war with terrible determination both against the Catholic Church and against German influence in general. The best-known representative of the reform movement among the Bohemian clergy is John Huss; he had been a leading figure among the lecturers at the university since 1396, and as preacher in the Bethlehem chapel at Prague enjoyed an unexampled popularity among all classes of the population. He and his followers fulminated in the Bohemian language against the immorality of clergy and laity, especially against the sale of ecclesiastical offices (simony), whereby the ranks of the clergy were filled with unworthy members. Livings and benefices had been multiplied to such an extent in Bohemia and Moravia that even small churches supported numerous priests in idleness. These and other evils formed a widespread social malady of the period, and as early as the middle of the fourteenth century had been combated by Waldhauser and Milicz (p. 253) in Bohemia, by Heinrich of Herford in Germany, and by John Wiclif in England. Nowhere, however, did these ecclesiastical quarrels fall upon a soil so rich in national animosities as in Bohemia. The war broke out upon the question of the condemnation of Wiclif's writings, which

had made their way into Bohemia and were enthusiastically received by the reform party among the clergy. The cathedral chapter requested the university to oppose the dissemination of Wiclif's works and opinions; they met with a refusal from the Bohemian "nation" in the university which was practically led by Huss. The breach existing in the university and within the nation was widened.

The same opposition reappeared a few years later upon the question of concluding the papal schism. The Council of Pisa (1409) proposed to settle the question definitely by observing an ecclesiastical neutrality and refusing obedience to either Pope. In the University of Prague the idea commended itself only to the Bohemian "nation;" the three remaining nationalities in conjunction with the upper clergy adhered firmly to the Roman Pope Gregory XII. King Wenzel, in contrast to Ruprecht, declared for ecclesiastical neutrality, and the Czech party induced him to issue that fatal decree whereby the Bohemian "nation," though in the minority, was henceforward to have three votes in all university discussions and resolutions, while the three non-Bohemian nations were to have but one vote between them. This measure implied the despotic repression of Germans and foreigners. Their sole remedy was migration to other German universities. The *studium* of Leipsic owes its foundation to this circumstance (end of 1409).

Huss, who must be regarded as the prime mover in this momentous transaction, had shaken off his opponents with unusual success. He was the more emboldened for the struggle with the higher clergy, in particular with Archbishop Zbynek of Prague. This ecclesiastic had forcibly deprived the clergy of their Wicliffite books, which he condemned to be burnt, and had also taken measures against the license of the preachers in every direction, and was anxious to confine their activity to the parish churches. When Huss declined to obey these regulations and continued to preach reform from the pulpit of the Bethlehem chapel he was excommunicated. However, the bulk of the population, the university, the court, the queen Sophie (Wenzel's second wife from 1389), and the king himself were on the side of Huss, while the archbishop was supported only by his clergy and by the new Pope, John XXIII.

The further development of these divisions was largely influenced by general political events. King Ruprecht had died in the year 1410. The simultaneous choice of the two Luxemburg princes, Jost of Moravia and Sigismund of Hungary, was but a temporary danger, as the former died in January, 1411 (Vol. VII, p. 191). Of the many descendants of the house of Luxemburg there remained only King Wenzel of Bohemia and King Sigismund of Hungary, neither having male issue. They agreed without difficulty to share the inheritance of their Moravian cousin, and laid aside all previous grounds of dispute. Sigismund took the Mark of Brandenburg, which he forthwith mortgaged to the Burgrave Friedrich of Nuremberg; Wenzel added Moravia and Lausitz to Bohemia. Sigismund was then unanimously chosen king of Germany. Wenzel reserved to himself the right of acquiring the dignity of emperor at the hands of the Pope.

They attempted by similar means to conclude the schism in the Church, recognising John XXIII, then resident in Rome, as against the other two candidates who laid claim to the papal tiara. Hopes of a general recognition induced the Pope to modify his attitude to Huss and to refrain from summoning him to Rome; this policy was the more feasible because the chief opponent of Huss, the archbishop Zbynek, died in the year 1411, and his aged successor was a

THE BURNING OF JOHN HUSS BY THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, JULY 6, 1415

(From a sixteenth century MS. in the Bohemian Museum at Prague)

mere tool in the hands of King Wenzel. Huss, however, was stimulated to further invective in his preaching against ecclesiastical abuses by John XXIII's issue of indulgences to secure money for the struggle against his opponents, a proceeding which gave further ground for serious complaints. Once again the nation supported Huss, with his pupils and friends. On this occasion, however, Wenzel resolved to give vigorous support, for political reasons, to the minority who opposed reform. The result was the imprisonment and execution of certain persons who publicly opposed the proceedings of the papal commissioners, while further complaints were made in Rome against Huss, who consequently incurred a papal sentence of excommunication (1412). Huss retired from Prague, but continued his work throughout the country with increased zeal, while in the capital itself the tension between the two parties was in no degree diminished.

Sigismund then considered that it might be possible to make an end of the religious disputes which shook the Bohemian hereditary lands, Bohemia itself, and also Moravia, to their centre, by bringing Huss before the Council of Constance, where the most influential representatives of political and ecclesiastical Europe had gathered to conclude the schism and to introduce general measures of church reform. Huss arrived a fortnight before the first sitting of the council, on November 3, 1414, accompanied by several Bohemian nobles, under a safe-conduct from Sigismund. This fact, however, did not prevent the council from imprisoning Huss on November 28. Sigismund and Wenzel made no attempt to interfere, in spite of their express promise guaranteeing a safe passage and return for Huss. The nobility of Bohemia and Moravia pressed his case with increasing firmness, and sent letters of warning to the king and the council; but after more than six months' imprisonment in misery Huss was deprived of his spiritual office as an arch-heretic by the council on July 6, 1415, and the secular power then executed the sentence of death by burning.[1]

Huss died a true martyr to his religious zeal. The firmness, the love of truth, and the contempt of death which he displayed before his judges at Constance were a powerful incitement to his strong body of adherents in Bohemia and Moravia to cling the more tenaciously to his doctrines. Shortly before his death, his pupil, Jacobellus of Mies, came forward with a claim, based upon the commands of Holy Scripture, for communion in both kinds (*sub utraque specie*). Huss offered no objection, and his followers thus gained, to their great advantage, a tangible symbol of their divergence from the Catholic Church, which ultimately gave the Hussites the name of Utraquists. No priest was tolerated who would not dispense the sacrament in both kinds; and since the Council of Constance rejected this innovation as being opposed to the existing custom of the Church, occasion was given for the expulsion of the Catholic clergy in every direction. Nobles and knights, in accordance with the custom of the age, soon formed a league for the purpose of protecting communion in both kinds and freedom of preaching in the country. They were unanimously resolved to regard the University of Prague and not the Council of Constance as their supreme ecclesiastical authority until the choice of a new Pope.

Strong measures were taken against the apostates; the fathers of the council issued excommunications and an interdict without delay. Hussite disciples were

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1 See the plate facing this page, "The Burning of John Huss by the Council of Constance on July 6, 1415."

burned in Olmütz when they attempted to preach the new doctrine in that city. A second magister of Prague, Hieronymus, was burned in Constance on May 30, 1416. Bishop Johann of Leitomischl, who was regarded as chiefly responsible next to Sigismund for the condemnation of Huss, was appointed bishop of Olmütz, and displayed great zeal for the extirpation of the heresy. But these measures served only to intensify the spirit of opposition after the death of Huss from year to year, and soon made the breach irremediable. The only measures which commended themselves to the new Pope, Martin V, were excommunication and anathema, which produced the smaller effect, as the Hussites themselves now began to break up into sects and parties, which went far beyond the doctrine of the magister of Prague. The most numerous, and afterwards the most important, of these sects was that of the Taborites, who took their name from Mount Tabor, where they originally held their meetings. As regarded religion, they professed a return to the conditions of primitive Christianity, and adherence only to the actual letter of the Bible. At the same time their political and social views and objects were marked by extreme radicalism. The more moderate opposition among the Hussites, or Utraquists, were known from their symbol as Calixtins (chalicemen) or as Pragers, as the Prague school was their spiritual centre.

King Wenzel, who had favoured the Hussites since the condemnation of their founder, was impelled by his brother Sigismund and the Pope to entertain seriously the idea of interference, in view of the dangerous and revolutionary spirit which animated an ever increasing circle of adherents. At the outset of the year 1419 he remodelled the Hussite council of the Neustadt in Prague by introducing Catholics, and recalled the priests who had been expelled. However, mutual animosities had risen to such a pitch that on July 30, 1419, when the Catholics disturbed or insulted a procession, the Hussites, under their leader Žižka, stormed the parliament house in the Neustadt and threw some of the Catholic councillors out of the windows. The councillors were then beaten and stabbed to death by the infuriated populace. The excitement in the city and the country was increased a few weeks afterwards by the sudden death of King Wenzel on August 19, 1419, the consequence of a fearful access of fury at the outbreak of the revolution.

D. King Sigismund; the Hussite Wars

Sigismund, the last descendant of the house of Luxemburg, was now confronted with the difficult task of securing his accession to the heritage of his brother, — Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. In each of these three countries the political situation and the prospects of his recognition were different. In Bohemia he might expect a bitter opposition, as long as he maintained his hostility to the Hussite movement. In Moravia this movement had indeed obtained a firm footing among the nobility and the population. Here, however, there was a counteracting force in the bishopric of Olmütz and its numerous feudatories, led by Bishop Johann, "the man of iron," who strove vigorously for the suppression of the heresy. Further, the most important towns, such as Brünn, Olmütz, Znaim, Iglau, and others were populated by a majority of Catholic and German inhabitants, and neither they nor the nobility had any intention of opposing the rights of the Luxemburg claimant. Finally, Sigismund could be certain of meeting with ready submission in Silesia, which was entirely Germanised, and regarded the

struggle in Bohemia primarily from a nationalist point of view, condemning it for its anti-German tendency. Hence Sigismund did not enter Bohemia, but intrusted the government to the dowager queen Sophie (p. 256) and to some councillors from the moderates among the nobility; he appeared in Brünn in December, 1419, where he summoned the provincial assembly. An embassy also appeared from Bohemia to ask for the king's recognition of the four articles of belief, which had been drawn up by the Hussite sects a short time previously in a general assembly at Prague; these were, first, freedom of preaching; second, communion in both kinds; third, the observance of apostolic poverty by the clergy; fourth, the suppression and punishment of deadly sins. Sigismund, however, declined to declare his position, and put off the deputies until he should arrive in Bohemia itself.

He did not, however, proceed to Bohemia, but hurried immediately from Brünn to Breslau, into which town he made a formal entry on January 5, 1420, Here he declared his real attitude towards the Hussites as his religious and political opponents. Towards the close of Wenzel's reign the artisans of Breslau had raised a revolt against the aristocratic council and the whole system of royal administration, following the example of the Hussites at Prague, who had killed councillors and usurped the power and authority. Sigismund did not hesitate to bring the revolutionaries to justice; he executed twenty-three of them in the public square on March 4, 1420, condemned the numerous fugitives to death *in contumaciam*, declared their rights and property forfeit, and most strictly limited the freedom and the privileges of the guilds as a whole. This action was intended as a menace to the Bohemians, and its meaning became plainer on March 15, 1420, when a citizen of Prague, who had ventured to express publicly in Breslau his opinion upon the condemnation of Huss, and to declare himself a Hussite, was burned as a heretic at Sigismund's orders. Two days afterwards he ordered the crusade bull against the Hussites which Pope Martin V had issued to be read from the pulpits of the Breslau churches. The embassy from Prague, which had also come to Breslau to negotiate with the king, naturally left the city entirely undeceived, and upon its return to Prague wisely advised a union of the moderate Calixtins and radical Taborites, and issued an appeal for war upon their common enemy, the Luxemburg ruler.

A few weeks later Sigismund entered Bohemia with a strong army, composed chiefly of Germans and Silesians. He could calculate upon the support of many towns which had remained German and Catholic (for example, Kuttenberg), and on the advantage derived from the possession of the two fortresses which dominated Prague, the Hradshin and the Wysherad. However, the siege of Prague (May to June, 1420) was a failure. An attempt to relieve the defenders of the Wysherad was defeated, and in the murderous battle of November 1, 1420, the king's army was shattered, and many of the Catholic nobility of Moravia who had followed him were included in the overthrow. In February, 1421, Sigismund again made trial of his fortune in war against Bohemia, and was forced to retreat, or rather to flee, through Moravia to Hungary. On all three occasions the undaunted Taborite army had held the field under its general, Žižka. Conscious of their power, the Taborites now took the offensive, and conquered during the following months a number of towns and fiefs which had remained Catholic. The process of transforming the German towns of Bohemia into Czech settlements went on simulta-

neously with these conquests, so far as it had not been already completed by earlier events. A few towns only were able to resist the change. In June, 1421, the assembly of Časlau had already declared the crown to be forfeit, the king being "the deadly enemy of the Bohemian nation." The provisional government offered the Bohemian throne to the king of Poland.

Sigismund was a restless and undaunted character; in this and in many other good and bad qualities he reminds us of his grandfather, King John. Once again he resumed the struggle, although the dangers which threatened him in Hungary made it impossible for him to think of continuing the war in Bohemia without foreign help. Germany equipped a crusading army at his appeal, increased, it is said, to two hundred thousand men by contingents from Meissen and Silesia. Bohemia was invaded in September, 1421, but the furious attacks of the Hussite bands inflicted heavy loss, and forced the army to withdraw almost as soon as it had crossed the frontier. It was not for several years that the empire undertook any fresh military enterprise against Bohemia.

Most important to Sigismund was the support and co-operation of Duke Albrecht V of Austria, which was continued from the beginning to the end of the war. The price paid for this help was, indeed, considerable. Sigismund gave the duke Elizabeth, his only child and heiress, in marriage, ceded certain towns and castles, and afterwards gave him the governorship, and finally complete possession, of the margraviate of Moravia under the convention of October 1–4, 1423. Albrecht was gradually able, with the help of the bishop of Olmütz, to withdraw this province from Hussite influence, to crush the Hussite barons, and to make the province a base of operations against Moravia.

These facts induced Žižka to turn his attention to the neighbouring province in the year 1424; but at the outset of the campaign this great general succumbed to an attack of some kind of plague at Přibislau, a little town on the frontier of Bohemia and Moravia, on October 11, 1424. Before his death bitter quarrels had broken out between the several Hussite sects, though these had hitherto been allayed by the energy of the great general. However, after his death an irremediable disruption took place. His special adherents, who were known as the "Orphans," separated from the Taborites. The leadership of the latter was undertaken by Prokop Holy ("Rasa," the shorn one), who took a leading position in the general Hussite army during the warfare of the following years. He was the chief stimulus to the enterprises which the Bohemians undertook after 1424 against all the neighbouring provinces, and he spread the Hussite wars to Austria and Hungary, to Silesia and the Lausitz, to Saxony and Brandenburg, to the Palatinate and Franconia. The Hussite expeditions were repeated annually, now in one direction, now in another, spreading terrible misery throughout the whole of Central Europe. In many countries, especially in Silesia, the Hussites were not content with mere raids, but left permanent garrisons in the conquered towns and castles, which incessantly harassed and devastated the surrounding districts. To such a height did the danger rise that the princes of the empire were induced to undertake a second crusade against Bohemia in the summer of 1427, while King Sigismund was occupied with the war against the Turks. Once again the enterprise ended with the panic and flight of the German army when confronted at Tachau by the Hussites, whom a long series of victories had filled with hope and confidence. It seemed absolutely impossible to subdue this enemy in the field,

and the opinion was further strengthened by the Hussite exploits in the following years.

The last act of this tragic period of Bohemian history began at the outset of the year 1431. Sigismund attempted to reach a solution of the problem at any cost on wholly new principles: a council had begun the war, a council should end it. He succeeded in winning over to his view Pope Martin V, who summoned a general council of the Church at Basle, and intrusted the conduct of it to the cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, with instructions to make the suppression of the Hussite movement one of the chief topics of debate. The cardinal first insisted on trying whether a crusade under his spiritual leadership would not be the quickest means to the desired end. This expedition to Bohemia ended, like its predecessors, with a terrible defeat of the Germans at Taus on August 14, 1431; and negotiations were then attempted, to which, indeed, more moderate parties in Bohemia had long since manifested their inclination. While the Hussite armies in 1432 and 1433 marched plundering and massacring through Austria, North Hungary, Silesia, Saxony, and Brandenburg to the Baltic, an embassy from Prague appeared in Basle during the first months of 1433. When no conclusion could be reached there, the ambassadors of the council betook themselves to Prague, and concluded, on November 30, 1433, the Compactata of Prague. The material point was the recognition (though under conditions and incompletely) of the four articles of Prague of 1419; concerning the acceptance or refusal of these King Sigismund, who was then in Brünn, had declined to commit himself.

Of decisive importance for further developments was the split between the moderate Calixtins, who included the majority of the Bohemian nobility, and the Taborites and Orphans. The dissension ended in a conflict at Lipan in Bohemia on May 30, 1434, when the radicals suffered a severe defeat. The path was now cleared for peace, which was concluded on July 5, 1436, by the publication of the Compactata at the assembly of Iglau. The reconciliation of the Bohemians with the Church was followed by a further reconciliation with King Sigismund, who was then recognised as king of Bohemia in return for certain political and national concessions. Only for a year and a half did he enjoy the peaceful possession of this throne. On December 9, 1437, he died, after numerous misunderstandings and breaches of the terms of peace had begun to rouse strong feeling against him among the Hussites.

6. THE TWO HAPSBURGS; KINGS ALBRECHT AND LADISLAUS

On his death-bed Sigismund recommended his son-in-law, Duke Albrecht V of Austria, as his successor to the choice of the Bohemian nobles who stood round him. Albrecht (II) inherited both the German and the Hungarian crown from Sigismund, and his claim to Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia was based upon the principles formulated under the emperor Charles IV to regulate the succession in the house of Luxemburg, and also upon the various succession treaties and marriage connections between the Luxemburg and Hapsburg families. However, the prince whom the Hussite wars had made conspicuous in Bohemia could secure recognition from two only of the parties then dominant in the country, the Catholics, led by Baron Ulrich of Rosenberg, and the Calixtins, whose spokesman was Meinhard of Neuhaus. The Taborites, who were then guided by Heinrich Ptaček

of Pirkstein, offered the crown of Bohemia to a Slavonic prince, Casimir, the brother of Vladislav, king of Poland; their action brought about a civil war in Bohemia itself, as well as a Polish invasion both of this country and of Silesia, which had already done homage to Albrecht.

While this struggle was in progress, Albrecht suddenly died on October 27, 1439, leaving no male issue. Not until February, 1440, did his widow Elizabeth bear a son, who was named Ladislaus (Vladislav IV) Postumus (see Fig. 20 of the plate facing page 248). Though this prince enjoyed, beyond the shadow of a doubt, his father's justifiable claims to the inheritance, yet the party of Ptaček of Pirkstein passed over the Hapsburg claim and secured, by an almost unanimous vote in the assembly of Prague, the choice of Albrecht, duke of Bavaria, as king of Bohemia; he, however, declined the honour under the influence of a secret warning from Ulrich von Rosenberg, the leader of the Catholics. The Taborites then attempted to induce the emperor Friedrich, the uncle and guardian of Ladislaus, to accept the crown of Bohemia. When this plan failed, they professed their readiness to recognise Ladislaus himself, provided that he were brought up in Bohemia. During these endless party struggles Ulrich of Rosenberg kept the upper hand. He was the most powerful of the Bohemian nobles, and derived the greatest advantages from the confusion which prevailed during this interregnum. The greater part of the country and the capital, Prague, were in his power and in that of his allies, the Calixtins; the Taborites were restricted to four only of the thirteen circles of Bohemia.

The position was changed after the death of Ptaček of Pirkstein in 1444, when the youthful George Podiebrad and Kunstadt undertook the leadership of the advanced Hussite party. In the year 1448 he seized Prague by a bold and sudden attack, and there assisted his party to gain a complete victory. For two years civil war again raged in Bohemia, until the close of the year 1450, when it was agreed at the general assembly at Prague to approach the emperor again upon the question of the surrender of the young king. On this occasion Friedrich III came to an understanding by direct negotiation with George Podiebrad, without consulting the other party leaders. In 1451 he intrusted Podiebrad with the regency in Bohemia during the minority of Ladislaus. The Bohemian estates confirmed this decision at the assembly of April 24, 1452. Podiebrad, moreover, adhered to these conditions. When a revolution of the Austrian nobility against the emperor broke out in the following year, Ladislaus was released from his position as a minor and, in name at least, became king of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. In October, 1453, the memorable year of the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, he came to Prague and was crowned king of Bohemia, after a progress through Moravia, where he previously received the homages of the Moravian nobility, to the very considerable vexation of the Bohemians. In Bohemia the young prince was entirely dependent upon George Podiebrad, who was not only the prince's minister and political adviser, but also his "major-domo," as he called himself, and he never allowed the youth to be out of his sight. He kept the prince in Bohemia for more than a year, and then accompanied him to Breslau and Vienna. Then at length the Bohemian governor left Ladislaus to return home and continue the government of the country in the name of the king. George Podiebrad was well able to turn the king's favour to his own advantage, and was richly rewarded with fiefs from the royal domains; none the less the period of his governorship in Bohemia

(1451–1457) was a period of prosperity. He succeeded in preserving domestic peace, securing general safety and order, and in advancing the progress of trade and manufacture. Then, at the age of barely eighteen, the king suddenly died in Prague on November 23, 1457, from an illness akin to the plague, at the moment when preparations were being made for the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of Charles VII of France.

7. KING GEORGE PODIEBRAD

So admirable had been the preparations of George Podiebrad (see Fig. 21 of the plate facing page 248), that on March 2, 1458, a few months after the death of Ladislaus, he was able to secure his elevation to the crown of Bohemia. The neighbouring provinces of Moravia, Silesia, and in particular the powerful Breslau and Lausitz, at first refused obedience or recognition. Eventually, however, submission to the Hussite king was refused in Moravia only by the Catholic towns Brünn, Olmütz, Znaim, Iglau, and others. When George invaded the country with an army Iglau alone proved obstinate, trusting in the support of the archduke Albrecht VI of Austria, a brother of the emperor Frederick III, until its resistance met with a bloody punishment. In Silesia and Lausitz a revulsion in favour of George took place, when he succeeded, as the result of many tortuous intrigues, in ousting the local claimant to the throne, Duke Albrecht (III; the Courageous) of Saxony. The firmness of George's position was largely due to the fact that, strangely enough, before his coronation in Bohemia he had promised obedience to the Catholic Church, and had thereby secured the powerful support of the Pope, who expected that Podiebrad would bring the whole of Bohemia into submission to Rome, and had therefore ordered the Catholics of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia to do homage to the new king. Breslau was isolated and unable to persist in its attitude of hostility to George, when Pope Pius II (Æneas Sylvius) sent his legates to the city in 1459 to arrange a reconciliation with the king of Bohemia. On January 13, 1460, the intervention of the Breslau city chronicler and historian Peter Eschenloer secured the acceptance of an important agreement, whereby the citizens of Breslau promised obedience to King George, though the actual performance of homage was postponed for three years.

Secure of his power in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, on the best of terms with all the neighbouring States and with the German emperor, designated "most beloved son" by the papal chair, George was able to turn his attention to higher objects. The prospect of establishing himself upon the throne of Hungary in opposition to Matthias Corvinus (Vol. VII, p. 211), had been offered to him (or to his son Heinrich) in the year 1459. In view, however, of the equivocal nature of the situation in Hungary, he had hesitated, and had finally declined the crown, which then fell to Frederick III. Podiebrad found some compensation in the fact that the two princes who were struggling for the throne respectively sought alliance with him from this time onward. In August, 1459, the emperor invested him with the Bohemian lands, and also made him other important promises; at the same time Matthias made a successful effort to secure the favour of the Bohemian king. Not only did George succeed in turning the hostility of the two princes to his own advantage, but he also conceived the plan of entering into

relations with the enemies of the emperor within the empire, and thus advancing towards the imperial crown without the help of foreign intervention. This project of the king of Bohemia was rendered abortive chiefly by the opposition of Albrecht Achilles, the margrave of Brandenburg.

A short time afterwards occurred that breach with the papacy which had such momentous consequences for George, and a short period of triumphant progress was followed by almost a decade of fruitless and exhausting struggle. Pius II insisted upon the performance of the undertaking which George had given in his coronation oath, to adopt strong measures against the Utraquists. When negotiation produced no result, the Pope sent his legates to Prague in the summer of 1462. There, on August 14, a violent scene took place, when King George publicly replied to the Pope's demands by asserting his refusal to recede from the Compactata, which Pius II had already declared invalid. The legates accused the king of faithlessness before the public assembly, threatened him with spiritual and temporal punishment, and were forthwith imprisoned. By this act every tie between the Pope and the king of Bohemia was broken. For the moment, however, the struggle was confined to attempts to induce the Catholics in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia to abandon the king's cause; only in Breslau did these exhortations produce any appreciable effect. The princes to whom the Pope appealed against George Podiebrad declined to take any share in a crusade, partly for reasons of family relationship (for example, his son-in-law, Matthias Corvinus of Hungary), partly for political reasons (for example, the king of Poland, and especially the emperor Frederick III, who was very hard pressed in the years 1462 and 1463; Vol. VII, p. 212). The emperor even attempted to intervene with the Pope on behalf of George Podiebrad.

In 1464 the situation changed. Paul II, a far more vigorous character than Pius II, occupied the papal chair, while the death of Katherina, the daughter of George Podiebrad, left her husband Matthias Corvinus free to act against his former father-in-law. In 1466 Paul excommunicated George as a heretic, and stirred up war against him in Breslau and Moravia. The Catholic federation of nobles soon made their hostility felt in Bohemia also. However, the king maintained the upper hand against his adversaries in his own country, as long as the rulers of the neighbouring territories held aloof. Only when Matthias of Hungary resolved in 1468 to obey the papal command for a crusade against the Bohemian king, did George lose almost the whole of Moravia and part of Silesia. However, he soon succeeded in surrounding at Wilimow the Hungarian king, who had advanced too rashly (February, 1469); and Matthias was forced to agree to an armistice with a view to arranging terms of peace. Peace, however, proved impossible in view of the terms demanded by the papal legate and the Bohemian barons, which George could not possibly accept. They even induced Matthias Corvinus to proclaim himself king of Bohemia on May 3, 1469, and to receive the homage of Moravia, Silesia, and Lausitz.

The natural result was the continuation of the war. George had secured the support of Poland (in return for an acknowledgment of the Polish prince Vladislav as his successor), and fought with some success; he did not live to see the conclusion of the struggle, in the midst of which he died of an illness on March 22, 1471. He had been one of the most extraordinary figures on the throne of Bohemia; neither before nor afterwards did the country see a prince

of such humble origin, who rose from the position of a simple party leader to that of viceroy with full powers, and thence to the throne. He had remarkable capacity for government, and found enthusiastic admirers and true friends among his contemporaries. During his reign his territory was in a continual state of war, but the administration was in strong hands. But the religious problem, a bequest from the Hussite period, thwarted his success and undermined the whole of his efforts.

8. THE POLISH JAGELLONS UPON THE THRONE OF BOHEMIA

A. King Vladislav, 1471–1516

A wholly different character from George was his successor on the Bohemian throne, the Pole Vladislav, who was known as "King Allright," from a favourite and very characteristic expression of his (see Fig. 22 on the plate facing page 248). The war against King Matthias continued for eight years longer, partly on the soil of Bohemia and Moravia, partly in Silesia (Breslau) and partly in Hungary. Fortune favoured now one side and now the other, until financial embarrassments affecting both princes and parties, and the steady approach of the Turkish danger (pp. 147, 148), paved the way for a temporary armistice and eventually for a peace, which was concluded after lengthy negotiations at Olmütz on July 21, 1479. It was agreed that Vladislav should remain in possession of the title and the kingdom of Bohemia, and that Matthias Corvinus should bear the title of king of Bohemia during his life (see Fig. 23 of the plate facing page 248), and should also remain in possession of Moravia, Silesia, and Lausitz; after his death his provinces might be bought back by Vladislav for four hundred thousand ducats, an exorbitant price for that period.

No reference was made to the question of religious unity, or to the bringing back of the Utraquists to the Catholic Church, though it was with this object that Rome had stirred up the struggle. Even before his accession King Vladislav had pledged himself to maintain the Compactata. Thus it was inevitable that upon the conclusion of the foreign war the party struggle between the Catholics and the Utraquists should break out again in Bohemia. The movement degenerated into fearful confusion after the autumn of 1483. Councillors were murdered and flung through windows; churches and monasteries were plundered; Germans and Jews were persecuted and robbed as a matter of course. Strangely enough, however, this violent outburst of passion resulted in less than two years in a reconciliation of the two parties (1485); and an agreement was arranged upon the basis of the recognition of the Compactata and of the full equality of the Utraquists with the Catholics.

From that moment the influence of the Utraquist sect in Bohemia began to diminish. The sect lost importance the more rapidly as the "Bohemian Brotherhood," which was originally in some connection with it, began a vigorous period of development. The fact that the descendants of the original Hussites were able at this late period to develop a branch of a new doctrine with such vigour, is evidence of the hold which the Hussite theories had gained upon the nation; hence the futility of the many attempts, initiated by Rome, at union between the Utraquists and the Catholics of Bohemia, notwithstanding the fact that men of such power as

Nicholas of Cusa (Cues; Vol. VII, p. 152), Johann of Capistrano (above, p. 141), and Æneas Sylvius applied their energy to the task. An extraordinarily large number of sects rose and disappeared in the course of the fifteenth century, side by side with the main tendencies in Bohemia and Moravia. Only the Brotherhood became of permanent importance; this sect began with a society of certain members who were dissatisfied with the Utraquist doctrine, and its first settlement was made in 1457 at Rumwald, a Bohemian village belonging to King George Podiebrad. The society incurred its share of persecution and martyrdom; its most vigorous opponents were a relation of its founder Gregor, the Utraquist Magister Johann of Rokitzan (Johann Rokycana), and the king himself. Nevertheless, they possessed and acquired, even during this period, a wide body of adherents both in Bohemia and Moravia, and the death of these two powerful oppressors, in the year 1471, relieved the brethren of a severe hindrance, especially in Bohemia. The expansion of the sect was never seriously checked, either by its internal quarrels and dissensions, or by the general decree of banishment from Moravia which its members incurred in 1480.

The difference in the treatment of the Brotherhood in Bohemia and in Moravia was due to the separation of this latter country and also of Silesia from the Bohemian crown, and to the wholly different policy followed by Vladislav in Bohemia and by Matthias in Moravia and Silesia. The weakness and good nature of the former allowed the supremacy to fall into the hands of the nobles. Matthias, on the other hand, emphasised from the very outset his royal power as opposed to the claims of the privileged orders. The iron hand of Corvinus was even more strongly felt in Silesia than in Moravia, where Matthias left the government in the hands of the highly capable viceroy Ctibor of Cimburg, who had occupied this high position from 1469, and was to retain it until 1494, long after the death of Matthias. It is chiefly due to Ctibor that the attempts which had been made during the past century to unite the divided principalities were now consummated by means of a definitely organised administration. The institution of the princely diets and the creation of the central bureaucracy belong to the age of Matthias, and are his work. His government did not enjoy the best of reputations with posterity, owing to the enormous increase in the taxes and imposts, which his continual financial necessities laid upon his subjects; in this matter he was supported, especially in Silesia, by his local governor George von Stein, and by other faithful servants, in the most irresponsible manner, at the expense of the people.

On April 6, 1490, Matthias died without legitimate issue, and the Bohemian king Vladislav was raised to the throne of Hungary. In accordance with the previous arrangement, Moravia and Silesia fell into his power, although he never fulfilled the condition by which these lands were to be repurchased at the price of four hundred thousand ducats, so that the title of the Bohemian crown to these districts was disputed with some show of reason.

The reign of King Vladislav is one of the most unsatisfactory periods in the history of the Bohemian countries. The great economic and religious changes which, at the end of the fifteenth century, denoted the outset of a new epoch for Europe found Bohemia and Moravia divided by class dissensions. The hereditary monarchy had been greatly weakened as a result of events since the Hussite war, and the loss of the great crown demesnes of former times had deprived it of its

power and influence. Economically and politically, the nobility were supreme in the country; they were, however, filled with a boundless ambition for power, were ready to pass all limits in their efforts to weaken the monarchy, to oppose the privileges and freedom of the towns, or to keep down the peasant class in a state of slavery and serfdom. The highest positions in the country were exclusively in the hands of the nobles and knights; they enjoyed unlimited power in the provincial assemblies, and compiled a legal code, the "Ordinances of Vladislav" (1500), which was to secure their predominance for ever. The king agreed to the limitations, great and small, which the nobility placed upon his power. The citizen class, however, was determined to oppose these encroachments upon the principles of justice with the more vigour as they found their material welfare greatly injured by the arbitrary rule of the nobles. The nobles infringed the town monopoly of brewing, forbade the towns to acquire landed property, limited the freedom of the fairs, and so forth. Consequently the towns continually complained to the king. These complaints produced little effect, for the reason that, after his elevation to the throne of Hungary, Vladislav had removed his capital from Prague to Ofen, and remained absent from Bohemia for years at a time. There were, moreover, uninterrupted hostilities between the citizens and nobles, who respectively formed federations for continuing their mutual strife. These conditions were in no way altered by the short stay which Vladislav made at Prague in 1502, as the king at once took the side of the nobles and decided the quarrel against the towns, while at a later period he withdrew his decision, though he could not induce the nobility to feel satisfied with his change of attitude. The outrages and aggressions committed by either side increased the bitterness of the struggle, and from year to year the tension grew more severe; but from 1502 to 1509 the king remained in Hungary, and left affairs to take their course in Bohemia and Moravia.

For the history of Silesia the reign of Vladislav was of importance, in so far as this prince, who was ever ready to bestow his favours, issued an important constitutional law to the Silesian orders on November 28, 1498. This was substantially a confirmation of all previous concessions, with certain further additions. The president of the province, that is to say, the governor, and highest official in Silesia, was always to be a Silesian prince; the estates also obtained a right of voting taxes, some relief from military service, and a high court of justice, known as the "Court of the Princes," which was composed of the territorial lords, and formed a final court of appeal for every class. This arrangement might have served as a starting point for the further development of the administration in Silesia. However, in this country also the king's feeble government, which was directed from Ofen, gave rise to disputes of every kind. The bishopric of Breslau had for several years been carrying on a quarrel, which lasted till 1504, with the town of Breslau and some Silesian princes, owing to the election of an unpopular coadjutor. Some years previously (1497) the Duke Nikolaus of Oppeln had ended his life on the scaffold in consequence of an act of aggression against the governor, Duke Casimir of Teschen. The town of Breslau was at feud, now with one and now with another of these princes, and marauding raids were of daily occurrence. The king's decree to secure peace and his threats of punishment proved as futile here as in other provinces.

Vladislav enjoyed little personal influence, unless he came forward in person and secured services in return for new privileges. In 1509 he was anxious that

his son Ludwig, born in 1506, who was already king of Hungary, should be crowned king of Bohemia during his life; he was therefore obliged, after an absence of seven years, to decide upon a journey throughout his remaining territories in order to secure the completion of his project by his personal influence. He soon attained his main object. On February 17, 1509, he made a state entry into Prague with his children and court; on March 11, some delay having been caused by the illness of the young prince, the coronation of Ludwig took place. Other difficulties, especially the struggle between the nobles and the towns, were discussed in the course of a series of diets, but no result was secured. In February, 1510, Vladislav left Bohemia and betook himself to Olmütz, where the Moravian orders did homage to Ludwig, upon receipt of the customary privileges; hence the king went to Hungary, and in the winter of 1510 and 1511 again returned with the youthful monarch and the rest of his family to Silesia, where he also secured the recognition of his son as his successor from the princes and estates. The confusion of legal relations which prevailed under King Vladislav is shown by the fact that he received the homage of the Silesians, not as king of Bohemia, but as king of Hungary, though at the same time he had expressly emphasised the fact that Silesia and Moravia belonged to the Bohemian crown, in an imperial letter to the Bohemians during his stay at Prague (January 11, 1510).

Hardly, however, had the king returned to Hungary than his attention was again occupied by the quarrel between the orders of Bohemia and Moravia, which was all the more dangerous, as the towns appeared to be obstinately resolute. They formed a federation, and on June 20, 1513, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Duke Bartholomæus of Münsterberg, the grandson of King George Podiebrad, who was to represent their party at the court of King Vladislav. He proved successful in convincing the king and his advisers of the destructive influence upon Bohemia of the dominant party of nobles. Towards the end of the year 1513 Vladislav was persuaded to receive the demands of the towns with more favour than he had previously shown them. However, his want of determination and his vacillation delayed a definite decision, although after the death of Bartholomæus the office of mediator between the nobles and towns was undertaken with considerable cleverness and success by his cousin Karl of Münsterberg. The struggle was raging with undiminished heat when Vladislav II died on March 13, 1516, only a few months after he had concluded the important marriage contract of July, 1515, with the emperor Maximilian I, between his own children Ludwig and Anna, and the grandchildren of the emperor, Ferdinand and Maria; this contract also included a federation in which room was found for King Sigismund (Siegmund) of Poland.

B. King Ludwig I (1516–1526)

King Ludwig I (II of Hungary) was no more than a child, though already crowned. Hence it was necessary to agree upon some form of regency for the moment; after long negotiation between the orders in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and also in Hungary, the task was intrusted to the German emperor and to the king of Poland. However, these guardians could exercise no immediate influence of any kind upon the provinces inherited by Ludwig, and the power of the nobles (p. 267) continued to increase. In Bohemia and Moravia the quarrels

between the estates continued as before. The nobles oppressed the towns, travelling merchants and citizens were attacked by robber knights, and the towns made reprisals upon the nobles and their associates, often executing them without ceremony. Isolated peasant revolts in Bohemia are also reported by the chroniclers. The "Compact of St. Wenzel" of September 28, 1517, in which a partial agreement between the estates was secured by the Moravian baron Wilhelm of Pernstein, proves the pressing need of some compromise, however partial. An important point was the definition of the competency of the common law and of the town courts respectively. Disputes of an economic nature and the like were deferred for after consideration. Peace, indeed, was not finally secured. The weakness of the royal power made a recurrence of the struggle inevitable after a few years. However, the public attention was occupied with other events, such as the plague, which began in Prague in 1520, and ravaged the whole country in 1521, the Lutheran movement, and the Turkish danger.

In the year 1522 King Ludwig entered his Bohemian kingdom for the first time as an independent ruler (see Fig. 24 of the plate facing page 248), with the object of putting an end to the arbitrary government of the nobles, as continued to their own advantage for years by the chief burgrave of Prague, Zdenek Lev of Rozmital; the real motive for this journey was the unavoidable necessity of seeking help against the Turks outside of Hungary itself (cf. p. 150). His route first led him to Brünn, where he received the homage of the Moravian orders, and confirmed their rights; he attempted to settle a number of class disputes, and then made his way to the Bohemian frontier, where he was met by the Bohemian ambassadors. After a short stay in some of the more important towns of Bohemia, he reached Prague on March 28, 1522, and made a solemn entry with his young wife and his friend and tutor the margrave George of Brandenburg. A series of troublesome negotiations began forthwith with the estates of the kingdom in reference to the appointment of a new chancellor of Bohemia, and the form of oath to observe the constitution which the king was to take. When the wording of this oath had been once passed, it was to remain in force in Bohemia for centuries. Slow progress also was made with other matters of business, — the queen's coronation, the payment of the heavy debts incurred in King Vladislav's time, and the equipment of an auxiliary army against the Turks. In the summer of 1522 violent disorder broke out in Silesia, especially in the town of Schweidnitz. Finally, at the end of the year, relations between King Ludwig and the ruling nobles became so strained that, at the diet of February 5, 1523, the king secured the dismissal of all the existing officials of the country, in particular of Lev of Rozmital, and introduced a constitutional change, chiefly intended to restore the royal power to its rightful position. The Silesian prince Karl of Münsterberg now became a personage of high influence in Bohemia, holding as he did the posts of high chamberlain and chief minister or administrator of the kingdom, together with other dignities. Almost a year after his arrival King Ludwig left Prague on March 16, 1523, and returned to Hungary by way of Moravia, where he was again involved in long negotiation with the estates. The settlement provided for Bohemia did not prove to be permanent, and within a short time the reaction began. The country was again disturbed by strife between the classes and by religious troubles, the result of the rapid dissemination of Lutheran doctrine.

Notwithstanding numerous embassies and appeals, no help was to be gained

from Hungary or from the king; to the internal troubles of that country the Turkish danger was now added. When the Sultan Suleiman I started from Constantinople for Hungary with a vast army in April, 1526, the youthful monarch resolved to oppose him. His army, which included Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian mercenaries, was overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the Turk; in the battle of Mohács, on August 29, 1526, it was annihilated, and the king was unfortunately drowned in a swamp of the Danube while in flight. The death of the last of the Jagellons on the throne of Bohemia and Hungary, at the age of twenty and childless, forms an event of importance in the world's history, in so far as it occasioned the foundation of the Austrian monarchy under the sceptre of the Hapsburgs.

Bohemia, the centre of that group of countries the historical development of which has been briefly detailed, may be regarded in 1526 as a kingdom a thousand years old, if we assume its history to begin with the establishment of the Slavs in the province after the Germanic emigration. It is an epoch rich in examples of national rise and progress. From its own resources, and building upon foundations hidden in the prehistoric period, Bohemia evolved a constitution which enabled the country to secure and to maintain a definite position among the bodies politic of Central Europe. It produced a royal house of indigenous growth, the Přemyslids, whose pride and power raised their prestige to a level with that of any ruling dynasty in Central Europe. Its territorial power increased. It is true that the national dynasty was restricted within definite limits; calamitous failure was the result of the attempt of Ottokar II to bring German provinces under his power. The extinction of the native dynasty at the outset of the fourteenth century and the accession of foreigners to the Bohemian throne produced a complete change in the situation. No obstacle prevented a Bohemian king of German nationality from rising to the height of supremacy within the extensive German Empire; but the people opposed the transformation of Bohemia into the most important of the German principalities at the expense of the Slav nationality. The national feeling of the Slavs rose in behalf of a reaction and speedily triumphed. But the attempt to construct a national principality upon the basis of home material was also a failure. As under the German kings, so also under the Polish kings, Bohemia found her destiny committed to the care of rulers who pushed her into the background when the possibility of acquiring the crown of Hungary became manifest.

Under such circumstances, and in view of the fact that the constitutional independence of the country and the maintenance of its throne was repeatedly endangered by the secession of the subject provinces, especially of Moravia, it was fortunate for the country that after Ludwig's death the crown fell to the powerful Hapsburg dynasty. The result at which the Přemyslid Ottakar II had aimed upon occasion and with incomplete understanding; the result that the far-sighted diplomacy of Charles IV had marked as the final object of Bohemian policy; the result that had been nominally, at least, attained under Ladislaus Posthumus, — became an accomplished fact in the year 1526: the three states of Bohemia, Hungary, and Austria were united as one powerful monarchy in Southeast Europe.

V

THE SLOVENIAN AND SERVIAN-CROATIAN RACE

By PROFESSOR DR. VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ

1. THE EARLIEST INFORMATION CONCERNING THE SOUTHERN SLAVS

As the history of the German races only emerges from obscurity upon their contact with the Greeks and Romans on the Rhine, on the Danube, and in the Mediterranean territories, so also the early history of the Slav races has been preserved by the Greco-Roman civilization, which by degrees drew all peoples from darkness to light, and stirred them to new life as though by a magician's wand. It was chiefly with the Romans that the Germans came into contact by reason of their geographical position; for similar reasons the Slavs fell within the area of Greek civilization, though here again by the intervention of the Roman Empire. Slav history is thus connected with Roman history. At the point where Slavs were the immediate neighbours of the Romans, their annals reach back to the beginning of our era, though it is not until some five hundred years later that the Northern Slav race appeared upon the scene. It was upon the Adriatic and in the river system of the central and lower Danube that the Slavs first came into contact with the Roman Empire. On the Adriatic and on the classical ground of the Balkan Peninsula, which was saturated with Greco-Roman civilization, begins our earliest genuine knowledge of the Slavonic peoples.

The races which inhabited the districts on the Danube and southwards to the Peloponnesus are known in modern times as the Slovenians, Serbs, Croatians, and Bulgarians. They form collectively the South Slavonic group. As their origin is obscure, so also is their history confused: it is a history the threads of which are lost in many provinces belonging to different states, and bearing even at the present day different names; a history of tribes in which original divergences led in course of time to sharp distinctions of language, script, morals, religion, and history, and which, even in political matters, are opposed as enemies.

Of their earliest history we know little enough. The Slavs were not so fortunate as the Germans, who found a historian in Tacitus as early as the first century. Modern inquirers agree with the Slav antiquarian, Jos. Šafařik, upon the fact that the Slavs appeared in Europe ages ago, together with the other main European races, the Celts, Greeks, Romans, and Germans, and that they settled in Eastern Europe somewhere about the spot where they are still to be found as the earliest known inhabitants. The Slavs and their settlements are known to Plinius (79 A. D.), Tacitus (100 A. D.), and Ptolemaios (175 A. D.). More extensive accounts are given of them by the Gothic historian Jordanes and the Byzantine Procopius, both in the sixth century. From that time onwards information as to

the Slav races becomes more copious. They bear different names. The Greek and Roman authors call them Veneti, while to the Germans they are known as Winds (Wends, Windi, or also Indi). In connection with this type of name is also the name Antes (dynasties? cf. p. 328). Procopius also informs us that the Antes were anciently known as Spores, which has been connected with the name Serb. The second name for the members of this race was Slavus (Slavinus, Stlavus, Sclavus, Slovanus, etc.). the name especially current among the Byzantines. Those tribes who settled in the old Roman provinces of Pannonia, Noricum, Rhætia, and Vindelicia were known collectively as Slavs or Slovenians. We hear of them in the sixth century as of some political importance, and as already waging war with the Bavarian race. It is probable that some Slav kingdoms existed in the sixth century in the modern Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Görz, Gradiska, and on the coast line.

From these Slav peoples settled on either side of the central Danube, on the Drave and Save, many migrated southwards after the fifth and sixth centuries, and settled in the Balkan Peninsula. The question arises whether they were the first Slav colonists in that district, or whether they found in the Balkan territories an older Slav population known under other names. On the solution of this question depends the problem of the Slav population of the Balkan Peninsula. Moreover, the Slavs from these districts were not the only members of the race who went to the Balkan territories; we find traces of Slav immigrants from Eastern and Northern Europe. Formerly the opinion was general that the immigration of the Slavs into the Balkan territories took place during the period between the fifth and seventh centuries. It is now believed that certain traces of a much earlier migration have been discovered. Evidence for this fact is to be found in the older Slav place-names. This new theory can also be harmonised with the earliest historical evidence before us, and provides a natural explanation of the fact that the Slavs suddenly appeared in these territories in such numbers that even the Byzantine emperors found themselves obliged to take measures to prevent them from overrunning Greece (cf. p. 47). The theory further explains why history has nothing to tell us of any great immigration or occupation of these countries by the Slavs in historical times; only now and again does history speak of the settlement of new bands of colonists by the emperors. So long, however, as it is impossible to ascertain the nationality of many peoples living in those districts in the Roman period, such as Thracians, Skordiskans, Dacians, Illyrians, and others, so long will this problem remain unsolved. Hence we must first decide whether they are to be regarded as "immigrants" or as "indigenous;" only then can we discuss the questions of earlier or later dates. It may be noted that the inhabitants of Bosnia still display certain ethnological peculiarities which are ascribed to the Thracians and Dacians by Roman authors. Thus Pliny relates, *apud Dacos mares quoque corpora inscribunt* (among the Dacians the men also paint their bodies). Tattooing is at the present day customary among the Bosnian people. Other national characteristics also point to some relationship.

However this may be, our first knowledge of the Slavs, both in the Danube territories and in the Balkan Peninsula, is gained from the Greeks and Romans when they established their empire in those directions. After the fall of the Roman Empire the Slavs inherited the Roman civilization. The country was covered with towns, trading settlements, and fortresses. These territories were

crossed by admirable military roads. In Thracia we find roads as early as Nero's time, who built post-houses along them (*tabernas et prætoria*). All the emperors paid special attention to the Balkan Peninsula, as it was from thence that they gained the most valuable recruits for their legions. No Roman emperor however, spread his glory so widely throughout the countries on either side of the Balkans as the conqueror of Dacia, the great Flavian, Trajan. His memory was and is still preserved among the Slavs, and his name was even added to the list of Slav deities. Bulgarian songs, as Jos. Constantine Jireček informs us, still sing the praises of the "Czar Trojan." Many place-names still re-echo his name. We constantly find a Trajan's bridge, a Trajan's road, a Trajan's gate, or a Trajan's town, etc. Trajan is also in general use as a proper name. All this is evidence for the fact that Trajan must have come into personal contact with the Slavs.

As early as the fourth century the provinces of the peninsula were wealthy and densely populated, as we are informed by the contemporary writer Eunapios. A disastrous period began for these territories in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Goths and Huns attacked and repeatedly devastated them in the course of plundering raids; possibly these assailants included some Slavonic bands. From this time onwards the Slavs on the far side of the Danube began to grow restless, especially in the old province of Dacia, and overflooded the whole of the Balkan Peninsula as far as the Peloponnese; the Slav language was spoken at Taygetos as late as the fifteenth century. The Byzantine emperors themselves, in their brilliant capital on the Bosphorus, were threatened with attack. The emperor Anastasios (p. 36) in 512 built a great wall two hundred and eighty stades long on the Thracian side, reaching from the Propontis to the Pontos. The task of fortifying the peninsula became ever more pressing. Justinian had eighty castles and watch-towers built along the banks of the Danube, and some six hundred other fortified places in different parts. At that time, however, the Byzantine emperors had more important cares and heavier tasks than the protection of the Balkan Peninsula from the barbarians, whom they were inclined to despise: their faces, from the moment of the foundation of Constantinople, were turned towards the east. Hence, in spite of repeated defeats (p. 42,) the Slavs were able steadily to advance. Things became even worse after the death of the great Justinian. John of Ephesus, a Syrian chronicler of the sixth century, relates as follows: "In the third year after the death of the Emperor Justinian and the accession of Tiberius the victorious, the accursed people of the Slavs entered and overran the whole of Hellas in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica and the whole of Thracia. They conquered many towns and fortresses, ravaged, burned, and devastated the country, and lived in it as freely as at home" (cf. p. 45).

In the year 575 the Avars (pp. 45 and 232), one of the peoples of the steppes formerly called in as auxiliaries by the Byzantines, began their invasions in the Byzantine Empire, and carried their plundering raids through the Balkan territories, alone or in alliance with the Slavs. The Slavs in Illyricum and the Alpine territories soon became restless. In Dalmatia, into which they had made incursions as early as the reign of Justinian, they began to advance with great energy about 600, and drove back the Roman power, which the Avars had already enfeebled, to the coast towns, to the mountains, and to the islands. The Greco-Roman towns of the interior were for the most part laid waste, while such new towns as Spalatro and Ragusa were founded by the fugitive Romans. The Slav

immigrants soon also learnt the art of seamanship. During the siege of Constantinople in 626, which they undertook in alliance with the Avars, they conducted the attack from the seaward side in small boats (cf. pp. 64 f.). In the year 641 certain Slavs, probably those from Epirus, landed on the Italian coasts and plundered Apulia. The Slav pirates traversed the Ionian and Ægean seas, penetrating even to the Cyclades and the coast towns of Asia Minor. Al-Achtal, an Arabian writer of the seventh century, speaks of the fair-haired Slavs as a people well known to his readers. The enterprise of the Slavs was further facilitated by the fact that the Byzantine Empire was now in difficulties with the Arabs, as it had formerly been with the Persians. Their chief attack was directed about 609 against Thessalonica, the second city in the Byzantine Empire. They repeatedly besieged this town by land and water, and on one occasion were encamped for two years before its gates. The Byzantine authorities were, however, invariably successful in saving this outpost. In the seventh century the Slav colonisation of the Balkan Peninsula was complete, and no corner remained untouched by them. The Byzantine authors of that period refer to the Balkan territories simply as Sklavinia.

2. INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHY ON THE HISTORY OF THE SLAV

With regard to the influence which their change of domicile exercised upon the political development of the Slav immigrants and the course of their civilization, we are reduced to conjecture; generalisation is easier here than detailed proof, but in this case the connection between geographical position and history is unmistakable. The position of the Balkan Peninsula, which brought the southern Slavs nearer than any other members of the race to the Greco-Roman world, was of great importance for their future development. In the course of their historical career the southern Slav tribes wavered for a long time between Italy and Byzantium, until eventually the western portion became incorporated with Roman politics and civilization, and the eastern portion with the Byzantine world. For other facts, however, in the life of the southern Slavs deeper causes must be sought, originating in the configuration of the country. If we regard the peninsula of Hæmus from the hydrographical and orographical point of view, we shall immediately perceive that the configuration of the country has determined the fate of its inhabitants. As the whole of the continent is divided from west to east by a watershed which directs the rivers partly to the Baltic and partly into the Danube, so also this southeastern peninsula has its watershed which directs the streams partly towards the north and partly southwards. As the northern mountain range has divided the peoples, as well as the waters, which lie on either side of it, so too the same fact is apparent in the Balkans. The northern and the southern parts of the peninsula have run a different course of development with different results. The mountain range of the Balkans, rising to 12,146 feet, is difficult to cross, notwithstanding its thirteen passes, and many of the struggles between the northern and southern Balkan races were fought out on the ridges of these mountains. At the same time it must be said that other ethnographers have

drawn different conclusions from these same orographical conditions (cf. Manojlo Smiljanić, in the Ratzel *Gedächtniss-schrift*, 1904).

Apart from these facts, the whole peninsula is divided, by mountain ranges running in all directions, into districts, each of which with certain efforts might develop independently of others, as was the case in Western Europe. In ancient Hellas this was the fact which favoured the development of so many independent territories, and during the Slav period it also facilitated the rise of several kingdoms. In so far as it is unjust to regard the Balkan Peninsula as part of Eastern Europe in the strict sense of the term, it is incorrect to call it an East European peninsula. Balkan territories are in every respect more allied to Western Europe, and are somewhat Alpine in character. Thus the immigrant Slavs were easily able to continue in this district their separate existence, a fact which entirely corresponded with their wishes. Hence the manifold nature of the southern Slav kingdoms; for this reason, too, they were more easily accessible to influences which ran very diverse courses. Diversity of geographical configuration naturally produced diversity of civilization; some districts lay on the main lines of communication, while others, more difficult of access because more mountainous in character, were left far behind in the march of progress.

Differences of climate must also be taken into account. To the north of the mountain range in the river system of the Danube the climate is severe, the winter long and hard, as upon the continent; the Danube itself is constantly frozen over. But when we cross the plains and descend into the Thracian plain, a warmer climate is found, where even the cotton-tree will flourish. The vegetation of the country is here of the Mediterranean type, while north of the Balkans it is central European, and of the type of the Steppes in the eastern part; we may notice here the occurrence of the bay-cherry tree, which is widely spread in Asia Minor and Persia. The oak is to be found everywhere, a circumstance which has always encouraged swine-breeding. The local fauna are also different. The most important domestic animals are the ass and the buffalo. Horses are used only for riding and as beasts of burden. The Turks introduced camels into the countries; and during the military period great stables for camels were erected on the high-roads. But at the present time the camel is disappearing with the Turk. The Balkan lands are rich in predatory animals, such as wild boars, wolves, etc., and also in birds of prey, white eagles, golden eagles, vultures, etc., as is proved by the fact that between 1870 and 1880 alone, in the last century, some twelve to fifteen thousand head of big game were killed every year in the Balkans. In the present day bears, wolves, boars, and in places vultures and eagles, are the pest of the country.

Upon the whole, the magnificent position of the Balkan territories on the Mediterranean has at all periods favoured the development of the inhabitants. The fact that the Slavs here came into contact with the sea created new conditions of life and fresh needs. They learnt the art of seamanship, and rose to be a commercial nation. The Southern Slavs show a different national type from the great mass of Slav nationality; their environment and their neighbours have given them a special national character.

3. THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS, THEIR CONSTITUTION AND RELIGION

THE Slav races which settled in the Balkan Peninsula were numerous. Such different names are known as Severane, Brsjakes (Berzetes), Smoljánes, Sagulates (cf. p. 47), Welesiči, Dragoviči, Milinci (Milenzes), Ezerites (Jeserzes), etc. These names are, however, of little importance for the determination of nationality. Apart from the fact that they have often been transmitted to us in a corrupt form, their value is purely topographical and in no way ethnographical. They coincide with the names of the lakes, rivers, and mountains about which the tribes settled. The question then arises, did the tribes give their names to these mountains and rivers, or, what is more probable, did they themselves borrow the old names of these rivers, etc.? The latter is the case with the names Timok = Timočane, Morawa = Morawana, Narenta = Narentane, etc. The opinion of the Bulgarian scholar, Marin St. Drinov, appears to be correct, that at different times different tribes of the northern and western Slavs, or rather fragments of them, made settlements here; a further proof of the theory is the divergent dialects of the Bulgarian language.

Historians go on to relate that, of the Slavs in the western half of the Balkans, the Serbs and Croatians were the most numerous, and that they alone founded kingdoms of their own side by side with the Bulgarian state. This information is of little use to us from an ethnographical point of view; the case may have been as it was in Bohemia, Poland, Russia, and elsewhere, that one small tribe was enabled, by the force of some favourable circumstance, gradually to subdue other tribes, and to include them in its own name, while itself becoming denationalized by the conquered tribes. This may be true of the Serbs and Croatians, as it certainly was of the Bulgarians. The whole nation thus passed into one political unity, and then acquired some meaningless name, possibly taken from a river, mountain, lake, or town of the country, from a national leader, or perhaps from some totally different language. All, then, that can be said is this,—that side by side with the Bulgarians in the east of the peninsula two important kingdoms, the Servian and Croatian, were afterwards formed on the west; though each of these, like the Bulgarians, included several tribes, both bear the names Croatia and Servia, which are capable of no further explanation. If we compare the names of the Slav settlements with those in the North of Europe, on the Elbe and Vistula, Pruth, Dnieper, etc., we find numerous coincidences, and we can in fact assert with Drinov that the Balkan Peninsula contains representatives of all the Slav races and is a miniature picture of the Slav world.

These numerous races, then, bore for the moment different names. Three of these, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Servia, became important; and all others were included under these. The Greeks, however, gave them all collectively the one name of Slaveni, and knew the whole country as Slavinia. The Eastern Roman Empire was known as Romania by the Slavs. This name, however, they applied particularly to the Thracian plain (Romanja, hence the Turkish name Rumili or Roumelia). At the present day the mountain tribes on the borders of the Thracian plain call the inhabitants of the plain Romanec and the women Romanka, although

the whole country up to the neighbourhood of Constantinople was entirely under Slav influence.

The Slavs of that period, like most of the European peoples, were at a stage of civilization which may be described as semi-nomadic. While cattle-rearing and hunting were their main sources of food, agriculture was also carried on, and, as among the Germans, was obligatory upon the women and slaves. An historian informs us that the Avars employed the Slav women for agricultural purposes and in place of draught-animals, which was no innovation on their part. Nomadic tribes periodically deserted the lands which they had ploughed, and removed to virgin soil.

Social and also civic life in the Balkan Peninsula, and probably among all the Slavs, is founded upon the family group or household (the sadruga), which has survived there, as in Lithuania and Russia, to the present day, so that it cannot be regarded as a consequence of a Byzantine or Turkish system of taxation. Survivals of household organisation have also been demonstrated to exist among the Germans of that period. The married children do not leave the father's house, but remain together under the government of the father or patriarch. All the members of such a family bear the name of the family chief; thus the descendants of Radovan and those of the district they inhabited were known as Radovaniči. When the family had so increased as to make common life impossible, some portion broke away from the union, founded a new settlement, took a new name, and formed a new sadruga, which, however, remained in connection with the original family and worshipped the same deity, who thus remained a common object of reverence to several branch settlements. A sadruga might contain from fifty to sixty members; the chief was known as starosta, or starješina, or gospodar, or wladyka, or djedo, or domakin.

The tribe originated in the union of several families. The family was administered by the elders, who apportioned the work, performed the service of the gods during the heathen period, and represented the family in its external relations. Community of property made individual poverty impossible; those only who had been expelled from the federation of the family were abandoned. The affairs of the whole tribe were discussed by an assembly of the elders. The district inhabited by a tribe was known as Župa, and its central point, which also contained the shrine of the gods in the heathen period, was a citadel or grad. One of the elders or patriarchs was chosen as governor of a Župa, and was then known as the Župan, or, among the Croatians, as the Ban.

To this social organisation, which continued longer among the Slavs than among the Germans, are to be ascribed all the defects and the excellences of the Slav tribes. The families did not readily separate from each other, but soon increased to the size of tribes. Hence cattle-breeding and agriculture were conducted to a considerable extent under a system of communal labour and reached a high pitch of prosperity; consequently they were able easily to colonise and permanently to maintain their hold of wide tracts of country. Other conquering nations, such as the Goths and Huns, poured over the country, leaving behind them only the traces of the devastation which they had caused, and then disappeared, whereas the Slavs settled in the country which they occupied. A further consequence was that the Slavs were in no need of extraneous labour for agricultural purposes, and therefore slavery was never so firmly rooted an insti-

tution among them as among the Germans. The Slavs usually made their slaves members of the household, as is related by the Emperor Mauricius. The Slavs were also able to carry agriculture and manufacture to a higher point. Their standard of morality was higher, owing to their close corporate life and strong family discipline, a fact which also favoured the increase of their population. On the other hand the Germans, among whom agriculture was performed by slaves, devoted themselves entirely to hunting and military pursuits.

Still this family organisation enables us to explain why the Slavs were not successful as the founders of states. Their common family life, while implying reverence for their patriarch, also produced a democratic spirit which was entirely opposed to any strict form of constitution. No family was willing to become subject to another; all families desired to be equal; one defended the freedom of another. No family chief was willing to acknowledge the supremacy of another, nor need we feel surprise that the blood feud was an institution which flourished upon such soil. Hence among the Slavs it was far easier for an individual to secure the supremacy over a number of families or tribes, if he stood outside them and was unshackled by their discipline. It is therefore no mere chance that kingdoms of any importance could only be founded among the Slavs by foreign tribes, often invited for that purpose. This peculiarity of the Slav character struck the Byzantine historians. "They have abundance of cattle and corn, chiefly millet and rye," says the Emperor Mauricius; "rulers, however, they cannot bear," he says in another place, "and they live side by side in disunion. Independence they love above all things, and decline to undergo any form of subjection." Procopius also relates in the sixth century that the Slavs declined to submit to the rule of any one man, but discussed their common affairs in council. The pride and honour of individual families was to them more important than all else. Only under pressure of direst need did the Slav tribes join in choosing a common leader, and for this reason strangers were easily able to secure dominion over them.

Concerning the religion of the Southern Slavs, our sources of information have little to tell us; they were polytheists, their chief deities were the heaven and the heavenly bodies. Of Svantovit and Perun, the deities of the northern Slavs, no traces are to be found. They worshipped their gods in groves, mountains, and rocks. Victims were offered to them with song. Together with the gods they reverenced other beings, such as the Vilen or Samovilen (in Thracia, Samodivy), Budenice, Rojenice, Judi, Vijulici, spirits and female wizards (brodnice). Research, however, has not said the last word upon this point, and the personalities of many heathen gods are doubtful.

4. THE POSITION AND POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS

THE districts south of the Danube and north of the Adriatic were under the rule of the Byzantine emperor, though Byzantine rulers were rarely able to exercise any real supremacy. Immigrant tribes from time to time nominally recognised the rights of the Byzantine emperors to these lands, and troubled themselves no further upon the matter. We may even question whether such immigrants always secured the consent of the emperor to their settlement upon Roman territory, a fact which

the Byzantine historians continually reassert, for reasons easily intelligible. These peoples came into the country because they met with no resistance, and were perhaps the more readily inclined to acknowledge a vague supremacy, as they were themselves incapable of founding states.

It is not so much through their military power as through their diplomatic skill and wealth, and also through the disunion of the Slavs, that the Byzantines were able to retain, at any rate, a formal supremacy over these territories during many troublous times. Notwithstanding the great success of the Slav colonisation, the Slavs never succeeded in founding an independent state in the Balkan territories; on this point both they and the Germans were far inferior to the Turco-Tartar races (cf. p. 114). Apart from the fact that these latter, by their introduction of cavalry service with the use of the stirrup, possessed more formidable forces and obtained greater military success, they had also the further advantage of possessing the ideal of a strong state, though in roughest outline. This they had learnt from the civilized nations of Asia. In Europe their appearance exercised some influence upon the military habits and constitutional organisation of the Germanic and Slav world, especially of the Goths; evidence of the fact is the migration of peoples, which was brought about by their arrival. It is not until this that the Germans and Slavs united into larger groups, that is, into states. It was then no mere chance that these peoples were the first to found kingdoms in the districts inhabited by the Slavs. They were the Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Chazars, Magyars, Patzinaks, Polovzes, Tartars, and Osmans.

A. The Supremacy of the Avars

We know practically nothing of the relations of the Slavs to the state of the Huns. On the other hand we learn a good deal of the political life of the Slavs in the sixth century, when the second Turkish people, the Avars, founded a considerable empire in the district occupied by the Slavs. The supremacy of the Avars seems to have extended over the whole district of modern Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia, the whole of Austria proper, the northern districts of the Elbe and Saale, and also southwards to the Danube over modern Dalmatia and Servia. As they were a people of giants, they were called by their neighbours simply Avars or giants. The opinion once held by Franz von Miklosich that many Slav races called every man of unusual size an Avar is not the true explanation of the history of the name, which is rather as follows: the Byzantines denoted these people simply as Ὄβριμοι, Ομβριμοι (that is, giants). Hence comes the Slav Obri (Avari) and a Polish word, Olbrzym (giant). Their rule was exceedingly oppressive. Fredegar's chronicle of the seventh century relates that the Slavs were forced to participate in every campaign of the Avars, and to fight, while the Avars drew up before the encampment. Agriculture was the sole work of the Slavs; other historians inform us that they were often used as draught-animals and beasts of burden. The Avars were the first foreign people whose permanent supremacy over the Slavs is historically established for the sixth century.

About the beginning of the seventh century the position of the Slavs improved, in consequence of a great defeat experienced by the Avars (626). The Avar Khan had undertaken a plundering raid on the Byzantine Empire, apparently as early as 623, and besieged Constantinople, when the Emperor Heraclius began war against

the Persians; the campaign must have lasted some years. At this time, about the year 623, the Slavs on the Danube, in the districts of Bohemia and Moravia, revolted and founded an independent kingdom under the leadership of a certain Samo (p. 229). When the Avar bands before Constantinople were destroyed in 626, the Avar power was considerably weakened for a whole generation. The Slav tribes who had been hitherto subdued were now able to assert themselves. They joined Samo, and appointed him their king in 627, the more easily to oppose the attacks of the Langobardi, Bavarians, and Avars. Then was founded the first important independent Slav kingdom known to history; it lay in the western part of the modern Austrian monarchy. Samo maintained his position until 662 (according to others, 658), that is to say, for thirty-five years. After his death his empire disappears from the scene. We hear later of the Karantani as waging war with the Bavarians, and finally coming under Bavarian supremacy, and, in the eighth century, of a Slovenian kingdom in Moravia and of another in Pannonia; whence we may conclude that the kingdom of Samo had undergone a process of disruption.

B. The Appearance of the Croatians and Serbs

The foundation of the Avar kingdom was moreover of importance to Slav history for another reason. The oppressive rule of the Avars induced the Slavs to abandon their homes in large bodies, to migrate northwards or southwards, and there to occupy new districts. It was therefore at that time that the immigration of the Slavs to the Balkan territories began upon a larger scale. In other respects also the Slavs were now able to assert themselves more strongly. The defeat of the Avars in the year 626 had been of decisive importance both for the Slavs and for the Byzantines. Whole provinces now broke away from the Avars and were occupied by the Slavs. Thus it is no mere coincidence that at this period two numerous Slav tribes appear in the northwest of the Balkan Peninsula. We hear that the Croatians, who are said, upon evidence of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos, to have come from the north, defeated the Avars about the year 626, and appeared as independent inhabitants of the country which they occupied. Their territories were bounded on the north by the Save and by a line running parallel to this river from the Unna to the sea, on the west by the Adriatic Sea, on the south by the mouth of the Cettina River and by the Lake of Imoshi, on the southeast by a line of mountains running from this lake to the sources of the Verbas, and finally on the east by the Verbas itself. Their chief centres were Biograd (the modern Zara Vecchia) and Bihač. These boundaries exist at the present day, though their value is purely ethnographical. It must also be remembered that the whole of the territory now occupied by the Croatians and named after them belonged formerly to the Slovenians and was called Slovenia. In course of time the Slovenian and Croatian tribes coalesced. Even at the present day a remembrance of these conditions is preserved by the name Slavonia, which denotes part of the Croatian kingdom, and by the name of the Slovak tribe in Hungary, and by the old Pannonian-Slovenian kingdom. The Croatians thus absorbed the northwest of Bosnia and Dalmatia as far as Spalatro.

The Serbs soon followed the Croatians across the Save, and, according to the Byzantine chroniclers, demanded and obtained from the emperor a place of settle-

ment. They occupied the modern Bosnia with the exception of the Croatian portion, which is still known as Turco-Croatia. To them also belonged the greatest part of Herzegovina, Southern Dalmatia, Northern Albania, Montenegro, old Servia (Novi-Bazar), the northern districts of the Prizrend Pashalik, and the modern Servia. At the present day we find the Serbs in these territories. Here they formed several larger and smaller principalities, mutually independent, known as Županates. To begin with the most southern, we have the principality of Zeta (Ceta) or Duklja (from Dioklea, which is named after the birthplace of the emperor Diokletian). This was the original home of the ruling family of the Nemanjids (cf. p. 97), under whose supremacy Servia afterwards rose to the height of her power. This district was at all times a place of refuge for the champions of Servian independence. It was here that Montenegro developed, which has succeeded in maintaining her freedom until our own days: it was only during the blood-stained period of Turkish supremacy that she lost some part of her independence. From Cattaro to Ragusa extended Travunia or Konavlia, more or less corresponding with the area of the modern Trebinje in Herzegovina. From Ragusa to the Gulf of Stagno and inland as far as Narenta extended Zachlumia, thus embracing a portion of Herzegovina about the Gatzko and Nevesinje. Neretva or Pagania extended from the Gulf of Stagno to the mouth of the Cettina. The inhabitants, known as Neretshans or Pagans, as for a long time they declined to accept Christianity, were dreaded pirates, and often fought victoriously against Venice. To the east of Zeta, Travunia, and Zachlumia lay Servia proper, the most extensive province of all, nearly corresponding to the modern Servia except for the fact that it included Bosnia, which broke away from it in course of time. Among the Županates belonging to Servia special mention may be made of that of Rasha or Rassa, the modern Novi-Bazar, known as Rascia in the mediæval sources for the history of Western Europe (see map facing page 165).

This Croatian and Servian district, the modern Istria, Bosnia, Servia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Albania, Herzegovina (roughly a third of the Balkan Peninsula), formed the Roman province of Dalmatia, with Salona as a central administrative point; under the Byzantine Empire these respective points (p. 64) bore the same name. The Slavs extended from this point over the whole peninsula, but were there to some extent deprived of their nationality. Only in Macedonia did they maintain their position, although the Bulgarian race was here again in predominance. The Croatian and Servian tribal principalities of the northwest, the chieftains of which were known as Župans, united only in case of great danger under a high Župan. After long struggles the position of high Župan became permanent, and the foundation of a more important empire was thus laid. Accurate information concerning the Croatian and Servian races is, however, wanting until the second half of the eighth century, and especially until the final destruction of the Avar kingdom by Charles the Great.

C. The Immigration of the Bulgarians

When the Avar supremacy was approaching its fall, another Finno-Ugrian people, the Bulgarians, crossed the Danube, entered upon a series of conquests among the Slavs of the peninsula, and even threatened Constantinople. Their immigration is of special importance for the history of the Balkan Slavs and of the

Byzantine Empire (pp. 65 and 329). Neither the Byzantines nor the Slavs were able to offer any resistance. The Slavs, who lacked any bond of union, repeatedly surrendered. As early as the end of the seventh century a Bulgarian state was founded in the northeast of the peninsula, and maintained its position, not only against the Greeks, but also seriously threatened the old imperial city. Until 627 the Persian danger had threatened Byzantium; this was followed by the Arab danger in 750; and now the young Bulgarian kingdom becomes prominent among the enemies of the Byzantine Empire.

The boundaries of the new state rapidly increased, and by degrees most of the Balkan Slavs were federated under its supremacy. Under Bulgarian leadership the Slav tribes gradually coalesced to form one people. The higher civilization of the Slavs, however, resulted eventually in the imposition of their nationality upon the Bulgarians, who were much inferior in numbers (amounting at most to thirty or fifty thousand, including women and children); it was only their name that these warlike conquerors gave to the state and the people. A couple of centuries later there were no longer any distinctions between Slavs and Bulgarians; all were Bulgarians speaking the Slav language. Of the original Bulgarian language, only scanty remnants have survived. Among other fragments is a register of Bulgarian princes from primeval times until 765, which, though a Slav document, contains some words belonging to the Turkish vocabulary (cf. pp. 72 and 327).

About the period of the Bulgarian immigration, which closes for the moment the migrations of peoples south of the Danube, the Balkan Peninsula displayed a most motley mixture of populations. Side by side with the Romans and the Greeks (the latter of whom proudly called themselves Ῥωμαῖοι) were the Slavs, who formed the majority, and among them for a considerable period remnants of the old inhabitants, the Thracians, from whom or from the Illyrians the Albanians are supposed to be descended (p. 223). There are also to be found remnants of Goths and Gepids; in Croatia there were remnants of the Avars, and to these in the seventh century were added the Finno-Turkish tribe of the Bulgarians. The process of unification began. Many tribes were absorbed by others, with the result that new nationalties were formed, such as the Roumanians. By the founding of the Bulgarian state and the imposition of the Slav nationality on the Bulgarians, the Slavs became preponderant both politically and ethnographically. Formerly the individual tribes lived in somewhat loose dependence upon Byzantium, and were the more easily able to preserve their nationality; now any member of the Slav kingdom was forced sooner or later to accept the Slav civilization.

The Avar people had brought disaster upon the southern Slav tribes, whereas the immigration of the Bulgarians secured the predominance of the Slavs in the peninsula. The political life of the Balkan Slavs now centres round three main points, — in the east about the Bulgarian kingdom, in the centre about the Servian, and in the west about the Croatian principalities. Of Byzantine supremacy hardly a trace remained, except that a scanty tribute was transmitted to Byzantium. Only when some more powerful ruler occupied the throne of Constantinople were the reins drawn tighter or the flame of war blazed up. At a later period the dependence upon Byzantium came to an end. Some influence upon the political affairs of the northwest portion of the Balkan Peninsula was exercised by the appearance of Charles the Great, who waged war with the Eastern empire in 788 concerning cer-

tain Byzantine possessions in Italy. He conquered both Istria and also Dalmatia, and the Slovenians between the Drave and the Save paid him tribute until 812, when he renounced his claims to the districts extending to the Drave, under a peace with Byzantium (p. 74). At the present day monuments dating from the period of Charles' supremacy over these countries are to be found in the museum at Agram.

5. THE CONVERSION OF THE SLAVS TO CHRISTIANITY

THE position of the Slav territories brought with it the consequence that Christianity was imposed upon them from three sides: on the one hand, from Aquileia by Italian priests; on the northern side, from Salzburg by Germans; and, finally, from Byzantium by Greek missionaries. There were other isolated attempts, but these may be neglected.

The original dissemination of Christian doctrine is here, as in other cases, wrapt in obscurity. Some missionaries came from the Frankish kingdom. Thus Kolumban, according to the narrative of his biographer, Jonas, after his expulsion from Burgundy by King Theodorich about 610, is said to have conceived the plan of preaching the gospel to the Slavs in Noricum. About 630 Bishop Amandus of Utrecht entered the kingdom of Samo, determined to win the martyr's crown. He was followed about 650 by St. Emmeram with a priest, by name Vitalis, who was learned in the Slav language. More fruitful in result was the activity of Bishop Rupert of Worms, who founded a bishopric and monastery in the Noric Juvavia (Salzburg). Henceforward the diocese of Salzburg undertook the conversion of the Alpine Slavs, naturally under the protection of the Bavarian dukes. Especially good service was done by Bishop Virgilius, who occupied the see of Salzburg between 745 and 785. He sent out capable missionaries to Karantania and built churches there (Maria Saal, Lurnfeld, Undrima). The princes of Karantania themselves saw the necessity for accepting the Christian faith; Chotimir invited Bishop Virgilius to his court, though with no result. The mission was energetically supported by Duke Tassilo II (748–788) of Bavaria, the first duke to rule over Karantania. He cherished the idea of shaking off the Frankish yoke, and looked to Karantania for support, which he thought could best be gained by the dissemination of Christianity. He founded monasteries, or gave leave for such foundations under the express obligation of continuing the missions (such foundations were Innichen and Kremsmünster). After the subjugation of Tassilo by the Franks (788), the work of conversion was completed under Bishop Arno. He received the necessary full powers from the emperor and pope, and completed the organisation of the Church by appointing a local bishop, by name Theodorich. Once again it was a Windish prince (Ingo) who supported his efforts.

The patriarch of Aquileia suddenly raised an objection to these proceedings, alleging that those districts belonged to his own diocese. It is true that we know nothing of any missionary energy displayed by Aquileia in that quarter. Yet missions there must have been from Aquileia; for in 810 Charles the Great was able to secure a compromise on terms which made the Drave a frontier line for the two claimants. Thus from henceforward the Slavs were divided between two dioceses.

The whole position was altered in the course of the ninth century, when Byzantium took the work of conversion seriously in hand. The Slav nation had for a

long time opposed the first Christian missions because these were supported by their princes; when, however, they observed that by the acceptance of Christianity they had lost their freedom, they changed their opinion. If it were necessary to accept Christianity at all, it was better to take it from a quarter whence no danger of subjugation threatened. This was only possible by adherence to the Greek Church. The East Roman Empire had in course of time fallen into enmity with the old Rome, a dissension which extended to ecclesiastical affairs. In the ninth century Byzantium had resolved to act decisively against the West. From that period her influence increased and extended in a wide stream over the Balkan Peninsula. The Greek language, Greek writing and coinage, Greek art and literature, Greek law and military science, were disseminated among the Slavonic tribes; and of even greater importance was the missionary activity of the East Roman Church.

Of decisive importance for the fate of the Balkan Slavs and for the Slav nationality in general, indeed for Eastern Europe as a whole, was the moment when the patriarchal chair of Constantinople was occupied by Photius, one of the greatest scholars that the Byzantine state produced. Apart from the fact that he strove with all his might to further the revival of Greek antiquity and brought Byzantine culture to its zenith, his ecclesiastical policy was actuated by hostility to the Roman chair, and brought about the official division of the Byzantine Church from Rome (pp. 74 and 79). He won over many nations and vast tracts of country for the Byzantine Church. During the imperial period, the Roman Empire had been divided into East and West only in respect of politics; this division was now superseded by the ecclesiastical separation. The whole of the East, with its wide northern territories, occupied by the Slavs, henceforth recognised the predominance of the Byzantine Church and sided with Constantinople in the great struggle which now began. Of the movements called forth in Europe at that time and for centuries later by the action of Photius, we can form but a vague idea in view of the scantiness of our records. A rivalry of unprecedented nature between the two worlds broke out along the whole line, and the great and vital point at issue was the question, which of the churches would be successful in winning over the yet unconverted Slavs. To the action of this great patriarch alone the Byzantine Church owes the success which it achieved over the Romans in this struggle. In vain did Rome make the greatest efforts to maintain her position; success was only possible for her where the German arms were at her disposal. Even to-day the Slavs reproach the Germans for attempting to secure their subjugation under the cloak of the Christian religion. But the German emperor and princes were only pieces upon the great chess-board, moved by unseen hands from Rome. At a later period the German princes marched eastward, not to convert, but to conquer.

Almost at this time two Slav princes sent ambassadors to Byzantium and asked that the work of conversion might begin; they were the Moravian prince Rastislav (Rastiz, cf. pp. 77 and 230 f.) and the Bulgarian prince Boris (p. 79). It is possible that the prince of the Khazars (p. 78) had done the same two years earlier. Photius began the work of conversion with great prudence. Two brothers from Thessalonica, learned in the Slav language and experienced in missionary work, were chosen to preach the gospel to the Slavs. It was decided, however, definitely to separate from Rome the nationalities won over to the Greek Church, and for this purpose Byzantium, in opposition to the Roman use, which allowed the liturgy

to be recited only in Latin, laid down the principle that every people might conduct public worship in its own language. Thus outside the three sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the Slav was recognized as of equal importance, as had been at an earlier period the Syrian, Coptic, and Armenian tongues.

Constantine (Kyrill, Cyril) and Methodius, the two Slav apostles, went forth to their destination, Moravia, in 863. They invented a special form of writing for the Slavs, that, according to some, which is nowadays known as Glagolitic (see plate facing p. 286); they translated the sacred books into the Slavonic tongue, and thus became the founders of Slavonic literature. They organised the Slav church, founded schools, had churches built, and travelled over the whole country, everywhere carrying the light of civilization and of the new religion. "And full of delight were the Slavs when they heard the wonders of God in their own language," says the old Slav legend concerning Methodius. When shortly afterwards divine service was recited in the Slav language in the churches of Moravia and Pannonia, the German clergy were stricken with fear, as they now saw that the East, the field of their future missionary activity, was lost to them. They expostulated forthwith both to the German emperor and to Rome, enlarging upon the danger which might threaten both powers from this side. In order that their work might not be checked at its outset, the two apostles went to Rome to explain their position and to gain confirmation for their work. Upon their return journey they entered the Pannonian kingdom at Lake Platten, where Kozel (Kocel; cf. p. 233) was ruler. The two brothers were able to win over the prince to the gospel so entirely that he began to read the Slav books and ordered several youths to do the same. When the apostles of the Slavs had won over the Pope to their cause, and Methodius was made bishop of Moravia, Kozel sent an embassy to Rome requesting that the Pope would also place his principality under the new bishop. The Pope thereupon raised Methodius to the position of archbishop with a seat in Syrmium, and united the new principality to the old diocese of Syrmia. Croatia on the Save was also placed under this Pannonian archbishopric. The Slav liturgy then extended with marvellous rapidity, and the prestige of the Bavarian clergy sank so low that their arch-priest was forced to return to Salzburg in 870.

The Bulgarian prince Boris hesitated for a long time between Rome and Byzantium; and it is doubtful whether his final decision in favour of Byzantium was not dictated by the political object which had influenced Rastislav, the prospect of securing his independence of Germany. Apart from the advantage conferred by the Slav liturgy, his action was decided by the further fact that so many Greek Christians were contained among his people that the acceptance of Greek Christianity seemed inevitable. Finally, he may also have acted in the interests of that Bulgarian policy which aimed at the conquest of Constantinople. For the conversion of the Bulgarians, the advice of both missionaries seems to have been sought. At the same time the Croatians accepted the Slav form of Christianity. It was now impossible for the Servian tribes to stand aloof. We do not, however, know when they came over. Some are said to have accepted Christianity as early as the seventh century under the Emperor Heraclius; but it was not until a new band of scholars and priests came into the country from Pannonia that the Slav Church became capable of development. After the death of Methodius (885) the Slav Church was no longer able to maintain its position in Pannonia; Svätopluk, the successor of Rastislav, drove out the disciples of Methodius and placed his country

under the German Church (p. 232). The Slav clergy from Moravia found a hospitable reception in Bulgaria, and their activity created the Bulgarian Slav literature. The Bulgarian throne was then occupied by Symeon the son of Boris (893 to 927; cf. p. 84), who was able to turn the knowledge and the powers of the new arrivals to the best account. He lost no time in causing Bulgarian translations of the Greek authors, ecclesiastical as well as secular. Thus, for instance, the monk Gregor (Grigor) translated the chronicle of John Malala, and added to it the Old Testament history and a poem upon Alexander; fragments only survive of the Greek original, whereas the Bulgarian translation contains the whole work. A chronicle of Georgios Hamartolos, at that time the main source of historical knowledge in the East, was also translated and became a model for Slav chroniclers. Other Byzantine authors, such as Kyrill (Cyril) of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzen, Ephraim the Syrian, and Johannes Klimakteros were translated. Symeon's friend, John the Exarch, translated the "Dogmatics" of Johannes Damaskenos, and wrote the famous work "Hexameron" (Šestodnev), in which, following the example of St. Basil, he related the creation of the world in polished style; he also composed sermons for holy days. Constantine, a pupil of Methodius, translated the writings of Athanasius of Alexandria against the Arians and others, and wrote sermons for holy days. A monk known by the name of Chrabr composed a treatise on the Slovenic alphabet. Symeon himself appeared as an author. He began a collection of one hundred and thirty-five sermons of John Chrysostom under the title of "Zlatostruja," and a work of reference ("Sbornik") of Byzantine scholarship, which included dissertations on theology, geology, rhetoric, history, and other subjects by twenty Greek authors. Symeon thus became the founder of that Bulgarian literature which was then continued by other Slavs; his contemporaries compared him to King Ptolemaios of Egypt.

The existence of a Slav literature, the most important of that day in Europe after the Greco-Roman, won over the whole of the Slav nationality to the Byzantine Church and facilitated its conversion. The remaining Balkan Slavs now gave in their adherence to Bulgarian literature, and Bulgaria became the middleman of culture between Constantinople and the northern Slavs. The Balkan Slavs gave the watchword to the other members of their great nationality. The connection of the Slavs with Greek civilization was secured by the fact that the above-mentioned Constantine, bishop of Velica (or Bishop Clemens of Drenovica; cf. p. 78), replaced the inconvenient Glagolitic (p. 285) script by an adaptation of Greek writing made for the Slavs and augmented by the addition of several new signs representing sounds peculiar to the Slav language. This was the Cyrillic writing.[1]

A common literature, civilization, and religion brought Greeks and Slavs closer together, until they formed one group united by a common civilization and divided from the West (cf. p. 78). This event was of decisive influence upon the future of the whole Slav nationality. The southern Slavs in particular inherited all the advantages and all the defects of the Greek character, nor was it politically alone that they shared the fate of the Byzantine Empire. The sloth, the indifference, the stagnation, and the other defects which characterised the Greek Church

[1] See the plate facing this page, "The Opening Words of the Gospel according to St. Luke, in Glagolitic Character with Cyrillic Glosses."

THE BEGINNING OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL IN GLAGOLITIC CHARACTERS, WITH CYRILLIC MARGINAL GLOSSES

(From the MS. of the Gospels preserved in St. Petersburg since 1860 : quattuor evangeliorum codex Glagoliticus Zographensis.)

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OVERLEAF

TEXT	TRANSLATION
EWANGJELIE OTЪ LUKY	GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LUKE
Poneźe ubo mnozí načęšę činiti powêstь o izwê stьnyclъ wъ nasъ weštecl:ъ, jakože predaše namъ bywъ šei iskoni samowidьci i sluhy slowesi, izwo lise i mьnê choždьšju i sprьwa po wsechъ wь isti na po redu psati tebê slawьny Teofile, da ra zumêêši, o nichъže nau čil sę esi slowesochъ, utwrьždenьe. Bystъ wъ dьni Iroda carja ijudejska . . .	Forasmuch as many began to write histories the things known to us, as they have been hand down to us from former times by eye-witnesses a servants of the gospel, I also desired, as I had fo merly wished, to write down all things truly a in order for thee, excellent Theophilos, that th mayest know the foundation of the doctrine wher thou hast been instructed. There was in the ti of Herod, the king of Judea . . .

THE CYRILLIC MARGINAL GLOSSES

Načalnьii držawьnik	Chief governor.
Na začatie Ioana K[restytelja]	Conception of John.
Byst wo dny . . .	It was in the days . . .

CONCLUDING LINE IN CYRILLIC

Na roždenie Ioana krestytela, ot Luky hlawa a`	On the birthday of John the Baptist, accordi to Luke, Chap. I.

(The Cyrillic marginal glosses are by a scribe who did not understand the text, and are therefore worthless.)

are consequently reflected in the society and culture of the Slavs at every turn. The want of organising power and of discipline which characterise the Greek Church have permanently influenced the political life of the Slavs. For the Slavs were devoid of any leading political idea, and clung to the principles of the slowly decaying Byzantine Empire. Divided as they were into a number of tribes opposed to all thoughts of union, they were bound, sooner or later, to fall a prey to some powerful conqueror.

6. THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CROATIANS

THE only bond of union between the Slav races in the Balkan Peninsula was Christianity and the Greco-Slav civilization. The Bulgarian kingdom advanced with rapid strides, as it rose to power, towards the gates of Byzantium, until it entered upon a mighty struggle with the emperor John Tzimisces in 971 (p. 87), and was finally conquered in 1018 by Basil II (p. 88); meanwhile the history of the Croatian and Servian tribes comes but slowly into view from the historical background of the northwest. The part played by the Servian and Croatian Župans is but very small. For the purpose of maintaining their independence they wavered between Bulgaria and Byzantium, ranging themselves now on one side, now upon the other. Many Servian and Croatian principalities were subjugated by the Bulgarians. After the conquest of Bulgaria they were forced to join the Byzantine kingdom, and to secure themselves against aggression from this side they turned to Rome.

The history of Croatia begins at an earlier date than that of Servia; especially is this true of the coast land occupied by the Croatians, which was also known to the Italians as Slavonia. The year 634 is the date generally given to the immigration of the Croatians. They were subdued by the Franks, and after the disruption of the Carolingian Empire they submitted to the Greek emperor Basil I about 877. About the year 900 they once again secured their independence. Prince Muntimir is said to have laid the foundation of this success. Among the Croatians of the coast land we find an independent prince as early as the ninth century, by name Borna, who bears the title Dux Liburniæ et Dalmatiæ. The central point of this duchy lay in the North about Klis, Nona, Zara Vecchia, and Knin. In the ninth century Christianity was introduced with the Slav liturgy and the Glagolitic script, and in 879 a bishopric was founded at Nona by the duke Branimir. The Glagolitic script was forbidden to the Roman clergy by the Synod of Spalatro in 924, but was afterwards allowed by Innocent IV in 1248, and is still in use in the churches in that district (in 1898 Pope Leo XIII issued fresh regulations concerning the use of Glagolitic and of the Slav liturgy in Dalmatia and the coast land).

The Servian chieftain Michael did not secure the title of king from Gregory VII until the eleventh century, whereas the Croatian chief Timislav was granted that title, also by Rome, as early as 926. In other respects the balance of power between Croatia and Servia on the frontier line was continually changing; at one time Servian tribes were subjugated by the Croatians, and at other times Croatian districts were conquered by the Serbs.

In the tenth century Croatia became a formidable power. The islands and coast towns occupied by the Roman population paid yearly tribute to the Croatian

princes with the consent of the East Roman emperor, in order to secure immunity from attacks upon their trade; the Venetians also paid tribute to the Croatians for the same reason, down to the end of the tenth century. According to Constantine Porphyrogennetos (about 950) the Croatians, under the princes Krjesmir (Kresimir, Kreszimir; cf. p. 88) and Miroslav, the successors of Timislav, were able to place in the field 100,000 infantry and 60,000 cavalry, and possessed 180 ships of war. Soon, however, Venice grew so strong that the payment of tribute was refused by the Doge Peter II Orsello, and in the year 1000 he conquered the Croatians and Narentanes and assumed the title of Duke of Dalmatia; this was the first occasion on which Venice acquired possession of the Dalmatian coast. In order to save their throne the Croatian ruling family formed an alliance with the commercial republic. The duke's son, Kresimir, married Hicela, the daughter of the Doge, and bore the title of King of Croatia and Dalmatia from the year 1059.

These events aroused anxiety and enmity in the Hungarian court, which found itself forestalled in its attempts to secure a footing on the Adriatic Sea and to conquer the coast of Dalmatia; the Hungarians also recognised that the Venetian republic had become a dangerous rival. The house of Árpád succeeded in negotiating a marriage between the daughter of King Geisa I and the Croatian duke Svonimir, who at that time (1076) had been crowned king by the papal legate of Gregory VII, and had thus admitted his position as a vassal of the papal chair. In 1088, when Svonimir died without children, his widow is said to have called in her brother Ladislaus. He conquered the interior of Croatia in 1091, but was unable to advance to the sea, because Hungary was herself threatened at that time by the Kumanians. He intrusted the government of the conquered district to his nephew Almus. Croatia thus became an appanage of the Hungarian Empire, whose fate it henceforward shared. Hungary was thus necessarily forced into hostility with Venice, as it was committed to an attempt to conquer the Dalmatian coast, then in Venetian hands. From this time forward that part of Croatia lying next the sea (Dalmatia) formed for centuries the apple of discord between Hungary and Venice. If Byzantium were now to assert her rights, she would have to compose the quarrels of Hungary and Venice.

7. SERVIA, MONTENEGRO, AND BOSNIA UNTIL THE TURKISH SUPREMACY

A. SERVIA

AFTER the conquest of Bulgaria by Byzantium and the occupation of Croatia by Hungary and Venice respectively, the Servian race, alone of all Slav peoples in the Balkan Peninsula, retained any kind of independence, although they were by no means as yet a united state. At all times and in all places small nations have only federated when threatened by some external danger; thus it was that the Russian and Lithuanian states arose, and such is the history of all the Western European states, and of Servia among them. Under the great Czar Symeon Bulgaria so devastated the Servian districts that they had to be recolonized by returning fugitives, and part of the Servian tribes were forced to recognize Bulgarian supremacy. In the tenth century the Župan Ceslav succeeded for the first time in

uniting several Servian tribes for a common struggle against the Bulgarians. After the destruction of the Bulgarian Empire by Basil II (p. 88) Byzantine supremacy over the whole peninsula was established with a vigour which had been unprecedented since the time of Justinian I, and this state of things continued, under the dynasty of the Comneni, till the end of the twelfth century. The boundless oppression of the government often, however, caused revolts among the Serbs. The High Župan Michael (p. 287) applied to Rome for support, and received from thence the title of king, and maintained his independence of Byzantium for some time. The help of the Hungarians was also not despised.

(*a*) *The Nemanjids.* — A prominent figure about 1120 is Uroš, or Bela Uroš, the Župan of Rassa, whose family belonged to Zeta; he entered upon friendly relations with the Hungarians, married his daughter to Béla II, and helped the Magyars to secure possession of Bosnia. From the Rama, a tributary of the Narenta on the south of Bosnia, the Árpáds now took the title of "King of Rama."

Of even more importance for Servian history is the rule of the son of Uroš, the famous Stefan I Nemanja, who was also born in Zeta, the cradle of his race. Although the youngest of his family, he aimed at the principality of Rassa, and also at the general supremacy, which he was able to secure with the help of the Byzantines. Though he had been baptised into the Western Church, he underwent a repetition of the ceremony according to the customs of the Eastern Church, when he had arrived in Rassa, in order to secure the favour of the clergy and the people. In the year 1165 the emperor Manuel I confirmed his position as High Župan, and gave him a piece of land, in return for which Nemanja swore fidelity to him. In the year 1173 Nemanja defeated his relations and secured the obedience of the refractory Župans. In this way he founded one uniform, hereditary, and independent state. That process was here completed which was going on at the same time in Bohemia, Poland, and Russia. And in these states also families began to rule according to the laws of seniority; that is to say, the eldest member of the ruling family exercised a supremacy over the rest until the transition to hereditary monarchy had been completed. Princes of the royal family who had hitherto enjoyed equal rights now became officials of the royal power. In Servia this change was completed at a much earlier date than in other Slav countries.

Nemanja also took in hand the organisation of the Servian Church. Converted to the Greek faith, he built monasteries and churches, suppressed the Roman faith, and cruelly persecuted the widely spread Bulgarian sect of the Bogumiles, with the object of securing a uniform religion throughout his own state. The Eastern Church thus became established in Servia, and the Eastern form of worship became the national worship, so that religion and nationality formed an undivided idea. At an earlier period the Servian churches and bishoprics had been subordinate to the Roman archbishopric of Spalato, and afterwards to that of Antivari; now Eastern bishoprics and an archbishopric were founded for Servia alone. The king's youngest son Rastka was appointed the first Eastern archbishop in Servia (at the Synod of Nikaia in 1221), under the name of Sava (Sabbas). He divided the land into twelve bishoprics, and bestowed episcopal rank on none but Servians. Žica was made the residence of the Servian archbishops; at a later period Sava

carried thither the remains of his imperial father Nemanja from Mt. Athos; here, too, Servian kings were in future to be crowned (this was realised in the case of Peter I on October 9, 1904). Sava also founded monasteries in Servia, all under the rule of Saint Basil, which he had found in force at Athos. He enjoyed a high prestige, and was highly honoured as the first national saint of Servia. In the year 1235 the independence of the Servian Church was recognised by the Greeks.

This ecclesiastical alliance did not, however, prevent Nemanja from attacking Byzantium when the advantage of his own state was in question. Immediately after the death of the emperor Manuel in 1180 he conquered, in alliance with the Hungarian king Béla III, those Servian districts which had fallen under Byzantine supremacy. He then renewed his friendly relations with the emperor, and even secured the hand of the emperor's niece Eudoxia for his own son Stefan, an alliance which brought legitimacy and special prestige to his house. It seems that the ambitious Nemanja hoped to bring Byzantium within his power. The circumstances were favourable to such an attempt. Servia was the only independent state in the Balkan Peninsula, while Byzantium was weakened by quarrels about the succession. Nemanja, however, did not feel himself sufficiently strong for the attempt. At that period the emperor Frederick I Barbarossa came to Nisch on his crusade. The Servian prince appeared before him, and a chronicler assures us that Nemanja was willing to accept his country from Barbarossa as a fief. The emperor, however, who did not wish to arouse the animosity of the Greeks, declined to entertain the proposal.

In the year 1195 Nemanja, apparently with the object of securing the supremacy of his house, abdicated in favour of his eldest son Stefan (the second Nemanja), to whom he had already given the Byzantine title of Despot. His second son Vukan (Vlk) received his hereditary district of Zeta. Nemanja himself retired into the monastery of Studenitza, a foundation of his own, under the title of "Symeon the Monk;" afterwards he went to Mt. Athos, and died in 1200, at the monastery of Chilander, which was also of his foundation. A struggle for the succession burst out between his sons, Vukan attempting to secure support in Hungary, and especially in Rome. Stefan also made applications to that quarter, and was crowned by the papal legate in 1217; he assumed the title "King of Servia, Diocletia, Travunia, Dalmatia, and Chlum." This step, however, cost him his entire popularity in the country. The archbishop Sava had repeatedly interposed in the quarrels of his brothers; Stefan now asked for further action of the kind. Sava crowned him in 1222 with a crown sent by the Byzantine Empire, at a great popular assembly, at which he read before him the articles of faith of the Eastern Church. The Hungarian king Emerich had availed himself of these quarrels to bring Servia under his supremacy. In 1202 he occupied Servia and assumed the title of "Rex Rasciæ;" but a struggle with his brother Andreas forced him to leave Servia. Stefan maintained his position until his death, in 1224. Since that time no Servian ruler ventured to break away from the Eastern Church, although many entered into connection with Rome.

Of the descendants of Nemanja, Milutin (= Stefan IV, Uroš II; 1275 or [1281] to 1320) began a career of ruthless conquest; he had no hesitation in forwarding his plans by repeated marriages with Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Hungarian princesses, with a corresponding series of divorces. He captured Greek provinces

and maintained his possession of them even after the death of the emperor Michael VIII Palæologus (1282). He advanced as far as Athos. He obtained Bosnia from Hungary without striking a blow, as the dowry of his first wife. He also secured the favor of the Pope, whom he was able to keep in hand with empty promises. As he had no legitimate male heirs, he conceived the idea of uniting his empire with the Byzantine, in which plan he was supported by the empress Irene, his second mother-in-law (since 1299). Naturally he and no other was to have been emperor, and her children were to succeed him. Under him and under his son Stefan V (Stefan IV if we begin the series of Stefan kings in 1222), Uroš III, who bore the nickname Dečanski, Servia became famous not only in the Balkan territories, but also throughout Western Europe.

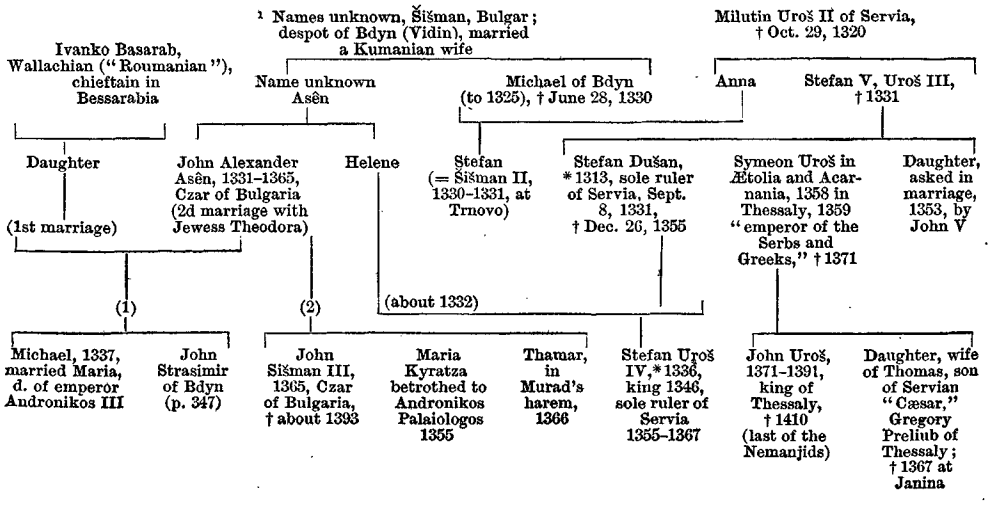
Meanwhile, however, Bulgaria had recovered from her downfall at the end of the twelfth century, and was waging a successful war with Byzantium. The powerful Servian kingdom now stood in the way of her further development. The struggle between the two for supremacy could only be a matter of time. In the year 1323 the Bulgarian Boyars chose the Despot Michael of Bdyn as their Czar; with him begins the supremacy of the Šišmanides of Bdyn, the last dynasty of Trnovo. The new Czar began friendly relations with Servia, and married Anna, the daughter of Milutin, with the object of vigorously opposing the Byzantines and other enemies. Soon, however, the situation was changed. Michael divorced Anna about 1325 and married the sister of Andronikos (III) the younger, of Byzantium. It was only by the intervention of the Servian bishop and chronicler, Daniel, that war with Servia was avoided on this occasion; however, in 1330 war broke out. Michael brought about a great alliance between the Byzantines, Bulgarians, Roumanians, Tartars, and Bessarabians. The Servian king advanced by forced marches against the allies, and suddenly attacked them on June 28 at Velbužd (Velbushd or Küstendil; cf. p. 109). His army included three hundred German mercenaries in armour, and Dušan, the son of Stefan, fought at the head of a chosen band. The Bulgarians were routed and their camp was plundered. Stefan contented himself with raising Stefan, the son of his sister Anna, who had been divorced by Michael, to the position of Czar, as Šišman II, and evacuated Bulgaria. Servia now held the predominant position in the Balkan Peninsula.

Stefan, the conqueror of Velbužd, met with a sad fate. He had been formerly blinded by his father, Milutin, and now came to a terrible end. His Boyars revolted under the leadership of Dušan and strangled him, at the age of sixty, though shortly before he had appointed his ungrateful son to the position of "younger king." Thus on September 8, 1331, Stefan Dušan ascended the throne at the age of nineteen. Of desperate courage on the battlefield, Dušan also possessed all the qualities of a statesman. While Milutin confined his aspirations to a union of the Byzantine and Servian kingdoms, Dusan dreamed of a larger Servia which should embrace all the Balkan territories. Turning to account the weakness of the Byzantine and Bulgarian empires he conquered Albania, Macedonia, Thessalia, Epirus between 1336 and 1340 and in 1345 (see the map facing page 165); even the Greeks, weary of civil war, are said to have invited his supremacy. In 1346 he assumed the title of Czar and had the youthful Uroš crowned king, intrusting to him the administration of Servia proper. In his documents we meet with the title "Stefan, Czar and supreme ruler of Servia and Greece, of Bulgaria and Albania." His title of emperor was also to the benefit of

the Servian Church, as the previous dependency of the archbishopric of Servia upon the Byzantine patriarch was not wholly compatible with the existence of a Servian empire. Hence in 1346 Stefan Dušan raised the Servian archbishop to the position of patriarch, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Byzantine Church. In 1352 the Servian Church was definitely separated from the Byzantine patriarchate. Henceforward twenty metropolitans and bishops were subordinate to the Servian patriarch. Servia was now at the zenith of her power. As Dusan was related [1] to the rulers of Bessarabia and Bulgaria, he was able to form a confederation of these three kingdoms directed against Hungary and Byzantium.

The reign of Dušan was the golden age of Servia, chiefly for the reason that he provided the country with better administration and a better judicial system, and did his best to advance the civilization and prosperity of the people. The code (sakonik or zakonik) which he left behind him, a legal monument of the greatest importance, is a permanent testimony to the fame of Dušan. His conventions with Byzantium, Ragusa, and Venice proved that he also cared for the commercial prosperity of his people. The art of mining, which had been introduced under Nemanja, became so widely extended under Dušan that there were five gold and five silver mines in working. These were chiefly worked by Saxons, whom Prince Vladimir is said to have first brought into the country. Almost the only political mistake that can be urged against Dušan is the fact that he did not use his power to secure the possession of Bosnia, which was inhabited by a purely Servian population. As the whole of Bosnia was never entirely united with Servia, a spirit of individualism flourished in that country, which resulted (shortly after Dušan's death) in the foundation of the Bosnian kingdom under the Ban Tvrtko (cf. below, p. 296).

Dušan's main object was the conquest of Byzantium, and chroniclers tell us of thirteen campaigns undertaken for this purpose. In 1355, when he was marching against the imperial city, he suddenly died. Had his son Stefan Uroš IV (see Figs. 6 and 7 of the plate facing page 299) inherited his father's capacity together with his empire, he would have been able to consolidate the great Servian state. Uroš, however, was a weak, benevolent, and pious ruler, nicknamed by the nation


[1] Names unknown, Šišman, Bulgar; despot of Bdyn (Vidin), married a Kumanian wife
Milutin Uroš II of Servia, † Oct. 29, 1320
Ivanko Basarab, Wallachian ("Roumanian"), chieftain in Bessarabia
Name unknown Asên
Michael of Bdyn (to 1325), † June 28, 1330
Anna
Stefan V, Uroš III, † 1331
Daughter
(1st marriage)
John Alexander Asên, 1331–1365, Czar of Bulgaria (2d marriage with Jewess Theodora)
Helene
Stefan (= Šišman II, 1330–1331, at Trnovo)
Stefan Dušan, *1313, sole ruler of Servia, Sept. 8, 1331, † Dec. 26, 1355
Symeon Uroš in Ætolia and Acarnania, 1358 in Thessaly, 1359 "emperor of the Serbs and Greeks," † 1371
Daughter, asked in marriage, 1353, by John V
(1)
(2)
(about 1332)
Michael, 1337, married Maria, d. of emperor Andronikos III
John Strasimir of Bdyn (p. 347)
John Sišman III, 1365, Czar of Bulgaria, † about 1393
Maria Kyratza betrothed to Andronikos Palaiologos 1355
Thamar, in Murad's harem, 1366
Stefan Uroš IV, *1336, king 1346, sole ruler of Servia 1355–1367
John Uroš, 1371–1391, king of Thessaly, † 1410 (last of the Nemanjids)
Daughter, wife of Thomas, son of Servian "Cæsar," Gregory Preliub of Thessaly; † 1367 at Janina

"Nejaki," that is to say, a man of no account. A revolt soon broke out. Even the first councillor of the Czar, the capable Vukašin, whom Dušan had placed at his son's side, stretched out his hand for the crown, and Uroš was murdered in 1367. With him became extinct the main branch of the Nemanja dynasty, which had ruled over Servia for nearly two hundred years.

(*b*) *The Downfall of the Servian Empire.* — In the civil war that ensued, the Servian nobility raised Lazar Grbljanovič, a brave and truthful man, to the throne in 1336. The new ruler, however, assumed the simple title of Knes or Prince. Meanwhile the political situation in the Balkans had undergone a great change. The provinces formerly conquered by Dušan had revolted. Servia herself was too small and too undeveloped to become the nucleus of a great empire, and at the same time the administration of the country was in many respects deficient.

At this juncture a great danger threatened from abroad. For a long time the Bulgarians and Serbs had been attacking the Byzantine Empire, hoping to aggrandise themselves at her expense, without suspecting that they were attempting to sever the branch by which they themselves were supported. The Turks in Asia began their advance upon the Byzantine Empire, and no force could check them. In the fourteenth century their military fame was so firmly established that the Byzantine emperors called in their assistance against the Bulgarians and Serbs. Soon, however, it became apparent that the most serious danger threatened all these peoples from the side of the Osmans. In the year 1361 Murad I occupied Adrianople and made that city his capital (p. 127); Thracia became a Turkish province. The Byzantines were powerless to meet the danger. Immediately afterwards (1366) the Bulgarian Czar, Šišman, became a Turkish vassal; his sister Thamar entered the harem of Murad. In the year 1371 the Servian usurper, Vukašin, marched against the Turks, but was defeated in the night of the 25th and 26th of September, and slain, together with his brother Johannes Uglješa. The fatal field was known as Ssirb-sündighi; that is, the Servian death. Servia, however, was not yet subdued. It was not until 1386 that Lazar was forced to become a Turkish vassal, and the Turkish danger then lay heavily upon all men's minds. To save the honour of his nation, Lazar prepared for battle, made an alliance with Bulgaria, Albania, and Bosnia, and defeated the Turkish governor at Pločnik at the time when Murad was occupied in Asia. Murad, in anger, spent a whole year in preparation, both in Asia and Europe, and marched against Servia through Philippopolis in 1389. On the feast-day of St. Veit (June 15) was fought the battle of Kossovo (field of Amsel; cf. p. 129), the famous fight which decided not only the fate of Servia, but that of the races of the Balkan Peninsula, and indeed of South-east Europe as a whole. The Servian army was supported by the Croatian Ban, Ivan Horvat, by the Bosnians under their Voivod Vladko Hranič, by auxiliary troops of the Roumanian and Bulgarian tribes, and Albanians. In the dawn, the Emir Murad was murdered in his tent, according to Servian tradition, by Miloš Obilić, who thus hoped to turn from himself the suspicion of treachery, and was cruelly murdered in consequence. The supreme command was forthwith assumed by Bajazet I, the son of Murad. The Servians were utterly beaten; Lazar himself was captured, and was beheaded with many others beside the corpse of Murad. Servia's future as a nation was destroyed upon that day.

Many songs and legends deplore the battle of Kossovo. It was not the superior

force of the Osmans, so the story goes, that resulted in that fearful overthrow, but the treachery of a Servian leader, the godless Vuk Branković. In the Osman army was also fighting the Servian despot, or "King's Son," Marko (the son of Vukašin) of Priljep, a man of giant strength. These facts were the causes of the bitter defeat, and the Serbs fought like heroes. Even at the present day these magnificent epics form one of the chief beauties both of Slav literature and of the literature of the world; they have been admired even by Grimm and Goethe. The old, the blind, and the beggar sing at the present day in the market-place and on the roads the story of the famous old heroic legends, to the accompaniment of the *gusle*, and receive rich rewards from the people, who find in these songs a recompense and a consolation for the loss of their past glory.

As the Tartars trampled upon the necks of the Russians, so also did the Turks upon the Southern Slavs. For centuries the Slav races have had to endure unspeakable barbarity at the hands of the Osmans. Their development was arrested, and they were forced to lag behind in the march of civilization, while at the same time they became a bulwark to the peoples of Western Europe. For this reason it is unjust to taunt them with their half civilized condition; yet the injustice has been too often committed, witness the bitter complaints of the Croatian poet Ivan Mažuranić.

Bajazet, who was still occupied in Asia, placed Stefan, the son of Lazar, as Despot on the Servian throne. Stefan was forced to pay tribute and to join in the Turkish campaigns in person at the head of his army; at Angora (1402; p. 131) Timur himself marvelled at the bravery of the Serbs. The nation never lost the hope of recovering their old independence. Stefan turned to Hungary for support and became a Hungarian vassal, following the example of other Danube states who looked to Hungary or to Poland for help. Upon his death in 1427 he was succeeded by George Branković, a son of that Brankovic to whose treachery the defeat of 1389 was ascribed. He made his residence in Semendria on the Danube. Meanwhile all the states of the Balkans had been forced to bow beneath the Turkish yoke after suffering bloody defeats. Bulgaria fell in 1393, then Zartum, Bdyn, and Moldavia; in 1453 Byzantium itself was conquered. Branković died on December 24, 1457, and was succeeded by his feeble son Lazar, who died suddenly at the end of January, 1458.

In 1459 Mohammed II took over Servia as a Turkish province and divided it into pashaliks. Many of the most distinguished families were exterminated, and two hundred thousand human beings were carried into slavery. Thus the Servian state disappeared from the map of Europe. As once before, after their immigration, so also now, the Serbs were ruled from Constantinople, and it was on the Bosphorus that the fate of the Balkan territories was decided. The wave of Turkish conquest continued to spread onward. Hungary and Poland were now forced to take up arms against it, until the turn of Austria arrived. To these states the Balkan peoples without exception now turned for help. Apart from Dalmatia on the North, which was inhabited by Croatians, alternately under Venetian and Hungarian supremacy, the Osmans subjugated the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, and ruthlessly oppressive was their rule. As, however, they were only concerned to drain the financial resources of the peoples they conquered, and troubled themselves little about questions of religion or nationality, it was possible for the Balkan Slavs to retain their national characteristics until the hour of their liberation.

B. Montenegro

The former birthplace of the Nemanjids, Zeta, had a happier fate. This mountainous district, which took its name from the river Ceta or Cetina, once formed part of the Roman province of Dalmatia. The emperor Diocletian had formed a special province of Prævalis in Southern Dalmatia, with Dioclea as its centre, from which town the whole province became known as Dioclitia or Dioclea. However, in the period of the Slav Serbs it was known as Zeta, and was regarded as the original land and hereditary property of the Nemanjids. St. Sava (p. 289) founded a bishopric and built the monastery of St. Michael at Cattaro. Every successor to the throne first undertook the administration of Zeta. When, however, Dušan made his son Uroš king and intrusted him with the administration of Servia proper, another governor had to be found for Zeta, and he was taken from the house of Balš.

After the death of Dušan the house of the Balšics consequently ruled in Zeta (1360–1421) and became involved in struggles with the distinguished family of the Černojević or Jurašević in the Upper Zeta. At the outset of the fifteenth century the Venetians began to form settlements here, until eventually this Servian coast land fell into the hands of Venice, notwithstanding repeated struggles on the part of Servia. The family of Černojević, which had joined the side of Venice, now became supreme about 1455; Ivan Černojević became a vassal of Venice and received a yearly subsidy. He resided in Zabljak, and founded the monastery of Cetinje in 1478 or 1485. His son George resided in Rjeka and Obod; under him in Obod the first ecclesiastical Slav books were printed between 1493 and 1495. It is at that time (first in 1435) that this country takes the name of Crnagora or Montenegro.

After the fall of the family of Černojević (1528, really as early as 1516) the country was ruled for centuries by the bishops (Vladiks) of Cetinje. The bishop and head of the monastery of Cetinje was at the same time the lord of the country. It is not correct to say that the Turks never ruled over Montenegro and that the people were able to maintain their freedom by heroic struggles; the fact is that the Osman supremacy in this mountainous district was never more than nominal, chiefly from the fact that they could not extract much gain from the poor inhabitants. But Montenegro was subject to the sandshak of Skodra, and was obliged to send a yearly tribute thither, a fact which we learn from the Italian description of Mariano Bolizza of the year 1511. At that time Montenegro included ten settlements and eight thousand and twenty-seven men capable of bearing arms.

C. Bosnia

After the death of Dušan one province after another — first Thessalia, Epirus, and then Macedonia and Albania — revolted from the Servian Empire. Even Servian tribes who had willingly or unwillingly gathered round the throne of the Nemanjids until 1355 now followed their individual desires. This is especially true of their relations, the Bosnians, whose country had never been entirely subject to Servia. In former times Bosnia, like Hungary and Ragusa, had been subject to the Roman archbishopric of Spalatro; later, Bosnian rulers had expressly declared

themselves Serbs and descendants of the Nemanjids. None the less they went their own way. Their first prince or ban of any reputation was Kulin (1180–1204). Naturally Hungary and Servia were rivals for the possession of Bosnia, which availed itself of these circumstances to maintain its independence.

It is only on one occasion, however, that this little district secured a greater reputation; this was when favourable political circumstances allowed the ban Tvrtko (Tvartko, Tvrdko), who regarded himself as a descendant of the Nemanjids, although his family belonged to the race of Kotromanović, to secure the throne in 1376, since which date Bosnia has been a kingdom. This separation resulted in the fact that Bosnian civilization developed upon somewhat different lines from Servian, — a fact apparent not only in the adoption of Roman ecclesiastical customs, but also in literature and even in writing. Under King Tvrtko the doctrine of the Bogumiles, transplanted from Bulgaria (cf. pp. 110 and 329), extended so rapidly that it became the established religion. Thus Bosnia in this respect also displayed an individualism of its own.

The final consequence was that under the Turkish supremacy the nobles who were accustomed to religious indifferentism went over in a body to Mohammedanism, in order to secure their class privileges. The possession of the Balkan Peninsula was secured to the Osmans in 1453 in consequence of the defeat of Constantinople, but it was not until 1463 that Bosnia was incorporated with the Turkish state; many citadels of the kind numerous in Bosnia held out even till 1526 (see the map facing page 165).

8. THE TURKISH SUPREMACY

UNDER the Turkish supremacy the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula entered upon a period of death and national sorrow; only the vaguest recollection of a better past endured. Immediately after the conquest of a province, the Osman administration was introduced, the country was divided into provinces (pashaliks) and these into districts (nahias). The head of a pashalik was a pasha or vizier entitled to an ensign of three horse-tails, while the head of a nahia was called the kadi. There were pashaliks of Servia, Bosnia, Roumelia, Scutari, Widdin, etc., and the distribution of the provinces was often changed. The duties of the Turkish officials were confined to organising or maintaining military service, levying the taxes, and to some administration of justice.

Side by side with the Turkish officials the institution of the spahis (sipahi; p. 123) was of great importance. Upon Osman principles the whole country was the property of the Sultan; he divided the conquered land among individuals, who received it either as hereditary property (zian) or for life tenure (timir; cf. p. 116), and were under the obligation of giving military service in return; these individuals were known as spahis or cavalry. Thus, for example, the pashalik of Servia was divided among about nine hundred spahis, who were both masters of the soil and of its inhabitants. Many Christian noble families became hereditary spahis by accepting Mohammedanism; about the middle of the seventeenth century there were in Roumelia, not including Bosnia, twelve hundred and ninety-four spahis, who had formerly been Christian Bulgarians, Serbs, Albanians, and Greeks.

Side by side with the state administration, there also existed a kind of provincial

administration, which was left in the hands of the people. Every village was administered by its judge and overseer (seoski-knes and kmet) who settled the affairs of the village and explained the traditional principles of justice, though only to those who had need of them and submitted to their decisions. They had no power to enforce execution, and dissatisfied litigants applied to the Turkish authorities. A district was also governed by the obor knes (upper knes), originally appointed by the Sultan. Local administration went no further than this. For the most part the people submitted to the decisions of their own judges and rarely appealed to the Osman authorities; at the same time the kneses and upper kneses, acting as intermediaries between the nation and the Turkish authorities, protected the multitude. At a later period, however, the upper kneses became hereditary, and enjoyed such high prestige that even the Turks were forced to respect them.

Apart from this the Servian Church remained independent under the patriarch of Ipek. It should be observed that the higher clergy at that time were chiefly of Greek origin, and the patriarch of Constantinople hoped to bring the Slavs over to the Greek Church by their means. In the seventeenth century the independence of the Servian patriarchate was abolished, and the church was placed under the patriarchate of Constantinople, as it had been before 1346. In the year 1766 the patriarchate was abolished altogether, as also was the Bulgarian patriarchate of Ochrida in 1767; bishops were now sent out from Stamboul. Only the lower clergy remained purely national and shared the sufferings of the people.

Such were the powers which determined the existence of the subjugated people. The life of the rayahs, as subjugated nations were known, was one without law or rights, and in every respect miserable. Particularly oppressive was the weight of taxation. First of all came the Sultan's or the state tax. Next the male population were obliged to pay a poll tax of three piastres and two paras to the state chest for every person between the age of seven and sixty; this was known as the haraj. Even the priests in monasteries were not exempt from this tax. Three times a year the Turkish officials appeared in the villages, pitched their tents, and levied the haraj. The better to control the tax, a register of boys and men was kept. Besides this, married men paid an undefined tax known as pores, twice every year, on St. George's day and St. Demeter's day, to cover the costs of administration. The kneses held a meeting in the central town of the nahia and estimated the yearly expenses of administration, which they then distributed among the individual inhabitants; naturally the estimate varied from year to year. Besides this the imperial exchequer collected taxes from the merchants for their shops and also from the tobacco planters; then there were customs duties, duties upon fishing, upon river traffic, etc. Besides the state taxes the rayahs had also to satisfy their territorial masters, the spahis. Every married man paid one piastre for poll tax, two piastres married tax, two piastres grazing tax (kotar) for the use of pasturage, one piastre meal tax per head, two piastres kettle tax for every brandy still, from four to ten paras acorn tax for every head of swine, and finally a tenth of a field or garden produce; they were also liable to forced labour. Even the secular clergy were obliged to pay these taxes to the spahis. Naturally the population were also obliged to provide for the support of their kneses, upper kneses, and clergy. In Servia, for instance, a bishop exacted twelve piastres from every house, and on a journey through his diocese an additional five piastres as

well as his maintenance; as they were obliged to buy their office at Constantinople, they were forced to recoup themselves in this way. The priests received tithes of agricultural produce, and occasionally payments for church services.

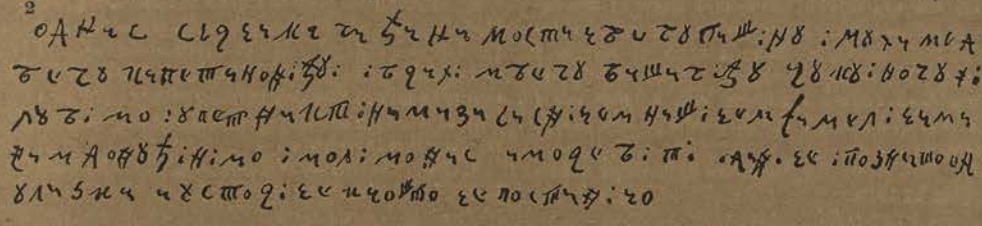
More oppressive even than these various taxes was the administration of justice. In every nahia a kadi was the judge, who was also assisted by a musselim, as the executor of the judicial power. Above the kadi stood the chief judge (or mollah) of the whole province. All these officials supported themselves entirely upon court fees and fines. As they were able to obtain office, according to Benjamin Kallay, only by bribery, the manner in which they exercised their powers may easily be imagined. Turkish law knew no other punishment than the monetary fine, except in the case of political misdeeds; even for murder the punishment was only the price of blood. Usually the officials pursued their own interests alone, and innocent people often suffered. The musselims were especially dreaded, as they continually came into contact with the people, were acquainted with their circumstances, and consequently could easily satisfy their desires or their vengeance upon any object. Beyond all this, the evidence of a Christian was not admitted by the courts, and the Osman administration of justice thus became a system of torture which could only be escaped by flight.

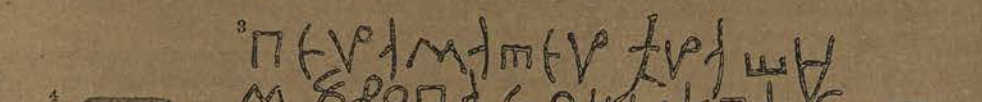
A further torment for the Christian rayah was the presence of the regular Turkish foot soldiers, the Janissaries; these forces were originally in possession of no landed property and only obtained pay. When, however, they were sent out from Constantinople, distributed among the provinces, and secured the imperial power for themselves, they were anxious to become landowners, like the spahis, and seized with the strong hand all that pleased them. The poor rayahs had no protection against their greed; they might console themselves with the words of Vergil, "Not for yourselves, ye birds, did ye build your nests; not for yourselves, ye sheep, did ye wear your wool; not for yourselves, ye bees, did ye gather honey; not for yourselves, ye oxen, did ye draw the plough."

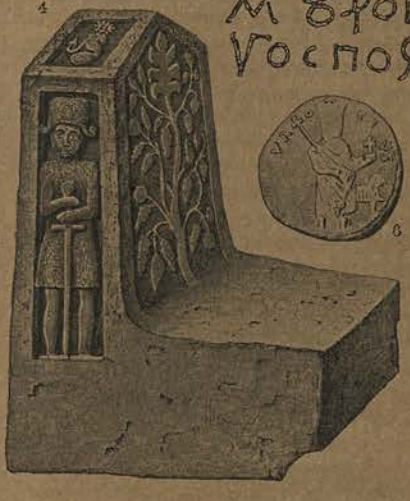
Especially cruel was the levy of youths, which took place every five years, to supply men for the Janissaries, who then became Mohammedans. Only towns were able to secure immunity by the payment of large sums.

Far more humiliating and intolerable was the treatment of the rayah at the hands of the Mohammedans. It was at this point that the differences between conquerors and conquered first became plainly obvious. It was a difference, according to Kallay, expressed in outward form. The clothing of the rayahs was to be simple. They were not allowed to wear the kaftan or gold or silver embroidery on their clothes. They were not to inhabit beautiful houses or to keep good horses. They were forbidden to wear swords. In the town the rayah might only go on foot. If a Christian appeared before Turks, he must hide his pistols; if he met them on the road, he must alight from his horse, and stand before them if they sat. Apart from this the Turk might call any Christian from the street and force him to bring water, look after his horse, or perform any other duty. Christian women were handed over to Mohammedans without reserve if they found favour in their eyes; at marriages the bride was concealed in a cellar with her head veiled in cloths.

The result was that the Christians fled into the inaccessible mountains and forests, and from thence defended themselves against their oppressors. Their numbers steadily increased. In the Slav provinces they were known as hayduks,







SERBO-BOSNIAN CIVILISATION

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OVERLEAF

1. Tattooings in use among the Catholics of Central Bosnia: simple and composite crosses, circles (the "Kolo"), semicircle (the "Ograda": fence or paling, on the palm of the hand); bands (the "Narukvica": arm-bracelet, on the wrist); twigs ("Jelica," serving as a crown to the Kolo), ears of corn (the "Klas," on the lower side of the forearm), moon ("Mjesec"), and sun ("Sunce," on the back of the hand).

2 and 3. Bosnian cursive script (Bosančica), eighteenth century.

2. From a Herzgovinian MS.

3. From a stone monument near Fojnica.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
2. Od nas sirjaka (siromaka) Gaćana: Mostaj begu Pašinu i Muhamed begu Kapetanoviću i Ibrahim begu Bašagiću Ruku i nogu vi lubimo i u pet vakti namaza sa svijem našijem famelijama Vam dovu činimo i molimo Vas, a more biti i da vi je poznato od ulazka Austorije kao što je postavijo . . .	2. From us the poor of Gacka to Mustai-beg the Pasha's son and Muhamed-beg Kapitanović and Ibrahim-beg Bašagić. We kiss your hands and feet and do homage to you at all the five times of ablution with all our families, and beg of you, and perhaps it is known to you how it was established since the Austrian invasion . . .
3. Pera mater Fra Šimunova koja zaspa u gospodinu na 1719.	3. Pera, the mother of Fra Šimun, who fell asleep in the Lord in the year 1719.

4. The stone seat (seat of judgment) of Ivaniš Pavlović, son of Paul Radinović of Bukovica in Bosnia; first half of the fifteenth century. On the back of the chair in bas-relief is a tree with flowers and fruit; on the right side of the chair a male figure with a hat on his head, grasping the hilt of a sword in both hands; on the left side of the chair a female figure with crowned head, holding a round object in her hands. On the right-hand slant of the back at the top are the arms of the Pavlovićе; on the left hand slant is the inscription: Si[j]e stô Pavlovića Ivana (that is, this is the chair of the Pavlović Ivan).

5. The Roga (horned cap), a horn-shaped object resembling a Phrygian cap, a head-dress only occasionally worn by women in the Bosnian district of Srebrnica. The horn is woven of dried shoots of flax and the curled point is made of a pad of dried basilicum stalks. This Phrygian cap is accompanied by a pad as thick as the arm, made of twisted cloths and covered with a dark material which encircles the forehead, and by a band of red silk or cotton about ten centimetres broad and forty centimetres long, decorated at the ends with embroidery of glass beads and with long thick fringes: this band is drawn over the carved peak of the cap and hangs down over the shoulders of the wearer.

6 and 7. A bronze coin of the Servian emperor Stefan Uroš IV (1355–1367). Obverse: the emperor standing with crown, sceptre, and orb; on the left a walking lion (the right-hand lion has been obliterated). Inscription: VRO[S]IVS. Reverse: the Madonna with hands lifted in prayer (coin perhaps was struck at Dulcigno, where the Madonna was the patron saint). Inscription: S[AN]C[TA MA]RIA.

8. Pictures of the Kolo and of a stag-hunt on a grave-stone in Gacko. A mounted hunter pursues a stag with a lance; above are youths arranged in pairs for the dance, and near them the leader. About 1400.

9. Kolo depicted on a grave-stone in Nekuk near Stolac. A family of three men, five women, and two little children (at the edge of the carving) in order of dance, led by the dance-leader. About 1400.

(From Vols. II, III, and IV of *Wissenschaftlichen Mitteilungen* from Bosnia and Herzgovina, published by the Bosnian-Herzgovinian National Museum in Sarajevo, edited by Dr. Moritz Hoernes. Vienna, 1894–1896.)

and in Greece as klephts. They were robbers who also robbed the Christians upon occasion. But the spirit of freedom remained alive among their numbers, and they were respected by the population as avengers of the people and champions of freedom, were protected from the pursuing Turks and were celebrated in song as heroes. As the Christians were incapable of bearing arms, these robbers became the only people able to defend themselves.

In their misery the people found consolation in their kneses and upper kneses, in the spahis, who generally treated them mildly, and particularly in the church. It was the monks who were popular, rather than the secular clergy. The monasteries were at that time the centres of national life. They enjoyed privileges from the state, and were less dependent upon the Osman authorities. The monks alone were allowed to hear confessions and to celebrate the communion. They were the only educated class, and preserved the remnants of Slav literature. The people swarmed to the monasteries from the remotest districts, and on dedication festivals lively scenes took place. Merchants then sold their wares; lambs and pigs were roasted; and to the sound of the shepherd's pipe or bagpipe the Servian youths danced their national dance, the kolo, which was also known in Bulgaria (see Figs. 8 and 9 of the plate facing this page, "Servian and Bosnian Civilization"); at the same time the old men sang songs of the national heroes.

9. CROATIA, DALMATIA, AND RAGUSA; THE CROATIAN MILITARY FRONTIER

A. Croatia and Dalmatia to the Sixteenth Century

While the Servian state succeeded in maintaining its independence until 1389, the excitable, military, and highly gifted Croatian people had been made tributary to their neighbours as early as the end of the eleventh century; while Servia had been able easily to enrich herself at the expense of the declining power of Byzantium and Bulgaria, Croatia had to deal with the rising state of Hungary and with Venice, at that time the first commercial power in Europe. Notwithstanding these differences, Croatia would probably have emerged victoriously from the struggle, had she not been weakened by internal dissensions. The interior of Croatia remained united to Hungary. Venice and Hungary struggled for a long time and with varying success to secure the mastery of the Croatian seaboard which was known as Dalmatia. In the fourteenth century the Bosnian king Tvrtko (p. 296) had secured a temporary supremacy over Dalmatia and assumed the title of "Rex Croatiæ et Dalmatiæ;" even after his death in 1391 Bosnia retained her hold of part of Southern Dalmatia, which henceforward bore the name of Herzegovina. In the fourteenth century other claimants for the possession of Dalmatia appeared in the Angevin dynasty of Naples, until King Ladislaus sold the province of Zadar to Venice for one hundred thousand ducats, and thus decided the struggle for Dalmatia in favour of Venice; after that period many states voluntarily submitted to the Venetian rule, while Hungarian influence steadily decreased.

The consequence was that these two related tribes entered upon divergent careers. While the Serbs came under Byzantine influence and accepted the Greek

Church and civilization, Croatia, united to the West, lived under wholly different conditions. The frontier between the Servian and Croatian settlements is therefore the frontier between the East and West of Europe, between the Greek and the Roman worlds.

(*a*) *The Interior of Croatia until the Turkish Conquest.* — Different courses of development were also followed by the two parts of Croatia. While the coast line, within the area of the Roman world, shared in Roman culture and economic development, the interior of Croatia remained part of Hungary and steadily declined in consequence. In religious matters also the two parts were divided when Ladislaus, the Saint, of Hungary founded a bishopric in Agram and made it subordinate to the archbishopric of Gran, in 1095. In the year 1853 Agram was raised to the dignity of an independent archbishopric. In the diocese of Agram the Slavonic ritual was gradually driven out by the Latin, though the Slavonic maintained its ground in Dalmatia, after Innocent IV had recognised its equality with the Latin ritual (1248). At the present day the Slav liturgy is allowed throughout the diocese of Zengg, while in the rest of Croatia only the epistles and the gospels may be read in the Slav tongue. In the Hungarian portion of Croatia adherents of the Eastern Church certainly maintained their existence and even multiplied during the Turkish period (after Suleiman II), owing to the influx of Bosnian and Servian fugitives; at the present day there are in the country thirteen monasteries of the Eastern Greek Church. Notwithstanding this fact, Croatia has remained a distinctly Catholic country.

Among the towns, the most important, with the exception of the ancient Sissek, which dates from Roman times, was Kreutz, where the Hungarian king Koloman is said to have concluded his pact with the Croatians in 1097, and where, at a later period, the Croatian national assembly was accustomed to meet. With these exceptions town life developed comparatively late. For example, Varasdin secured municipal privileges from Andreas II in 1209. Béla IV was the first to promote town life by granting new privileges, a step to which he was chiefly forced by the devastations of the Mongols (1224).

At the head of the Croatian government was a ban; this dignitary was originally equivalent to a viceroy, and has retained his prestige to our own days, notwithstanding all the restrictions which the office has undergone. In the course of time the ban was appointed by the king, on the proposal of the estates, and was solemnly inducted into Agram by their deputies, accompanied by one thousand riders, the "army of the banate." Holding in his right hand the sceptre as the sign of his knightly power, and in his left hand the standard as the sign of military power, he took his oath to the estates in the church of St. Mark, according to the formula dictated by the royal plenipotentiary. The powers of the ban were great. He was able to call an assembly of the estates on his own initiative, without previously securing the king's consent. He presided over the national assembly and signed its decrees. He was the supreme judge, from whose decisions appeals might be made only to the king; he was the commander-in-chief of the collective Croatian troops, and in time of war led the army of the banate in person; coins were even struck bearing his name. In view of these facts, Lewis the Great divided Croatia between several bans in 1359; this, however, was only a temporary expedient, introduced to provide the strong frontier government required to meet the Turkish danger.

The chief legislative body of Croatia was from ancient times the national assembly, which, previous to the union with Hungary, was summoned by the king, and after that union by the ban. It was originally held in Dalmatia, and after the transference of the central power northwards in some one or other of the Croatian towns, such as Agram, Kreutz, Warasdin, Čakathurn, or Krapina. The most important powers of the Croatian Assembly enabled it to deal with questions of legislation, taxation, the levying of troops, the choice of officials, and administrative details. The attempts of Lewis the Great to unite the financial administration of Croatia with that of Hungary resulted in the revolt of Croatia after his death; the plan was consequently abandoned by his son-in-law King Sigismund.

Notwithstanding these privileges, Croatia never ran a steady course of development. It was a frontier land and was involved, to its detriment, in every war. Hence it required another kind of supervision than that which Hungary was able to provide. Croatia suffered more particularly in the Turkish period, and it then became wholly obvious that Hungary was unequal to the task of administering the country. The land became utterly desolate, and the taxable wealth of Croatia steadily declined. At a former period the county of Kreutz contained some twelve thousand taxable houses; while in the sixteenth century there were hardly three thousand to be found in the whole country.

(*b*) *Dalmatia under Venetian Rule.* — In the Venetian province of Dalmatia towns and districts enjoyed a certain measure of self-government under voivodes, rectors, and priors. Corporate life in the towns had flourished on the Adriatic since Roman times. Prosperity increased, and civilization consequently attained a high stage of development. However, the Venetian supremacy came to an end after 1522; the decisive blow was struck in 1539, when the Osmans seized the greater part of Dalmatia, while Venice was able to maintain her hold only of the islands (cf. p. 152). At that period Turkey was at the height of her power. Hungary herself was conquered, and in Pesth the crescent waved above the cross after 1541. Thus both parts of Croatia shared the same fate.

B. The Prosperous Period of Ragusa

Only one small municipality on the extreme south of the Dalmatian coast land was able to maintain a measure of independence. This was the commercial Slav republic of Ragusa. The district of the modern Ragusa coincides with that of the Greek city-state of Epidauros, the last mention of which occurs in the letters of Gregory I. During the Byzantine period it formed a part of the Thema of Dalmatia. After the immigration of the Slavs, the Romans, according to the account of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, were driven out of the town, and founded hard by upon an inaccessible rock a new town, known in Latin as Ragusium, in Greek as Ῥαούσιον, and in Slav as Dubrovnik. It was the seat of the Byzantine strategos, and of the bishop who was subordinate to the archbishop in Spalatro. In the twelfth century an independent archbishopric was founded here. The "Gens Ragusea" became more and more independent, and at the close of the eleventh century joined the Normans in fighting against Byzantium. At the head of this city-state of Ragusa there appeared in the twelfth century

consules and *comites*, although the district was nominally under the rule of the Byzantine "Dux Dalmatiæ et Diocliæ." The town was even forced to wage war against Venice, which would have been glad to occupy Dalmatia and Ragusa. After the death of the emperor Manuel in 1180, the general confusion of political affairs enabled Stefan Nemanja of Servia to threaten the district; the town then placed itself under the protection of the Norman kings of the Two Sicilies. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 the Venetian fleet appeared before Ragusa, which was then forced to acquiesce in the supremacy of Venice. The people of Ragusa were left in possession of their old city government, only from this time forward a Venetian *comes* resided in the town. Under Venetian supremacy the relations of Ragusa and Servia became particularly friendly; and the rulers of the latter country several times presented the republic with important grants of land. After the death of Dušan, in the period of the war between the Magyars and Venetians for Dalmatia, Venice was forced (1358) to renounce her claims to the whole district between Quarnero and Albania; and Ragusa came under Hungarian rule, until in 1526 it was incorporated with Turkey after the battle of Mohács.

The life of the town had long ago lost its national characteristics. Shut in between two Servian tribes, the Zachlumians and Narentanes, it was open to such strong Slav influence that at the beginning of the eleventh century the Roman element was wholly in the minority.

This Slav commercial republic was known throughout the East by reason of its extensive trade; even the Arab geographer Edrisi mentions Ragusa. The series of commercial treaties concluded by the town begins with an agreement with Pisa in 1169; this was followed by one with the Ban Kulin of Bosnia in 1189, and by another with Bulgaria in 1230. Especially favourable were the privileges granted by the rulers of Servia, in return for which the people of Ragusa paid a yearly tribute. By way of tribute the Servians sent a thousand purple cloths and fifty ells of scarlet cloth every year on the day of St. Demetrius. To Stefan Dušan they paid only five hundred purple cloths, and even this he renounced in favour of the monastery of Chilandar, on Mt. Athos, a regulation which remained in force until the French put an end to the republic in 1808. Bosnia received five hundred purple cloths, and Hungary five hundred ducats. Almost the whole trade of the Balkan Peninsula was in the hands of the Ragusans, who outstripped even the Venetians and Genoese. Colonies from Ragusa were to be found in many Servian and Bulgarian towns, according to the account of Jireček. The flag of Ragusa was to be seen on every sea, and in every important town of the East its factories and consulates were to be found. It was not until the period of Turkish supremacy that the commerce of Ragusa began to decay, notwithstanding the charters in the Slav language which it received from the Sultans; it was forced, however, to pay a tribute of 12,500 ducats.

The prosperity of this little state naturally caused a considerable increase of culture in the fifteenth century. Mathematics and astronomy, and, later on, literature and especially Slav poetry, were here brilliantly represented. Ragusa also exercised a strong influence upon the culture of the other Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula, and was known as the Slavonic Athens.

C. The Croatian Military Frontier

During the Turkish period Hungarian Croatia suffered nearly the same fate as Servia; the country became desolate. When, however, the Croatians, independently of Hungary, raised the house of Hapsburg to the throne of Croatia in 1527, the country became of primary importance in Austrian politics; Austrian rulers recognised its value as a bulwark against the Turks. The warlike Croatians soon became the most valuable support of the empire, not only against the Osmans, but also against other powerful enemies in the west of Europe. The fortification of the country began in the sixteenth century. The castles and citadels of the Croatian magnates were transformed into fortresses, and other strongholds were also placed along the frontier at important points. Such of the population as still remained in the district were then called in for military service, and fugitives from the neighbouring Turkish countries met with a hearty reception. Thus by degrees the deserted territory was repopulated. As, however, Croatia was not herself equal to these military burdens, and as upon the other hand neighbouring countries gained all the advantage from the military occupation of the frontier, it was only reasonable that Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia should contribute their share of the expense. Such was the beginning of the Croatian military frontier; at an earlier period Lewis I had created the capitanate in Zengg, and Matthias Corvinus had settled fugitives upon the frontier (Uskokes; cf. p. 160).

The archduke Charles performed valuable service in organising the military frontier of Styria. He constructed the great fortresses of Karlstadt (1579) and Varasdin (1595). The land on the far side of the Kulpa to the Adriatic Sea and the Slavonic frontier to the Save were thus fortified and divided into two generalates; one was the Croatian or Karlstadt frontier, the other the Slavonic, Windish, or Varasdin frontier. The point chiefly kept in view in constructing these fortifications was the defence of the waterways, especially the lines of the Save, Kulpa, and Drave, which had long been used by the Turks. Although by the Croatian constitution the ban was the commander-in-chief of all the troops on foot in Croatia, yet the military organisation of the frontier tended to make that district immediately dependent upon the empire; both frontiers were under the administration of the Council of War at Graz. The Croatian estates certainly objected, for they invariably regarded the military frontier as an integral part of Croatia; they secured the concession that upon occasion the authorities upon the frontier would be ordered to act in concert with the ban. To begin with, the foreign commanders did not readily submit to these arrangements; apart from the question of the ban, the estates of Carniola and Styria also supported the independence of the military frontier, for the reason that the frontier had already become a no-man's land, and was retained only by great sacrifices on the part of the monarchy, while Croatia had lost her right to it.

Notwithstanding the Croatian claims, the military frontier became a special crown land, and obtained rights of its own from the time of Ferdinand III. In accordance with these rights the peasants were free, and subject to the emperor alone. From the age of eighteen every frontier inhabitant was liable to military service, and was obliged to keep himself ready to take up arms for defence. The land was divided into districts or "capitanates." Every parish chose an overseer.

All the parishes composing a "capitanate" chose their common judge, who, like the parish overseer, was obliged to be confirmed in office by those under his command. As the Greek Church numbered most adherents among the population, it obtained equal rights with the Catholic Church.

The Croatian estates organised the country between the Kulpa and Unna on similar principles, and as the ban was here commander-in-chief, this frontier was known as the frontier of the banate. In the peace of Karlovitz in 1699, when the districts of Croatia and Slavonia, once occupied by the Osmans, were given back, a third generalate was instituted in Essek for the newly freed Slavonia; however, in 1745 three Slavonic counties were separated and handed over to the civil administration.

The independence of the military province of Croatia was a matter of great importance to the Austrian rulers, as here they had the entire population forming a standing army always ready for war. Hence the emperor Charles IV began a reorganisation of all the Croatian military frontiers. The generalate of Essek was divided into three regiments, that of Varasdin into two, that of Karlstadt into four, and the frontier of the banate into two. In the eighteenth century military frontiers were organised, after the manner of the Croatian, along the whole Turkish frontier as far as Transylvania, the frontier of Székl in 1764 and that of Wallachia in 1766. In times of peace it was only necessary to make provision for outpost duty in the cardakes standing along the Turkish frontier. Although foreign soldiers were removed from the frontier on principle, yet the official posts were for the most part occupied by foreigners, and the official language was entirely German. Every frontier inhabitant was liable to military service from the age of seventeen to sixty. The population was secure in the possession of their land; and the military spirit of the Croatian frontier population grew ever stronger. Their privileges inspired them with a decided prejudice against the régime of the banate, under which the territorial lords heavily oppressed their subjects and the established church was the Roman Catholic.

10. THE LIBERATION OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS FROM THE TURKISH YOKE

THE Turkish danger and the menace of a common enemy formed a point of union which united the shattered fragments of the Servian-Croatian races, not only in political, but also in literary and civilized life. The Croatians, at least, had the possibility of satisfying their feelings of revenge in battle. The Serbs, who were forbidden even to wear arms, were obliged to endure their cruel fate in silent submission. At the period when Croatia began to surround herself with these frontier defences, and thereby became more capable of resistance, Turkey was at the height of her power, and the Servian race could see no gleam of hope for a better future. Hence many of them turned their backs upon their native land and fled across the frontier to the more fortunate Croatia, that they might be able, at least, from that point to wage war against their oppressors.

However, in the seventeenth century, when the political development of the Osman state had reached its fulness, it became manifest that its fundamental principles were suited only to military and political life, and not for social life or the

advancement of culture, and that, in consequence, the Turk was unprogressive and wholly incompetent to rule over other nations. The Turkish state was founded upon theocratic principles; the Koran formed at once its Bible and its legal code. If the subjugated peoples professed some other religion they could never be full citizens of the Osman Empire, but would be forced to remain in a position of subjection. Meanwhile in Western Europe civil law, as opposed to canon law, permitted members of other communions to become full citizens, so that subject races could more easily maintain their faith and become incorporated. In Turkey this was impossible. The Mohammedan alone was in possession of rights: the Christian rayah had no rights; his only guarantee for a better future was the downfall of the existing system, that is, of the Osman Empire. These remarks are true of modern Turkey. We can, then, well understand that the Christian population was ever waiting for the moment when they would be able to shake off the oppressive yoke of Turkey. If the burden became intolerable the nation emigrated in a body. The strength of religious fanaticism among the Turks, both in past and present times, may be judged from the fact that religion rules the whole social and political life and culture of Turkey, even at the present day.

In point of numbers the Slavs were superior to the Turks. The empire swarmed with Mohammedans of Slav origin, serving in the army as well as in the official bodies. According to the testimony of Paolo Giovio (1531) and other competent authorities, almost the whole of the Janissary troops spoke Slav. Numerous Slavs rose to the position of vizier and grand vizier. Under Mohammed Sokolovič (Sokolli, p. 156) half the viziers were Slavs in the sixteenth century. Several Sultans were fully acquainted with the Slav language, and several chancellors issued Slav documents in Cyrillic writing. The Turkish Empire was, as is remarked by the Servian historian, Čed. Mijatović, on the road to becoming a Mohammedan-Slav Empire.

A. Austria and Russia as Helpers in Time of Need

These facts, however, did not improve the life of the Christian rayahs. For almost three centuries these races had groaned under the Turkish yoke. Help was only to be expected from without. The first gleam of hope for the subject races appeared between 1684 and 1686, when Austria under Charles of Lorraine (p. 163) repeatedly defeated the Turkish armies and occupied several provinces. At that time the court of Vienna conceived a great plan of playing off the Balkan peoples against the Porte, and entered into relations with the patriarch of Ipek, Arsen Černojević, and with George Branković, who professed to descend from the old Servian royal family. Branković went to Russia with his brother in 1688 to collect money for the building of the Servian metropolitan church and to secure Russia's help for the war against the Porte; at the court of Vienna he was made viscount and then count. The Austrian commander-in-chief, Ludwig Wilhelm, margrave of Baden (p. 162), issued an appeal to the Slavs of Bosnia, Albania, and Herzegovina, to join him in war against the Turks. The Eastern Slavs had already given their favour to Austria, when the Vienna court seized the person of George Branković, who had already appointed himself Despot of Illyria, Servia, Syrmia, Moesia, and Bosnia, and imprisoned him first in Vienna, then in Eger, where he

died in 1711. This action naturally disturbed the relations between Servia and Austria. However, the war of liberation was continued. Among the Eastern Slavs there was an old legend, that some day they would be freed from the Turkish yoke by a hero who would come riding upon a camel, accompanied with foreign animals. Utilising this legend, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the general of the margrave of Baden, appeared among the Servian nations with camels, asses, and parrots, and called them to arms. In 1690 the emperor Leopold I again proclaimed that he would guarantee religious and political freedom "to all the Slav peoples of the whole of Albania, Servia, Illyria, Mysia, Bulgaria, Silistria, Macedonia, and Rascia," and again called them to arms against the Turks. In the same year thirty-six thousand Servian and Albanian families migrated from Servia under the leadership of the patriarch Arsen Černojević. From Belgrade they sent the bishop of Janopol, Jesaias Diaković, to the court of Vienna as the plenipotentiary of the "Community of Greek Raizes." The emperor issued the desired guarantees for the whole people and for the three Brankovićs in a special charter of liberties. Černojević received a guarantee of his position as metropolitan "for the whole of Greece, Rascia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Janopol, Herzegovina, and over all the Serbs in Hungary and Croatia." The Serbs then passed over the Save and settled chiefly in Slavonia, Syrmia, and in some towns of Hungary; Karlstadt was chosen as the seat of the Servian patriarch. The privileges of these immigrants were often enough disputed by the Hungarian municipal, ecclesiastical, and political authorities, but were invariably confirmed by the imperial court, which took the Serbs under its protection. Supreme successes against the Osmans were secured when Prince Eugene of Savoy took the lead of the Austrian troops in July, 1697. The great victory of Zenta (p. 165) was the first indication of the fall of Turkish supremacy in Europe; henceforward the little state of Montenegro fought successfully against the Osmans.

However, the first decisive effort was the Russo-Turkish war. Western Europe had long striven to induce Russia to take part in the struggle. Peter the Great was the first to take action in 1711, with that campaign which roused great hopes among the Balkan Slavs. At that date the first Russian ambassador, Colonel Miloradovic, a Herzegovinian by birth, of Neretva, brought to Cetinje a letter from Peter the Great, calling upon the Montenegrins to take up arms; he met with an enthusiastic reception. Thereupon Danilo Petrović Njegoš, the metropolitan and ruler of Montenegro (1697–1735), made a journey to Russia in 1715, received rich presents and promises of future support. Henceforward the Southern Slavs based their hopes rather upon their compatriots and co-religionists in Russia than upon Austria. However, the campaign of 1711 was a failure; and it was not until many years afterwards that Russia undertook a second advance, under Catherine II. In 1774 Russia secured a protectorate over the Danube principalities and over all the Christians of the Greek Church. Catherine again turned her attention to the warlike state of Montenegro and sent General George Dolgorukij to Cetinje in 1769. From 1788 to 1791 the Russian lieutenant-colonel Count Ivelič and the Austrian major Vukasović were working in Montenegro with similar objects.

Table of the Karageorgiević, Obrenović, and Petrović Njegoš.

I. Georg Petrović, otherwise Czerny (Zrni) or Karageorge ("Black George"), * Dec. 21, 1762, in Wishevzi near Kragujevatz, of poor parents, † July 25, 1817.
Married Helene (other names unknown), * 1765, † Feb. 8, 1842

- Alexis, * 1801, † 1830
  - Georg Karageorgiević, * 1827, † 1884
    - Alexis, * 1859 (Bad Edlach)
    - Bošidar, * 1861, and other Karageorgiević "princes"
- Alexander, * Oct. 11, 1806, in Topola, prince of Servia, Sept. 14, 1842–Dec. 24, 1858 (Jan. 3, 1859), † May 3, 1885, in Temesvar; married, June 1, 1830, Perfida Nenadović, * Feb. 14, 1813, † April, 1873, in Vienna
  - Peter Petrović, * July 11, 1844, in Belgrade, king of Servia, June 15, 1903; married, Aug. 11, 1883, Zorka Ljubitza of Montenegro, * Dec. 23, 1864, † March 16, 1890, in Cetinje
    - Helene, * Nov. 4, 1884
    - Georg, * Sept. 9, 1887, crown prince, June 15, 1903
    - Alexander, * Dec. 16, 1888
  - Arsenius, * 1859, Russian officer of guards on half-pay; married, 1882, Aurora Demidoff di San-Donato (deceased)
    - Paul, * 1892
- Michael (attempted a revolt in Servia in 1875)

II. Obren of Brusnizza — 1st wife, Wishnja — 2d wife, Theodore or Tesho, peasant in Dobrinje

Milan Obrenović, † 1810

- Miloš Todorović, * 1780, "*Obrenović*" since 1810, prince of Servia, Nov. 6, 1817–June 13, 1839, and Dec. 23, 1858–Sept. 26, 1860; married Ljubitza (or Militza) Bukamanović of Brusnizza, † about 1850
  - Milan Obrenović II, * Oct. 12, 1819, prince, June 13 to July 8, 1839
  - Michael Obrenović III, * Sept. 4, 1823, prince, July 8, 1839, to Sept. 7, 1842, and Sept. 26, 1860, to June 29, 1868 (murdered); married, Aug. 1, 1853, Julie Hunyadi of Kéthely, * Aug. 26, 1831 (divorced)
    - Peter Ivanovitch Keshko, Russian colonel, married Pulcharia Sturdza
      - Daughter, married Prince Ghika
      - Natalie, * May 14, 1850, married Oct. 17, 1875 (separated 1888-93) = Milan Obrenović IV (I), * Aug. 22, 1854, prince, July 2, 1868, sovereign, March 3, 1878, king of Servia March 6, 1882, to March 6, 1889; † Feb. 11, 1901
        - Alexander I, * Aug. 14, 1876, king of Servia, March 6, 1889; majority reached in April 13, 1893, † June 11, 1903, in Belgrade; married, Aug. 5, 1900, Draga, *née* Lunjevitza, widow of Maschin, * Sept. 23, 1867, † June 11, 1903
        - Milan Christić alias "Prince Georges Obrénovitch," * about 1888 (in Constantinople and Schnepfenthal), illegitimate
      - Artemisia Johannidi (Yoanidis) [later Frau Christi]
  - (Michael) Miloš Jefremović, † Nov. 20, 1861; married Maria Catargi, † July 16, 1870
  - Jovan, * 1787, † Jan. 1850, in Neusatz
  - Jefrem, * 1790, † 1861
    - Daughter, wife of (names unknown) Konstantinović
      - (Names unknown) Konstantinović, colonel
        - Natalie * Oct. 11, 1882, married Prince Mirko of Montenegro, July 12, 1902

III. *Petrović* (names unknown) of the *Njegoš* family

- Marko of Kvekvić, married Elizabeth, Countess Mirković
  - Darinka * Dec. 31, 1837 † Feb. 15, 1892
  - Jan. 12, 1855
- Names unknown, Petrović
  - Names unknown
    - Peter II Petrović, * 1813, 1830 Wladika, national poet, † Oct. 31, 1851
      - Danilo I. Petrović Njegoš, * May 25, 1826, first complete temporal prince of Montenegro, March 21, 1852, to Aug. 13, 1860
        - Olga, * March 19, 1859, † 1896 (betrothed to Georg Karageorgiević, 1883)
      - Mirko Petrović, * Aug. 19, 1820, † July 20, 1867; married, Nov. 7, 1840, Anastasia Mardinović (* June 15, 1824, † Jan. 12, 1895)
        - Nikita (Nicholas) I Petrović, * Oct. 7, 1841; prince from Aug. 14, 1860; married, Nov. 8, 1860, Milena Bukotić, * May 4, 1847
          - Zorka Ljubitza, * Dec. 23, 1864, † March 17, 1890; married Peter Karageorgiević, Aug. 11, 1883
          - Crown prince Danilo, * June 29, 1871; married, July 27, 1899, Militza (Jutta) of Mecklenburg-Strelitz
          - Helene, * Jan. 8, 1873; married, Jan. 24, 1896, Victor Emanuel III of Italy
          - Mirko, * April 17, 1879; married, July 12, 1902, Natalie Konstantinović (* Oct. 11, 1882)
- Peter I, Petrović Njegoš, Wladika 1785, canonized

Note. — In the names given above, ć = tch, š = sh.

B. The Work of Liberation in the Nineteenth Century

At last the day of freedom began to dawn. Literature had everywhere prepared the way; as early as 1762, for instance, the monk Paysios of Mt. Athos had composed a chronicle recalling to all the Bulgarians the memories of their more glorious past, and stimulating them for the future; in 1806 sporadic revolts broke out. The Greeks, who were supported not only by Russia, but by the whole of Europe, founded unions. Among the Serbs, who were the first of all the Slav races to revolt (1804), the clergy had introduced the movement; the revolt was led by the brave Karageorg (cf. table I of the "Conspectus of the Karageorgievič," etc., facing this page). These movements, however, would have led to little result if Russia had not again defeated the Osmans. In the peace of Bucharest (1812) an amnesty was secured to the Serbs, with power of self-administration. In the year 1817 Miloš Obrenovič (cf. genealogical table, II) was chosen prince by the Servian National Assembly. In 1821 Greece revolted under the leadership of Prince Alexander Ypsilanti. A further series of Russian victories obliged Turkey to conclude the peace of Adrianople (1829), in which she recognised the independence of the principality of Servia, and of the kingdom of Greece in 1830. Thus by degrees arose those petty states which we now find in the Balkan Peninsula (see the map facing page 165). Apart from the Slavs of Dalmatia, who had been annexed to Austria in 1797 by the peace of Campo Formio, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro now became more or less independent. In 1809 (1811) it even seemed that a new Slav kingdom might be founded on the Adriatic, namely, Illyria, the creation of Napoleon (see the map of Central Europe, Vol. VIII).

Ragusa (p. 289) alone ceased to play an independent part. During the period of the French Revolution, Russians and French had struggled for its possession, and the latter had secured the town in 1806 by means of treachery. General Marmont, who spoke of Ragusa as "an oasis in the midst of the desert," resided here from 1807 to 1809 (as "Duke of Ragusa"). Napoleon, who was anxious to transform Ragusa into a great French harbour for the East, declared the dissolution of the republic on January 31, 1808. At a later date the people of Ragusa often manifested the desire to restore their old republic, but their lack of union checked their efforts. In 1814 General Theodore Milutinovič united Ragusa with Austria, an arrangement confirmed in the peace of Paris and at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. On the other hand, Montenegro, where Marmont also tried to exert his influence, clung to Russia. Relations between the two countries grew somewhat strained between 1807 and 1825 under Alexander I; under Nicholas I, however, conditions improved, and Montenegro even received the arrears of her subsidy. Peter II Petrović (cf. genealogical table, III), Vladika (1830 to 1851), who was consecrated in St. Petersburg, increased the dignity of the secular governor and administered the country himself. He erected schools and printing-presses, introduced a system of taxation, formed a guard of soldiers to be the nucleus of a standing army, and created a senate with twelve members; he also won some personal distinction as a poet. He was succeeded by his nephew, Danilo I (1851–1860), who secured the consent of Austria and Russia to his proclamation as an hereditary temporal prince, on March 21, 1852, and thus secularised his principality,

which had been ecclesiastical by origin (see the map in the Appendix, "Bulgaria"). Upon his assassination on August 12, 1860, by the Montenegrin Todoro Kadrić, he was immediately succeeded by his nephew, Nikita Petrović, the present ruler.

In Servia, which, like Moldavia, Wallachia, and Greece, had to pay tribute, the Osmans were allowed to retain their hold of Belgrade for the moment. Miloš was under the influence of Russia, declined to call any National Assembly, appropriated trade monopolies, and aroused the anger of his people to such an extent that a revolt broke out against him in 1835. In 1838 an "Organic Statute" (Ustav) was drawn up with a senate in place of a popular Assembly. Miloš swore to observe the constitution, but did not keep his oath, and in 1839 abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Milan (cf. genealogical table II of the "Conspectus"). Milan died in the same year, and was succeeded by his incompetent and tyrannical brother Michael III, who was forced to abdicate in 1842. The Skupshtina now chose Alexander, the son of the old Karageorg; the Porte conferred upon him the title of Bašbeg, or Supreme Lord. Alexander was under the influence of Metternich and governed upon conservative principles. When the Senators forced him to yield, at Christmas, 1858, he withdrew to the fortress under Turkish protection. The Skupshtina then deposed him and chose Miloš for their governor, at the age of eighty, for the second time, in 1859. He, however, died in 1860. Under the government of his son Michael III, who again returned to power, the Turks evacuated the fortress of Belgrade on the demand of Austria. On June 29, 1868, Michael was murdered in the park of Toptshider, as the result of a conspiracy (which was not set on foot by the family of Karageorg); the Skupshtina then appointed the only surviving Obrenović, Milan IV, who was then a student in Paris. In 1876 a war broke out with Turkey, and though the results were disastrous, it became possible to announce the independence of Servia on March 3, 1878 (cf. pp. 195, 196; see also map in the section "Bulgaria"). On March 6, 1889, Milan abdicated in favour of his son Alexander. Under him the title of "the Great" was conferred by the Skupshtina in 1898 upon the ancestor of the Obrenović, the brave Miloš. Several constitutional changes took place in Servia, one in 1898, in the direction of conservatism. The young and talented king readily continued the old Servian traditions; thus in the first year of his reign he paid a visit to the monastery of Chilandar on Mt. Athos (cf. above, p. 286). However, in the night of the 10th and 11th of June, 1903, his life was terminated by assassination, and from the 15th of June, 1903, the ruler of the Servian throne has been a Karageorgević, namely, the eldest son of Alexander.

As Bosnia was the last country in the peninsula to be conquered by the Turks (1463), so it was also the last to be liberated from a direct Turkish yoke. This event also was the result of the Russian victories of 1877 and 1878. By the settlement of the Berlin Congress (p. 196) Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied by Austria, though under Turkish suzerainty. An attempt was made to pacify Macedonia in 1904 by means of an international policy in Greece, with measures agreed by Russia and Austria in the treaty of Mürzteg.

11. THE POLITICAL POSITION OF CROATIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the nineteenth century the life of the Croatian races increased in strength and flourished under conditions, comparatively speaking, more favourable; Croatia was then united partly with Hungary and partly with Venice. When the Republic was dissolved by Bonaparte in 1797 it was handed over to Austria in 1814 (1822) with almost the whole of Dalmatia, and the several members of the Croatian people shared the same fate. At the end of the eighteenth century Croatia had thus fallen to the position of a Hungarian province; but in the nineteenth century the newly aroused spirit of nationalism became too strong to permit the continuance of such conditions. In 1825 the Hungarians desired to introduce Hungarian as the official language of Croatia, and in 1830 demanded civic rights for the Protestants. However, the National Croatian party led by Count Janko Drašković (Draskovics) raised objections to this proceeding, demanded the restoration of the tripartite kingdom, and desired to form an "Illyrian" people in conjunction with Servia and Slovenia. In 1848, when the revolution broke out in Hungary and the Croatians joined Austria against Hungary under the ban Jellačič (Jellachich; Vol. VIII, p. 196), they even demanded the union of Carnia, Carinthia, and Styria with Croatia. The dream of a greater Croatia seemed to be on the point of realisation. Jellačič summoned the Croatian national assembly on his own responsibility, and members of every Slav nationality were in attendance. By the imperial constitution on March 4, 1849, Croatia was divided from Hungary, and even the military frontier was made an independent crown land. In 1861 the Croatians demanded the erection of an Eastern Slav kingdom, which was to be united with Austria only by personal union; at that time the nationalist party were led by Bishop Joseph Georg Strossmayer. The opposition between Croatia and Hungary grew so strong that in 1866 the nationalists actually determined to send no more representatives to the Hungarian Assembly. In 1867, when the national party was dissolved, such pressure was brought to bear upon the electors that the new assembly contained a majority of the Magyar party, which declared itself ready for an agreement with Hungary. This came to pass on July 25, 1868. The Croatians were gratified by the appointment of a minister for Croatia; their language was made official; and they were to send twenty-nine deputies to the House of Deputies and two representatives to the House of Lords, apart from the Croatian magnates. In 1873 the agreement was improved in several respects, and the number of Croatian deputies was raised to thirty-four. After the introduction of universal military service no reason remained for keeping the military frontier on a separate footing; it was therefore united to the crown land, and wholly incorporated with it in 1887.

Croatia and Dalmatia, under Venetian government, led a very different course of existence. The whole province was at that time under a general provedditore, who resided in Zara; economic and political life and society as a whole were based upon the organisation of the towns, each of which was under a conte capitano. In the year 1814 Dalmatia came into the hands of Austria, was made a kingdom in 1816 with Ragusa and a part of Albania, and is at the present day one of the Austrian crown lands. As they have long been open to the influence of Western civilization, the Croatians in this district have been partly Romanised.

12. THE NATIONAL LIFE OF THE SERVIAN-CROATIAN RACE

A. The Literature of the Southern Slavs

The Southern Slavs, like the German races on Roman soil, would probably have become denationalised without exception had they not adopted the Slav liturgy with the Greek Church in the ninth century. With the Slav liturgy, Slav literature was also founded. Thus of all the European peoples within the area of the Greco-Roman culture, the Slavs were the first to possess a national literature; in the tenth century this literature extended to the North Slavs. To the circumstance that among the Southern Slavs national life was based upon firmer foundations in the ninth century than elsewhere, is due the fact that this literature was able to survive the calamities which afterwards overwhelmed this people. But for the existence of a Slav ecclesiastical language, the past history of the Slavs, as is observed by V. Jagić, would have been rather Greek and Roman than Slavonic.

Slav literature, at the outset, was purely liturgical in nature. But as early as the tenth century secular books in Greek were translated into Slav, and original compositions were produced. Within the Croatian area the work of creating an independent literature was begun at an early period. Here, at the end of the twelfth century, the presbyter of Dioklea wrote his narrative, which was for a long time regarded as a genuine chronicle. Here, too, about the year 1288, was compiled the famous legal code of Vinodol, followed by that of the island of Krk (Veglia) and others. Most numerous were the works of a religious nature. Almost all were written in Glagolitic, and only some books in Southern Dalmatia were written in Cyrillic character (cf. p. 286). Up to the fifteenth century the use of Glagolitic steadily extended. The script did not begin to lose ground until the invention of printing, though printing with Glagolitic letters was begun as early as 1483; in the sixteenth century only one Glagolitic book appeared in the south, as far as our knowledge goes. A further stimulus to Glagolitic was given by the Protestant propaganda of the Slovenians, Truber and Ungnad (cf. below, p. 317). In Rome, Glagolitic Church books were printed in the seventeenth century. In the year 1729 Vinko Zmajević, the archbishop of Zara, secured the Pope's consent for the foundation of a Glagolitic theological seminary. At the present day there exists a lectureship at the seminary of Zara for Glagolitic ecclesiastical literature.

From the sixteenth century onwards, Croatian literature rapidly increased in the Dalmatian districts. Marko Marulić (died 1524) worked at Spalatro, as did Peter Hektorović (died 1572) in the island of Hvar, Marin Držić (died 1580) at Ragusa, Dinko Ranjina (died 1607), Dinko Zlatarić (died 1610), and others. In the seventeenth century the highly talented poet Ivan Gundulić (died 1638) wrote his great epic "Osman" at Ragusa.

In Slavonia, on the other hand, but few Latin schools were to be found before 1500, and during the Turkish period the country was in a state of desolation. The result is that no trace of a Slav literature is to be found in these parts before the eighteenth century. In Croatia proper, the first stimulus was given by the Reformation movement; Count Georg Zrinyi here protected the preachers who published some books. Protestantism, however, met with no success in Croatia and made no contributions of any value to the national literature. However, in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries a few poets appeared, such as Peter Zrinyi, Paul Vitezović, Titus Brezovački, and others.

Among the Servian tribes, which were more within the area of Byzantine civilization, literature, properly so called, begins with the rule of the dynasty of Nemanja in the twelfth century, although until the end of the seventeenth century all compositions were written in the ecclesiastical Slav language and not in the popular dialect. In the Servian districts the Cyrillic script was in force. The clergy alone showed any literary activity, and the scanty remnants of the old literature are all of a religious character. It was not until the period of Dušan that annals, chronicles, and legal codes were produced, of which the first and the most important is the Zakonik of Dušan (p. 292). A better period for Servian literature began with the erection of printing-presses (the first was in Montenegro at Obod in 1493). Upon the whole, comparatively few liturgical books appeared; the oppression of the Turkish yoke was so appalling that many Serbs migrated to Hungary or Russia, where they gained their living by teaching. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the literary activity of the Hungarian Serbs became exhausted, and Russia then came forward to meet the needs of the Servian Church by sending money, church books, and parchments. At that time many Russian priests appeared, working as teachers, in Servia. On the other hand, a highly cultured Servian, Jurii Krizanić, who was a master of several languages and a prolific author, went to Russia in the seventeenth century, where, with the energy of his race, he attempted to introduce valuable reforms; at the same time he held a secret commission to work for the union of the churches. For this reason, and for his free criticism of Russian affairs, he was transported to Siberia for fifteen years. Even to the last he remained an ardent advocate of Panslavism. His wide education enabled him to write extensively upon political, social, and other questions; his writings, however, remained unappreciated until the last century.

The whole of the Servian-Croatian literature until the nineteenth century could hardly be regarded as national, in the strict sense of the word. With the exception of the ballad poetry, and especially the marvellous Servian epic poetry (not fully appreciated until the nineteenth century), the written literature was for the most part of a religious character. The common material appealing to the whole nationality for the production of other literary work and special poems was first provided by the Turkish yoke, which lay upon all alike. Hence we have the most distinctive feature of the Southern Slav literature. These sufferings gave their writing a uniform character, such as it had formerly gained by an adhesion to Byzantine civilization (p. 288). Only the Dalmatians, being more fortunately situated, were able to treat of sympathies common to all men, and to produce a common literature of lyric and also dramatic poetry, marked by some imitation of the Greek and Roman classical writers.

B. The Illyrian Movement

In the seventeenth century, when it became more obvious that the Turk was not invincible, and when enthusiasm had been roused by the hope of liberation, the Southern Slavs became more convinced than before of a relationship nearer than that of fate and political alliance; the feeling of blood relationship grew

strong in them, and they began to call themselves brothers and members of a Slav race. This feeling of mutual connection extended not merely to the Southern Slavs, but spread over the whole Slav world. They appealed to their Russian kinsmen for help, and authors wrote enthusiastically of a great Slav family. Austria gave some stimulus to the movement by repeatedly summoning all the Balkan Slavs to common action against the Turks.

In the history of the Austrian Slav of that period there gradually arises from the background the outline of a new southern Slav Empire which was intended to embrace all the Southern Slav races. A name was invented for it, that of Illyria. The name was chosen to secure connection with past history. Illyricum had formerly been a Roman province, including Macedonia and Greece, with Crete, Dardania, and Dacia; in 476 it was assigned to the East Roman Empire. At that moment the phrase "the Illyrian nation" meant nothing more than the peoples professing the faith of the Greek Church, and as most of the Serbs were members of this, they also entitled themselves the "Raizes, or Illyrian nation." Now the name of Illyria was extended to include the Croatians and Slavonians. It was specially used in this sense by the Roman Church, which had not forgotten the old diocese of Illyria, and used the term to denote the Slavs in the West of the Balkan Peninsula. From this ecclesiastical use the connotation of the name was extended. In Hungary, where fugitive Serbs made common cause with the Croatians, the Illyrian question was a constant subject of discussion.

Maria Theresa protected the Croatians and Serbs from the aggressions of the Magyars, and created for the special protection of the Serbs a new administrative organ, the "Illyrian Delegacy," in 1746. The court of Vienna also regarded the Hungarian Serbs as a valuable counterpoise to the Magyars. Under the emperor Leopold II the Illyrian national congress was held in Temesvár in 1790; demands were here issued for the separation of the Servian nation in the banat and in the bacska (voievodina), for an Illyrian chancery, for the parliamentary equality of the Servian bishops with the ecclesiastical princes of Herzegovina, and for a governor, who was to be one of the emperor's sons. The conception of Illyria first received official extension in the age of Napoleon. When Napoleon I took the Southern provinces from Austria at the peace of Schönbrunn (October 14, 1809) he formed the new province of Illyria, which included the Carinthian districts of Villach, Carniola, Görz, Monfalcone, Trieste, Fiume, Istria, the Hungarian seacoast, and from 1811 Ragusa and a part of Croatia (cf. p. 307). The Save was the frontier on the Austrian side. The whole district was divided into seven provinces, Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, Dalmatia, Ragusa, civil and military Croatia. These territories reverted to Austria in 1814, but the name remained. In 1816 they were raised to the position of a kingdom, with governors residing at Laibach and Trieste. In accordance with this arrangement the Slovenian race was henceforward included with the Illyrian. In Dalmatia, Bosnia, Servia, and Croatia practically the same language was spoken as in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola.

The Illyrian idea found an increasing number of adherents and an unusually zealous champion in the Croatian Ljudevit (Louis) Gaj, born on July 8, 1809, at Krapina (Varasdin), who studied philosophy in Graz and Leipzig, and law in Pesth. In this latter town he became acquainted with the famous Slavist, John Kollar, whose poem, "Slavy dcera," stirred him to enthusiasm. He published a short work upon the elementary principles of a "Croatian-Slavonic legal code" (Kratka

osnova hrvatsko[1]-slavenskoga pravopisanja; Ofen, 1830). In this he recommended with such acuteness the value of the Bohemian mode of writing that it was soon introduced among all the Catholic Southern Slavs; he himself wrote the dialect of Herzegovina. The students at the universities were especially enthusiastic on behalf of the national movement, and in 1813 a society of young Croatians was formed in Vienna, with the object of further developing the national language.

In the year 1814 Georg Šporer (Matić) received permission to publish an Illyrian newspaper; in his "Illyrian Almanac" of 1823 he emphasised the necessity of a common language for the Southern Slavs. In Graz a society was formed to prosecute this object. The sphere of "Illyrian" influence steadily extended. In 1836 was begun the publication of the "Ilirske novine" (Illyrian newspaper), with a literary and scientific supplement known as the "Danica Ilirska" (the Illyrian Morning Star). In 1838, under the presidency of the Count J. Drasković (p. 309), a reading union was founded in Agram, from which all the national institutes have originated; the needs of the nation were here discussed in the Illyrian Club. Thus by degrees arose a theatre, an agricultural society, a national meeting-place, and, under the presidency of Gaj, a literary society known as "Ilirska Matica." Gaj travelled over the coast land through Dalmatia, Montenegro, Servia, Poland, and Russia. He induced the Croatians and Serbs to recognise their kinship. It was chiefly due to him that these two races revolted against Hungary; the ban, Jellačič (p. 309), was one of his party. At a later date Gaj retired into private life.

C. The Southern Slav Idea

The Illyrian movement, supported only by rulers, poets, and authors, became at last nothing more than an academic theory, was unable to take hold of the people, and faded away entirely after the death of Gaj. Side by side, however, with this there arose a national movement, based on the idea of race; for, in fact, every race, and indeed every district, lived under different political, social, and economic conditions.

During the nineteenth century national life became everywhere vigorous, and newspapers and unions were founded upon all sides. In Servia, through the activity of Dimitrje (afterwards Dositheus) Opradović (1729–1811), the national dialect was made a literary language. This movement was joined by Lucyan Mušicki (archbishop of Karlovitz; died 1837), and especially by the friend of Leopold Ranke, Vuk Stefánović Karadžić (1787–1864; cf. Vol. VIII, p. 539), who introduced a phonetic orthography, collected and first printed the national ballads ("srpske narodne pjesme," 1823–1833). Great influence upon Servian literature was also exerted by Jovan Popović (died 1856), who founded the Servian Literary Union in 1847, and the "Scientific Review," known as "Glasnik," as the organ of the society; this union became the origin of the later Servian Academy of Science. In Vienna the Serbs also founded a union, and produced a newspaper and an almanac; their example was followed by the Hungarian Serbs.

The attention of the Serbs was chiefly concentrated upon themselves; their community of origin with the Southern Slavs and with the whole Slav race was rather theoretically acknowledged than productive of practical result. On the

[1] Hrvati is the equivalent of "Croatian" in the Croatian dialect. This people were formerly known as Chorvats, Chorbats, Chrovats, or Krobats.

other hand, the more capable Croatians, who stood on a higher level of civilization, were continually working to transform in practice their Southern Slav nationality. They had been the chief supporters of the Illyrian movement, and upon its extinction they took the chief share in the work of spreading the Southern idea. Newspapers appeared, such as the "Slavenski Jug;" a society for southern Slav history and an "Archive for Southern Slav History" were founded. In 1866 the "Southern Slav Academy" was formed at Agram. The Croatians went so far as to give up their own language and to make the Servian dialect their literary language, in order to facilitate the union of the two peoples, though their languages were in any case practically identical.

D. The Servian-Croatian Nationality at the Present Day

Notwithstanding these facts, points of difference have often arisen between these two races. There is no friendship between them at the present day, which is the best proof of the fact that the Southern Slav idea has made but scanty progress. The Croatian people had developed vigorously, and their literature rapidly rose to the front in the hands of a number of authors, scholars, and poets, of whom the most important is Ivan Mažuranić (1813–1890), with his important epic poem "Smrt Smail Age Čengića" (The Death of Smail Aga Čengić, 1846).

On the whole, however, the Croatian Serbs have remained behind in the progress towards culture, as the result of the long Turkish domination; and the Balkan Peninsula must still be counted as one of the least known countries of Europe, for the reason that it has lain outside the influence of civilization. For the same reason, however, the Servian-Croatian race has retained its nationality in a purer form than any of the West European nations. The Servian-Croatian popular literature has been richly productive, and the national life is full of originality and poetry. The amusements of the people still display clear traces of their primitive condition, such as could scarcely be found in the West of Europe even centuries ago. Specially characteristic is the national dance, the kolo, which is known throughout the whole Balkan Peninsula (cf. above, p. 299). Every dance was intended to advance a love suit, and this feature is displayed by the ancient kolo dance at the present day, not so much in the spectacle as in the songs with which it is accompanied. The dance is arranged and in many cases performed almost alone by girls ("kolo djevojacko"); one girl both leads the dance and sings the music (kolovogjica). In the middle of the kolo dances the bagpipe player. The dance begins at a moderate pace, the circle then revolves more rapidly and with greater spirit. The young men look on until one of them is inspired to place himself in a line next to the girl who pleases him best, thus breaking the circle. The songs with which the dance is accompanied are of a distinctly broad character. This pleasure becomes peculiarly attractive in the autumn after the harvest; and the autumn kolo is then of a somewhat different character. The youth are then inspired with love when the girls sing their love songs with sweet-smelling flowers and herbs in their bosoms. For some weeks the dance is carried on throughout the night, until singing leads to hoarseness. All this reminds us strongly of the heathen Greek festivals, partly of the Dionysia, partly of the Panathenaica. Herodotus tells us that a son of the Scythian king, who witnessed the Panathenaic festival while travelling in Greece, made a vow to introduce this solemnity into his own country.

13. THE SLOVENIANS

A. The German Supremacy (until 1500)

All the Southern Slavs have been subject to an unfortunate destiny; broken into petty tribes, they stand, for the most part, in isolation, each confronted by some powerful enemy. But particularly grievous was the fate of the Slovenian tribes who remained north of the Save, and are to-day the only members of the race who bear this name. It is true that none of the Southern Slav races succeeded in founding a permanent state; but the Bulgarian Serbs and Croatians have had bright periods in their histories of longer or shorter duration. On the other hand, the original Slav inhabitants of the ancient Pannonia, Noricum, Istria, etc., have been overwhelmed one after another by later waves of immigration. The kingdom of Samo, the Pannonian states of Privina and Kozel, the kingdom of Carantania and of Great Moravia, all these have had but a meteoric career. Slowly crushed out of existence by the Avars or by the Hungarians, these kingdoms have gradually fallen into the hands of Germany. The districts formerly occupied by the Slovenians have in course of time become so many different provinces of the German Empire and afterwards of Austria; such are Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Upper and Lower Austria, Istria, Görz, Gradiska, and Trieste, not counting Hungary. The Slovenian country was occupied by German colonists. Whole districts were handed over to German counts, bishops, monasteries, and also to simple colonists. The monasteries undertook the work of conversion. The natives became subject to the new settlers, and the German language and customs were spread abroad with German administration and military service.

A similar process was carried out in the Southern provinces through the agency of the Romance population. The Slav element was gradually driven back all along the line, and soon even the traditions of an ancient Slav empire disappeared.

Only in Carinthia one feature of the old Slovenian kingdom remained until the fifteenth century; this was a custom in force when a new duke took over the government of the country. "The Austrian Rhymed Chronicle" of Ottokar (died about 1315) and the chronicle of Johannes of Viktring (died about 1345) describe in the following terms this ancient custom of paying homage. Near Karmburg, in the neighbourhood of the Church of St. Peter, is to be found a stone, upon which a free peasant sits, whose descent and hereditary rights qualify him for the position. He is surrounded by the countless masses of the people, waiting for the new duke. The duke, who is surrounded by nobles and knights, then takes off his costly clothes and puts on the dress of a peasant, consisting of a coat, trousers, and cloak of grey material, and shoes with strings, and a green hat. Thus clothed, and holding a staff in one hand and with the other leading a piebald cow and a horse of the same colour, the duke approaches the stone, while behind him follow his escort in festival dress and full decoration. As soon as the peasant, sitting on the stone, sees the duke, he calls out in the Slovenian tongue, "Who is this that approaches?" All the bystanders reply, "It is the prince of the land." The peasant then asks, "Is he a just judge? Does he care for the welfare of the country? Is he of free rank? Does he revere and protect the true faith?" All the bystanders reply, "He is, and will remain all this." "Then by what right," the

peasant goes on to ask, "can he remove me from my seat?" "He buys it from you," all reply, "with sixty pfennigs, with these piebald animals and with the clothes which he wears, and he will make your house free from all taxation." The peasant now gives the prince a slight box on the ears, stands up, takes the two animals and gives his place to the prince. The prince sits on the stone, waves his drawn sword on every side, and swears to be a just judge to the people. Then he takes a drink of fresh water out of his peasant's hat in token of his own simplicity and of that of his people, and to show his satisfaction with that which the soil of the country can produce. Thence the prince proceeds to the Church of Maria-Saal for solemn worship, takes a meal with his nobles and knights, and then proceeds, for the purpose of proclaiming his rights, to the meadow near Maria-Saal, where the prince on a particular seat receives the oath of allegiance and confers fiefs. Ernst the Iron Duke was the last who was instituted in 1414 as Duke of Carinthia with the observation of these customs, which betoken the old independence of the Carentanian Slavs. His son Frederick III declined to submit to the custom or to appear in peasant's clothes, because he thought it incompatible with his dignity as a Roman king, as Valvasor of Carniola says in the seventeenth century. The emperor Maximilian I was only prevented by war from reviving the old custom.

After the Slovenian race had lost its political independence, its language also suffered a process of decay. In Austria, Slovenish was indeed currently spoken. Ulrich of Lichtenstein in his "Frauendienste" (1255) mentions the fact that the language was spoken in Carinthia; even the duke of that country greeted him in that tongue on his return from Italy. In the fourteenth century, in Carinthia, Carniola, and even in Vienna, mass was read also in the Windish language; this fact was explained in the "Rationale divinorum officiorum" (fourteenth century) of Durandi, "because no other language is so widely spread as this which men call the Windish." In the year 1495 a priest was sent to Aix la Chapelle by the town of Laibach and Krainburg to officiate for the Slovenian pilgrims. In spite of these facts the German language spread through the courts and fortresses. The Slovenians have maintained their ground chiefly in Carniola, while in Carinthia and Styria they were less numerous. In Austria they have disappeared entirely, and only the names of many places, mountains, and rivers still remind us of the former Slav settlements.

B. The National Side of the Reformation in Carniola

About the year 1500 political life had disappeared among all the Southern Slavs. The Bulgarians, Serbs, Bosnians, and part of the Croatians had lost their independence to Turkey, another part of the Croatians to Venice, and a third to Hungary, while the Slovenians were under German rule; Ragusa and Dalmatia were alone in better case. It was the Reformation which first came as a stimulus to the Croatians, and especially to the Slovenians, arousing their intellectual activity and making their national tongue the literary language, as among the Germans, Tchechs, and Poles. In the Slovenian districts also preachers used the language of the country. When they were driven out they went to Würtemberg, which was at that time the centre of religious freedom. In Tübingen, as J. Šuman informs us, a Slovenian professor, Matija Grbec of Istria, was working at the Uni-

versity; the post of assistant professor was occupied by Matija Vlašič of Istria, while Michal Tiffernus from Tüffer in Lower Styria was the duke's chancellor and first councillor. Among the emigrants were also to be found the former canon of Laibach, Primus Truber from Rasica in Lower Carniola, who preached under popular protection until he went to Germany in 1547. This distinguished preacher now conceived an idea of influencing his Slovenian compatriots by publications issued from Würtemberg. He published an alphabet with a catechism and a "Christian Doctrine," both printed in German characters in 1550. He was supported by the bishop of Capo d' Istria, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, who had fled with the reformers to Tübingen in 1553, and by the former governor of Styria, Johann Ungnad, count of Sonegg, who had left his country for the same reason in 1557, but still drew the income from his property and maintained a small court at Urach. In Tübingen the Southern Slav printing-press was established in 1560, and printers acquainted with Cyrillic and Glagolitic writing were engaged. Stefan Consul came from Istria, and designed type for the Glagolitic letters, as Anton Dalmata of Dalmatia had done for the Cyrillic script. It was hoped that the project would extend as far as Constantinople; for all the people in those districts, according to Hans. Ungnad, spoke one and the same Slav language, varied only by differences of dialect and writing. The first fruit of these common efforts was the Croatian catechism in Glagolitic and Cyrillic writing, which appeared in 1561. The undertaking was supported by German princes, including Maximilian II. Recalled by the provincial authorities of Carniola, Truber continued his work in Laibach between 1562 and 1564, where he founded the first printing-presses. Opposition, however, soon drove him back to Würtemberg. He died in 1586 at Derendingen, near Tübingen, after thirty-six years of work as an author, and leaving eighteen printed books behind him.

The reform movement secured its final successes when Juri Dalmatin translated the whole of the Scriptures into the pure Slovenian language. He was born in Gurkfeld in Lower Carniola and studied in Tübingen, where he became magister. The rector of the high school in Laibach, Adam Bohorič, who was also a master of philosophy, composed a Slovenian grammar, in accordance with which the manuscript of Dalmatin was improved and printed at the expense of the estates of Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola, in 1584. During the time of the Counter Reformation many Slovenian writings of a religious character were destroyed, but nothing could check the progress of the literary movement. In the course of the seventeenth century other Slovenian writings appeared also on the side of the Catholic party, and at that time the first printing-press for the Slovenians of Hungary was set up in Halle.

C. The Literary Renaissance of the Last One Hundred and Fifty Years

During the second half of the eighteenth century a new and vigorous revival of literature took place; the impulse to this movement was given by Marco Pohlin, or Marcus de St. Antonio Paduano, to give him his title as an Augustine monk. His writings were mostly of a religious character, but included a Slovenian grammar, a "compendious chronological description of highly remarkable events, with special reference to the exalted Duchy of Carniola," and a

bibliography of the writers of Carniola. His co-operation assisted the formation between 1781 and 1787 of the "Academia operosorum labacensium," the president of which was John Nep. Graf of Edling, and of which the most highly educated Slovenians were members. About this period Siegmund Freiherr of Zois (died 1819), a dignitary of Carniola, came forward as a patron of Slovenian literature. A frequent visitor at his house was Valentin Vodnik (died 1819), the first Slovenian poet; in 1796 he began the publication of the first Slovenian calendar and the first political newspaper, "Ljubljanske Novice." In his house at Zois, Jernej (Bartholomew) Kópitar (died 1844), the famous Slavist, lived from 1799 as tutor, and afterwards as secretary and librarian. Another member of this circle was Mat. Ravnikar, afterwards bishop of Trieste, and Capo d' Istria, who wrote religious books in pure prose.

As in Western Europe, so also among the Southern Slav peoples, the nationalist movement was strengthened by the French Revolution and the domination of Napoleon. In the year 1809 Carniola was ceded to France, and Laibach was made the capital of the Illyrian provinces (p. 312). The French introduced Slovenian as the language of instruction in the schools, at which Count Vodnik, who had been appointed director of education, sang the praises of Napoleon I in a poem. The result of this step was that after the fall of Napoleon the Austrian government also instituted a professorial chair of Slovenian in Graz; the first appointment was Jos. Nep. Primec (died 1823), who had already founded the "Societas Slovenica" in this district in 1810.

In Carinthia, Styria, Görz, and Trieste authors and poets were also working at that time; they occasionally published poems and articles in German papers, as did U. Jarnik (died 1844) in Carinthia, V. Stanic in Görz, St. Modrinjak (died 1826), and L. Volkmer (died 1817) and others in Styria. Peter Danjko performed special services on behalf of the Styrian Slovenians (died 1873); he wrote in prose, was also a poet, and formed, by means of Cyrillic letters, an enlarged Latin alphabet for the Slovenians. A similar attempt had been made by Metelko in Carniola. However, neither this "Danjčica" nor the "Metelčica" was able to maintain its ground; such innovations met with an especially hostile reception from the learned Mat. Čop, who had been born in Lower Carniola, is said to have understood nineteen languages, and worked as a professor in Fiume, Laibach, and Lemberg. He was one of the founders of the first literary review, "Kranjska čbelica," the publication of which was begun in 1830 by Michael Kastelec. In this review appeared the first efforts of the greatest Slovenian poet, Franz Prešćren (died 1849; cf. Vol. VIII, p. 539), with whom the Slovenian literature reached its highest point.

In this way the Slovenian race advanced as regards language and poetry. Scientific research was not seriously begun until the middle of the nineteenth century, but in this department also success has been attained. According to the census of 1900 the number of Slovenians in all districts amounts to 1,192,780, not including the Slavonians and the Hungarian Slovenians or "Prekmurci," inhabiting the district beyond the Mur. In view of their scanty numbers a movement among the Slovenians is apparent towards union with the Croatians, with the object of forming one nationality. This would be no very difficult task, as their respective languages display but little difference; apart from this, both tribes formed one people in ancient times.

VI

THE DANUBE PEOPLES

By DR. HEINRICH VON WLISLOCKI

Revised by DR. HANS F. HELMOLT

1. THE HUNS

A. Their Beginnings in Asia

About the year 50 B.C. the kingdom of the Huns (Hiungnu) in the north of China had been divided into an eastern and northern portion (Vol. II, p. 142). The eastern state of the Huns came to an end in 142 A.D., and its people were for the most part absorbed by degrees into the Chinese Empire; the northern kingdom of the Huns, however, succumbed as early as 84 A.D. to the repeated attacks of their more powerful foes the Sien pē and of other Siberian Tunguse tribes. Part of the Hun population then fled westward to the steppes of Lake Aral, where a separate kingdom had been founded under Tshï tshï (see above, p. 32) immediately after the disruption of the empire. Considerably reinforced by the arrival of these fugitives (about 90 A.D.), this nomad power extended so rapidly in the course of the following century that it reached the Caspian Sea and came under the notice of European geographers (such as Dionysios Periegetes about 130 and Ptolemaios about 150). About the year 300 the state was involved in war with Tiridates (Trdat) the Great of Armenia (p. 98), became a disturbing force among the peoples of Eastern Europe, and was able to make a considerable step westward about the middle of the fourth century, after attaining more or less success in a series of petty struggles. At this point we should emphasise the fact that the ethnological character of these composite Hun people must have been considerably changed during these years by the reception and incorporation of related and foreign elements; the truth of the matter probably is that only the leaders and the nobles of the hordes were of pure Mongolian blood, while the majority were a very mixed race, containing infusions of other branches of the Ural, — Altaic-speaking peoples, of the Turcoman Tartars, of Finns and Ugrians, and also of Sarmatians and others.

All that we know of the customs and manners of the Huns is in correspondence with the peculiar characteristics of Mongolian races. This remark is also true of their physical characteristics, as described by contemporary writers: their large round heads, small deep-set eyes, prominent cheek-bones, flat noses, dirty complexion, small stature, broad chests, and heavy build above the waist. In certain races this original type had so far disappeared under the influence of infusions from elsewhere, that we may doubt whether the result was rather Turkish or Finnish.

These tribes were accustomed to slit the cheeks of their children in order to prevent the growth of hair; their noses were tied down with broad bands, and the skull compressed at the sides. The Huns were true nomads, possessing neither houses nor huts. Their women (they were polygamists) and their children they led about from place to place in covered waggons, pasturing their herds in summer on the wide steppes, and retiring to the river-beds in winter. They were hardy riders, accustomed to remain day and night in the saddle, where they ate and drank. The horse, the sword, and the favourite tools of a dead man were buried with his body, which was placed in a grave with the head towards the west and the face turned to the rising sun. Over the grave a mound was erected on which the meal of the dead was placed. Singers then extolled the deeds of the departed in their songs, while the relatives cropped their hair and slit their cheeks in token of their grief.

B. The Advance into the Danube District

About the year 372 the Huns left their new habitation and advanced into the district on this side of the Volga, subjugating in 375 the Alans, who were living on the Don and the Sea of Azov; part of the Alans were speedily incorporated with the conquerors. Under the leadership of Balamber or Balamir they attacked the Eastern Goths; their king Hermanarich (Ermanarik; the Ermrich of the "Book of Heroes"), who was more than one hundred years old, committed suicide upon losing a decisive battle. His successor, Vithimir (Vinitharius), fell in a battle on the Erac (between the Dnieper and the Dniester); his two sons and some adherents fled to the Western Goths, while a larger portion of the Eastern Goths (Greutungs), who were led by Gesimund, submitted to the supremacy of the Huns. The Western Goths afterwards retired behind the Pruth, and when the Huns also passed the Dniester they escaped after a short time, some behind the Sereth to Kaukaland, the modern Transylvania, under the leadership of Athanarich, while another portion (the Tervings), who had accepted Christianity, entered the Roman Empire at the advice of their bishop Ulfilas, under the leadership of Fritigern, whither Athanarich followed in 380, notwithstanding his hatred of Rome, as he had been expelled from Transylvania.

The Hunnish hordes of Balamber now overran the whole country to the Danube; only the lower portion of this river and the territory about its mouth divided them from the Roman Empire. Both for the civilized and for the barbarian nations this mighty invasion of Europe by Asiatic nomads had grievous consequences. All traces disappeared of the rising German civilization, which had been begun by the Goths; rich colonies and flourishing settlements fell into ruins. The wooden palaces of the chieftains of the Huns advanced nearer year by year to the borders of civilization, and Hunnish mercenaries soon became one of the main supports of the Roman domination, which was then entering on its decline.

C. Attila

During the years 400 to 408 the government was in the hands of Uldin (Uldes), and in the first half of the fifth century three brothers reigned over the Huns,—Mundzuk (known as Bendeguz in the Hungarian traditions), Oktar, and Rua (also known as Rof, Rugha, and Rugilas). Oktar, who was in the pay of the Romans,

appeared several times on the Rhine and disturbed the Burgundians; he died in that district, as a result of excessive gluttony, on the eve of a battle. His inheritance was divided between his brothers Mundzuk and Rua; the latter was in friendly relations with Byzantium, and was granted the title of "Field-Marshal" by Theodosios II, together with a yearly subsidy of three hundred and fifty pounds in gold (about £22,000). Upon his death in 434 A. D. the supremacy was taken over by his nephews Bleda (or Buda, by Hungarian tradition) and Attila, the sons of Mundzuk.

Many different attempts have been made to explain the meaning of the name of Attila, the greatest of the Hun kings. Some derive the name from the Gothic "Atta," or father, and consider it as meaning "little father;" probably, however, it is connected with the name by which the Byzantines denoted the Volga in the sixth century. Magyar myths call him Etele, and in the German heroic legends he is known as Etzel. The year and the place of his birth are equally unknown. Upon his father's early death Attila was sent by his uncle Rua as a hostage to Novæ (Svištov on the Bulgarian Danube), where he made the acquaintance of his later opponent, Aëtius,[1] who was there living in similar circumstances. Here he acquired some tincture of Byzantine culture. Immediately after his accession the two Hunnish princes renewed their peace with the emperor Theodosius under conditions of great severity: the Byzantines were forced to dissolve all their alliances with the peoples in the Danube district, to surrender all Hunnish subjects who had taken refuge with them, and also to pay a yearly tribute of five hundred pounds in gold (seven hundred pounds according to Priscus). Attila discovered an easy mode of enriching his favourites by suddenly sending one or another of them with some despatch or proposal to the court of Constantinople, which was then forced to expend rich presents in return for the supposed communication.

The Hunnish hordes subjugated the German and Slav peoples on the Danube; Attila's eldest son, Ellak, ruled over the Ugrian hunting people of the Akat(z)ires on the Don from 488. At an early date Attila turned westward, and between 435 and 437 destroyed the flourishing Burgundian kingdom on the central Rhine and on the east of Gaul; the king Gundihar (Gundicharius) was killed. In the year 441 the town of Margum, at the confluence of the Margus (Moravia) and the Lower Danube, fell into the hands of the Huns, who from that date remained the perpetual guests of the East Roman Empire. Under excuses of a very varied nature Attila now sent out his bands to invade Moesia, Thracia, and Illyria; a delay in payment of the yearly tribute or the flight of some Hunnish grandee whom he was pursuing provided sufficient excuse for such aggression.

In 445 he removed his brother Bleda by a treacherous murder. Shortly afterwards a Hun shepherd brought in a sword which was said to have fallen from heaven; to this object the superstitious people attached the significance of future

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[1] Mag. equ. Gaudentius = Italian wife

Comes Domesticorum Carpilio (under Honorius) = noble Goth wife

Flavius Aëtius, *about 390 at Durostorum (Silistria) † Sept. 21, 454

daughter (Christian)

Gaudentius betrothed 454 to daughter of Valentinian III

Carpilio, 441, among the Huns

imperial power, and Attila strengthened his people in this belief. He himself was convinced of the possibility of his future empire, in view of the weakness which then prevailed in the East Roman Empire. In the year 447 he advanced with his bands as far as Thermopylæ; the emperor Theodosius then begged for peace, which was granted him, at the outset of 448, at the price of a war indemnity of six thousand pounds in gold (English money, £275,000) and a yearly tribute of two thousand one hundred pounds in gold (£95,000; p. 35). Shortly afterwards (448) he sent Ediko, one of his nobles, to Constantinople to receive the yearly tribute, which the Byzantine court could only collect by means of extortion from the impoverished people; he further demanded from Theodosius II the cession of the whole of the right bank of the Danube. Thereupon Chrysaphius "Tzuma," the all-powerful eunuch of the empire, induced the Hunnish ambassador to join a conspiracy for the murder of Attila. In the year 449 the Byzantine embassy approached Attila to treat with him concerning his new demands. The leader of the embassy, the senator Maximin, and his secretary Priscus, a rhetorician and sophist from Pannonia, fortunately for themselves, knew nothing of the conspiracy, though the interpreter Vigilas was a party to it. However, Ediko himself betrayed the proposal to his master, who joyfully seized this favourable opportunity to demand from the emperor Theodosius the head of the hated Chrysaphius, together with an increase in the amount of the yearly tribute; it was with great difficulty that he was persuaded to give up this demand.

To the rhetorician Priscus we owe an important description of his travels, which gives us a glimpse of life at the Hunnish court. He describes the capital and the simple palace of Attila, which was situated somewhere between the Theiss and the Danube, in the modern lowlands of Hungary (possibly near Tokai). He also gives us a description of the dwellings of the Hunnish grandees, including that of the minister Onegesius (Hūnigīs, a Goth by descent). He informs us that upon the entry of Attila the monarch was preceded by a band of girls in white garments. Priscus made the acquaintance of Queen Kreka (Reka), to whom he handed the presents of the emperor. He was present at a banquet given in honour of the embassy, at which singers and jesters attempted to entertain the courtiers, while the Hunnish monarch sat buried in gloomy silence, with a whole band of Greek interpreters and Roman scribes awaiting his commands. It appears from this narrative that the Hunnish king found Roman culture indispensable. By his diplomatic insight, his great generalship, his personal bravery and daring, he so entirely surpassed contemporary princes that from the Rhine to the Volga, from the Baltic to the shores of the Black Sea, nations anxiously awaited their fates at the hands of this powerful and gloomy conqueror.

In the summer of 450 disturbances broke out in Constantinople: Theodosius died in the course of a revolt, Chrysaphius was executed, and Marcianus (p. 35) ascended the tottering throne. When the ambassadors of the Hunnish kingdom came to Constantinople shortly after his accession to demand the yearly tribute he gave them a short answer, — "Gold for my friends and steel for my enemies." Attila was apparently satisfied with this answer. Geiserich, the king of the Vandals, had mutilated the first wife of his eldest son, Hunerich, in consequence of some suspicion (about 446); she was a daughter of the West Goth Theodorich I, and dreading the revenge of the Goths had concluded an alliance with Attila, who now turned his attention to the West Roman Empire. The

reigning emperor, Valentinian III, had designed that his sister Grata Justa Honoria should take the veil; she, however, had begun a love affair with her procurator Eugenius, had been banished for some time to Byzantium in consequence, and on her return home had secretly sent Attila a ring, thus offering herself to him as his wife. For the moment Attila vouchsafed no answer to the proposal, but at a later date he sent repeated demands to Valentinian, requesting the bride for his harem and half of the western empire as her dowry, basing these demands on the gift of the ring. The refusal to these requests was transmitted to the Hunnish ambassador in the name of the emperor by Aëtius, "the last of the Romans," the companion of Attila's youth.

In fierce anger Attila now turned the whole of Eastern Europe into an armed camp. In the spring of 451 he advanced with a gigantic army, composed of the most different nationalities (said to amount to five hundred thousand men), along the Danube towards Gaul. The attention of the Hun prince had been drawn to this country in 448 by a rebel named Eudoxius, and afterwards by the Vandal Geiserich and by an ambitious Frank; a long series of ruined towns marked his progress. At Strassburg Attila crossed the Rhine with his army, burned Metz and attempted to capture Orléans. However, the inhabitants of the town held out, under the leadership of their bishop, until the vanguard of the army of Aëtius appeared; he had been joined, after long negotiations, by Theodorich I (Theodoric), the king of the West Goths. Attila raised the siege and led his columns back to the wide plain extending towards Troyes and Mery, between the Seine and the Marne. On the field of Mauriazen (Katalaun), in the beginning of July, the great battle of peoples took place in which Roman Christianity was opposed to the Huns and heathendom. After fearful slaughter (reports vary between one hundred and sixty thousand and three hundred thousand men, while later legends asserted that even the fallen continued to struggle in the air), Attila retired to his bivouac at nightfall, and the death-songs of the Huns were heard even in the camp of the conquerors. The Hunnish king hastily erected a funeral pile of saddles, on which he proposed to undergo a voluntary death by fire in case of a renewed attack by the victorious enemy. Aëtius, however, did not wish to destroy so valuable a counterpoise to the Gothic power, and had, moreover, himself gained the victory at the price of heavy sacrifices; furthermore, the West Goths had immediately marched home on the death of their king. Attila was thus able to retire to Pannonia without opposition.

In the following year (452) Attila marched upon Italy with a strong army. After a siege of several months he captured the town of Aquileia, the gate of Italy, and levelled it to the ground (see the plate facing this page, "Attila the King of the Huns before Aquileia"). The smoking ruins of Padua, Verona, Milan, and many other towns marked the path of the Hunnish bands as they marched upon Rome. The whole civilized world was awaiting with horror the fall of the "eternal city" when Attila suddenly began to retreat. To this step he was probably induced, not so much by the magnificent present sent him by Pope Leo I at Mincio (see the second picture on the plate facing this page), as by the news that the East Roman emperor Marcianus had invaded Pannonia, and that an even more dangerous adversary, Aëtius, was collecting an army for the relief of Rome. To these motives must be added the intolerable heat, the unaccustomed climate, plague, the lack of provisions, and last but certainly not least, superstition. It was thought

that the conqueror of Rome would die shortly after the capture of the city, as Alarich had died before (Vol. IV, p. 469). The fact remains that Attila retreated homeward to the banks of the Theiss. After threatening the Byzantines with punishment in the following year, he died in the winter of the year 453 of hemorrhage on the night of his marriage with Idliko, known to German legend as Kriemhild. The body was buried in an unknown spot, and the workmen employed upon the grave were killed, that no one might be able to betray the last resting-place of the Hunnish monarch. Rome and Byzantium had lost a dangerous foe.

D. The Downfall of the Hun People

After Attila's death, both his empire and his people declined with rapid strides. Ellak (p. 317), his destined successor, had acquired Roman culture and Roman military tactics in his early youth, but was not a suitable ruler for a barbaric people of nomads. The new ruler was attacked by Attila's other sons, especially Dengizich (Dintzic) and Irnach (Vol. II, p. 155). This fratricidal effort led to no result, while the Goths and the Gepids seized this opportunity to revolt. Ellak marched against the rebels, but his army was defeated by the mighty force of the Gepids (under Ardarich), Goths, Rugians, and Herulians at the river Netad in Pannonia, where Ellak lost his life. Dengizich now undertook the leadership of the Huns who had been driven back to the plains between the Lower Danube and the Don. In 456 and 462 he attacked the Pannonian Goths on the Save, but was twice defeated by King Valemir. He then made an alliance with the Goths, and advanced to Dacia and Moesia. Three armies sent against him by the East Roman Empire were enticed by the allies into a narrow valley, where they were surrounded and almost exterminated. However, in the year 469 Dengizich again invaded Thrace, but on this occasion he was captured by the Roman Magister Militum, Anagastus, was executed, and his head was sent to Constantinople. With his death ends the unity of the East European nomad peoples under the name of Huns, which had formerly been created by Rua and Attila. Irnach, accompanied by his brothers Emnedsur and Ultzindur, withdrew with the remnants of the Huns far into the steppes of South Russia.

For more than fifty years we have no further news of the Huns. Shortly before 523, the Byzantines mention the Hunnish tribe of the Uturgurs (Utigurs, on the Sea of Azov), whose king, Gorda (Grod), accepted Christianity, and was killed in a revolt led by his brother Muager. As early as 507 and 508 the [Caucasian-] Albanian bishop Qardūçt of Arrān had made a missionary journey into the lands of the Sabirs. In the middle of the sixth century Procopius speaks of the Huns as a people divided into the two tribes of the Kuturgurs (Kotrigurs) and Uturgurs, resembling one another in language, dress, etc., but weakening one another by their mutual conflicts after the autumn of 558 (cf. p. 42). We need not then feel surprised that the chieftain of the Kuturgurs, Zabergan, was performing service in the army of the Avars under the Khagan, about 562. These Kuturgurs, who were also known as (Black) Bulgarians, joined for the most part with the Avars, who are henceforward often known as Huns, in an expedition to Pannonia in 568; about 630 they were forced to leave this country in consequence of the failure of a revolt. The Khagan of the Avars now proclaimed himself ruler of the two Hun tribes, and sent a demand to Justin II in 568 for the yearly subsidy which Byzan-

tium had formerly paid. In the year 576 we find the Uturgurs, with their neighbours the Alans, subject to the Western Turks; their prince, Anagai, appears before the Bosphorus (at Panticapæun) as a simple Turkish general. Shortly after that time the name of the Uturgurs disappears from history; their place is taken by the Bulgarians in Old or Greater Bulgaria to the east of the Sea of Azov. On the other hand in 598 we meet again with the Kuturgurs (Kotzagirs), who took refuge, to the number of ten thousand men, with the Avar Khagan, while flying, with the Huns of Tarniach and Zaben, from the Turks. However, the supremacy of the Avars continued only until 626 (cf. p. 280).

At the outset of the seventh century the prince Organa ruled over the Kuturgurs, who had remained on the Sea of Azov. He was an ally of the emperor Heraclius (p. 64), accepted Christianity in 619, and attempted to convert his people to the new faith; this success, however, was reserved for the Albanian bishop Israel of Mec-kolmankᶜ, who preached the Armenian gospel with great success in 682 at the court of the Hun prince, Alp-Iluᶜtver of Waračᶜan (to the north of Darband in the Caucasus). After the death of Organa, his cousin Kuvrat [1] united his nation with their kinsmen the Bulgarians on the Kuban, and shook off the yoke of the Avars. After the death of Kuvrat in 668 this allied tribe divided into five different hordes under his sons. However, the legendary genealogy, on which the story of this division is based, is not wholly trustworthy, for some partial division, at least, must have taken place in the second half of the sixth century. One horde was united about 679 with the Khazars under Bäg-Bajan, the eldest son of Kuvrat; with these the Bulgarians had formerly been in alliance as a neighbouring people, and were now to be conquered by them. The danger threatened by their neighbours, the Turkish Petshenegs (Patzinaks), induced the Magyars about 840 to form an alliance with the Khazars, under whose supremacy they retained possession for twenty years of their second European home, Lebedia, to the east of the Don. When the Hungarians abandoned these districts shortly after 862 (p. 84) they were joined by the Kabars (κάβαροι; in Turkish = revolters), who now broke away from their mother tribe the Khazars and helped the Hungarians to found a new home, or, to be precise, found a home for them. The empire founded by the Khazars, augmented by the remnants of the Huns, soon rose to importance; between 851 and 863 their dynasty accepted Christianity (cf. pp. 77 and 284). Shortly afterwards, however, they gave way before the silent influence of the Jews and accepted the Mosaic belief. Their kingdom became a formidable menace to the South Caucasian peoples in consequence of its great raids (ending 799). It must be said, however, that, according to J. Marquart, no credence need be given to the supposed letter of a Jewish Khazar king, Joseph, to the Rabbi Chisdai, brought from Egypt in 1870 by Abr. Firkovitch; in this letter (about 950) an imposing series of peoples are mentioned as being tributary, at that period, to the Hunnish Bulgarian kingdom of the Khazars. About 969 (or 965 according to the faulty reckoning of the Russian chronicle) the empire exhausted

[1] Kobrat (Kuvrat), chieftain of the Unugundur-Bulgarians in independence of the Avars about 635, a subordinate branch of the Kuturgurs (Kotrags); † 668

Bajan (Bäg-Bajan) on the Sea of Azov: subdued by the Khazars 679	Kotragos, west of the Don	(Isperich) Asparuch, flees from the Khazars 679 and expels the Avars from the southern bank of the Danube	Fourth son, in Pannonia	Fifth son

by these continual campaigns fell before the advance of the Russian Svjatoslav. The second horde of the Hunnish Bulgarians found a temporary home to the west of the Don. The third horde, mingled with other tribes of the Huns, founded the modern Bulgaria under the leadership of Isperich; while the fourth, unless there is some confusion here with the above-mentioned settlements of 568, advanced to Pannonia; their descendants are considered by many to be the Theiss Bulgarians mentioned in Hungarian traditions, and possibly also the Székles of Transylvania.

Thus the nationality of the Huns was broken up, coalesced with other nations, and then disappeared.

2. THE BULGARIANS

A. The Original Home, the Migrations, and the Divisions of the Bulgarians

The desert between the Ural Mountains, the Caspian Sea, and Lake Aral was at one time the home of those Ugrian families of peoples to which the Bulgarians belonged. How long the Ugrians may have inhabited these districts is impossible to say. At some time or other Ugrian races were driven into that territory by the Sabires, who, on their side, had retreated from the Avars, who were driven out by the Huns; at that time it is probable that the Voguls and Ostiaks, perhaps also some Magyar tribes, had retired northwards to the Tobol, Irtish, and Ob. On the other hand, the eastern branch for the most part extended at least to the Lower Volga and the Caucasus district, in the neighbourhood of which Bulgarian tribes, who had emigrated at an earlier period, must have been settled. These North Caucasian Bulgarians were strongly influenced by the overwhelming invasion of the Huns. The fact is undoubted that it was the Bulgarians who formed the main element of the Hunnish armies; hence we may explain the fact that we hear of Hunnish Bulgarians in the land of the Alans in the fourth century, and that we learn, shortly after 375, of the Langobards being overwhelmed by Bulgarians of this kind. Thus during those decades the Bulgarians must have partly exchanged their old name for that of Hun. This fact naturally does not facilitate the task of distinguishing the individual families of Mongolian race, of which we have in any case only scanty records, difficult to interpret. The Huns, as we have seen (p. 319), had gradually received large reinforcements from other members of the Ural Altaic-speaking peoples, and their Turkish-Tartar nationality had been so entirely transformed thereby, that it is difficult to say whether the hordes who invaded Europe were primarily of Turkish or Finnish race. After the disruption of the Hunnish unity (469 A. D.) this same phenomenon, which reduces every conscientious historian to complete despair, is repeated with greater intensity. The tribes formerly subjected to the Huns had now indeed recovered their freedom; but they had been subject for so long a period to Hunnish supremacy, had so entirely assimilated their manners and customs, had felt themselves to be so entirely members of the great Hunnish nationality on their marauding expeditions, and had so often acted in accordance with this belief, that contemporary chroniclers are continually in a state of confusion as regards the identity of these separate elements; Avars, Bulgarians, Sabires, etc., are shortly and simply known

as "Huns." A century later the opposite tendency is in force; the remnants of the Hun nationality are incorporated with the Bulgarian people (p. 324), and the name of Hun disappears from history, although the representatives of this nationality were by no means extinct.

In that highly disturbed age of the great migrations we hear only occasionally, with the exception of the events above mentioned, of actions which can be ascribed with any certainty to the North Caucasian Bulgarians alone. In the year 482 the emperor Zeno (p. 36) invited their help against the Eastern Goths. This was the first occasion on which the Bulgarians came into practical contact with the East Roman Empire. In 505 Sabinianus, the Magister Militum of Illyricum, at the head of ten thousand Bulgarian auxiliary troops, was defeated on the Morava, while operating against Mundo the Gepid and Pitzia the Goth. From the shattered remnants of the Western Bulgarian outposts left in these districts, that branch may have been formed or have diverged, which was received about 670, under its leader Alzeco, into the old land of the Samnites by the Langobard Duke Romuald of Beneventum. In any case, at that moment the main body of the North Caucasian Bulgarians were in enjoyment of complete independence from the time that Kuvrat shook off the yoke of the Avars, about 635, and founded a formidable state in conjunction with the other branches of the Southern Ugrians who had been driven into that district (cf. above). The supposition may be correct that the races subject to this Unugundur kingdom on the Kuban may have included the Unigurs or other ancestors of the Magyars, of whose presence in the district of the Don there is evidence during the seventh century (Masʿūdī refers to the Magyars of 925 under the name of Burgar); in that case we may find an explanation of the existence of Turkish elements of Bulgarian Chuvashish character, such as are peculiar to the Magyar vocabulary, without necessarily accepting the hypothesis of Herm. Vambéry, of a true Turkish or Altaic origin for the Magyars (cf. on this point section 4, below).

However, in 679 the power of the Unugundur Bulgarians was so entirely shattered that for a time only fragmentary remnants of them existed; the disturbing element was the West Turkish Khazars, among whose earliest conquests and settlements are included the East Caucasian plains on the Terek and Ssulak, together with the nomad settlements of Balangar and Samandar. However, the broken power recovered itself with comparative rapidity and soon became a force to be reckoned with. One portion was entirely absorbed by the Khazars; Isperich, the third son of Kuvrat, founded a new kingdom on the Lower Danube, the fate of which will be followed more in detail below; the fourth and fifth sons with their following migrated to the Avars. The second son of Kuvrat, Kotrag, settled on the right bank of the Don (Kotrags = Kuturgurs = Kotzagirs = Ultziagirs or Altziagirs), and from this point advanced along the valley of the central Volga to the country of the Kama (known at this point as the Isgil, the second of three or four tribes of these Volga Bulgarians), where he founded the state of "Great Bulgaria," between the two Etil (= rivers; cf. p. 85). This name also gives rise to difficulties. The shores of the Sea of Azov, which were occupied by those Hunnish Bulgarian Uturgurs (p. 324) who fell victims in 568 to the Avars (Uigurs) and in 576, together with the Alans, to the Western Turks, are now called, as occasion rises, either "old" or "great" Bulgaria until the occupation by the Unigurs (Magyars, first half of ninth century). Special care must be taken to avoid any confusion of

the "Old Bulgaria" on the Kuban with the other "Old Bulgaria" in Europe. Now that all the remaining Bulgarian states have entirely disappeared from the map, the term "Old Bulgaria" is justifiably used to distinguish this country from the modern Bulgaria (in reference to linguistic peculiarities, etc.), and will occupy our attention later on. Of greater permanence than that Uturgur kingdom was Great Bulgaria, created by a remarkable retrograde movement of the bands of Kotrag on the Volga and Kama, which showed considerable power of endurance, and flourished from the ninth to the thirteenth century. For purposes of greater clearness we may connect this state with al-Balchī (Istachrī) under the name of "Outer Bulgaria," in order to contrast it with the state founded on the Lower Danube by Isperich in 679, which then appears as "Inner Bulgaria" (Burgān); however, these titles are not in common use and are perhaps better left alone. On the Volga and the Kama the Bulgarians certainly carried on cattle-breeding and agriculture to some extent. They were soon in constant communication with the Arabs; as early as the year 922 the Bulgarians are said to have accepted Mohammedanism, a statement which appears credible. In consequence of their intercourse with the Arabs, these Volga Bulgarians acquired considerable influence over the neighbouring Ugrian races (the Magyars and others). Among other proofs of the fact are a few surviving monuments, written in a language similar to that of the modern Chuvashes; instances are the inscriptions on the gravestones found in the ruins of the town of Bulgar (Bolgar) on the Kama, also the remnants of a list[1] enumerating the heathen princes of the Danube Bulgarians (until 765), wherein the ages are given in Old Bulgarian numerals, which can be compared with the words in Chuvash. The development of Great Bulgaria was hindered for a time by the invasions from the Baltic of the Norman Vikings (Russians); in 969 they devastated Bulgaria, and a considerable proportion of the inhabitants removed to Hungary under their leaders Bila, Bokšu, and Hetend, where they introduced as Ishmaelites, under the Árpáds, the cultivation of the vine. Notwithstanding the repeated invasions of the Russians, Greater Bulgaria maintained its independence for a long period. We have specimens of Arab coins, dated 976 and 977, which were struck in Bulgār and in Suvār (Shivar) in the name of the Bulgarian prince Mu'min ben Ahmad. Besides agriculture, the Volga Bulgarians learnt manufacture and trade from Iranian immigrants, which rapidly developed into the towns of Suvār, Bulgār, and Bilar and extended as far as Persia. In the thirteenth century Greater Bulgaria lost its independence; the country was conquered by the Tartars and afterwards fell into the hands of the Muscovite Czars.

B. Old Bulgaria in Europe

(*a*) *The Settlements of the Dobrudža and of Moesia.* — The Bulgarians who had migrated to the left bank of the Lower Danube under Isperich (Asparuch; pp. 65 and 325) the son of Kuvrat had meanwhile extended their settlements in the district between the Dniester, the Danube, and the Pontus, whence they made invasions into Moesia and into Thrace. The Byzantine emperor, Constantine IV

[1] Other names in this Danube Bulgarian list of princes are Māğak (Μεζάμηρος), who was king about 560 of the Slav Antes, a tribe then settled to the north of the Kutugurs between the Dniester and Dnieper on the Podolian Bug, and fell fighting against the Avars, and his brother Κελαγάστης, or Bezměr and Gostun.

Pogonatus, sent a punitive expedition against them in 679, with a precisely opposite result to that intended; the victorious Bulgarians moved to the right bank of the Danube in the same year, and Isperich occupied the territory from the Moesian plain to the shores of the Black Sea (the name Dobrudža is derived from that of the Kumano-Bulgarian Despot, Dobrotič, who ruled until 1386 over Varna, Kaliakra, and other places on the Pontos (cf. below, p. 346). The Slavs settled in those districts resigned themselves more readily to their fate, as they were thereby freed from the hated Byzantine yoke. This European kingdom of Old Bulgaria extended so rapidly that, at the outset of the ninth century, it included all the numerous Slav races of the Balkan Peninsula; under this new and comparatively mild government they soon united into one people, and adopted the name of their conquerors the Bulgarians. The ruling class was weak in numbers, was soon subdued by the higher civilization of their Slav subjects, and adopted their language after two or three centuries, certainly after their prosperous period.

This Old Bulgarian state, the centre of gravity of which lay in the river system of the Kamčija and in the plains of the modern Dobrudža, was ruled under an aristocratic constitution. The supreme power was in the hands of a prince known by the native name of Khan; he was supported by a council of six nobles (boljerin, boyars). Serfdom was an ancient institution, and hence the administration of justice was barbaric and arbitrary. Rebel nobles lost not only their property and wealth, but their entire families were also exterminated. Polygamy was usual; when the husband died, his wives were burned with his corpse or buried in the same grave. Human sacrifices, a practice only practised at the expense of Latin and Greek enemies, are reported from the outset of the thirteenth century under the "Pious" Johannisza; an instance among the savage Kumanians belongs even to the year 1241.

(*b*) *The Concluding History of the Heathen Ugrian Nationality (to the First Third of the Ninth Century).* — Hardly had Isperich settled with his nation in the Lower Danube districts than the Byzantines, in order to save Thrace, were forced to agree to a tribute in a convention of 679. When the emperor Justinian II Rhinotmetos, the last descendant of the house of Heraclius, withheld the tribute, Isperich defeated the Greeks and imposed a heavier tribute on them. Under his successor Tervel (about 700 to 720) the Byzantine emperor, who was exiled in 695, found his chief support in the Bulgarians of Great Prêslav (Megali Peristhlava) to the south of Šumen or Schumla, the modern Eski-Stamboul. With the help of Tervel, Justinian, who had meanwhile married the Khazar princess Theodora, re-established himself in Constantinople in 705, heaped honours of every kind upon his ally, and conferred upon him the title of Cæsar, though shortly after he was ungrateful enough to dissolve the alliance and attempt to surprise the Bulgarian Khan. At Anchialos (in Old Bulgarian, Tutchon) he was, however, himself defeated by the Bulgarian ruler in 705, was forced to pay a yearly tribute and to cede the Thracian district of Zagora, situated to the south of the Balkans, which afterwards gave its name to the Bulgarian kingdom of Tirnovo (Trnovo), a name in use for centuries among the Serbs, Byzantines, and Italians, though denoting different localities according to the changing situation of the race (Zagorci = Ultramontani). When the Arabs besieged Constantinople in 717 the Bulgarians hastened to the help of the hard-pressed defenders and relieved the town in 718 (p. 66).

Under the following two princes the Bulgarians lived in an alternate state of peace and war with the Byzantine Empire. When the iconoclast Constantine V (741–775) ascended the East Roman throne, he made preparations in 758 for a campaign against the encroaching Bulgarians, but was defeated in 759 in the passes of Beregava, between Anchialos and Varna. Fortunately for Byzantium internal disturbances broke out among the Bulgarians, whose vigour had moreover been diminished by the transportation of more than two hundred thousand Slovenians to Bithynia (762) immediately after the death of their prince Kormisoš, of the house of Ukil, who on his side had overthrown the ruling dynasty of the Dulo in 753. Telec (Teletsh; 760–763), of the family of Ugain, was summoned to the throne; he, however, was defeated by the Greeks at Anchialos, and died under the weapons of his own exasperated subjects. His successor Sabin (a Romanised Wallachian, as the name implies) was soon deposed, and forced to flee to Constantinople. Under the princes Bajan, Umar, and Toktu confusion within and pressure from without reached their highest point. Part of Bulgaria was occupied by Byzantine troops, and the rest was devastated by the neighbouring Slav races. A change of fortune took place upon the accession of Cerig (Telerig, p. 72) shortly after 763. He succeeded by treachery, rather than by force of arms, in freeing his country from the East Romans; in 777 (5) he was expelled by his revolted nobles, and forced to flee to Constantinople, where he was baptised, and married one of the imperial princesses. His successor, Kardam, defeated the Greeks on four occasions and forced them to pay a yearly tribute.

Under the government of the Khan Krum (802 until April 13, 814 or 815), who had conquered Serdika (Triaditza, Sofia) in 809, the emperor Nicephorus appeared with the object of definitely incorporating Bulgaria with his empire. The capital of Krum was levelled to the ground and all proposals for peace were rejected. The Khan further closed the mountain passes with barricades and annihilated the whole Greek army, together with their emperor, on their retreat on the night of July 25–26, 811. In July, 813, Krum advanced against Michael I Rhangabé as far as Adrianople; he captured the town, and transported ten thousand men with their wives and children to the left bank of the Danube. His successors, Cok (or Dukum) and Diceng, remained within the frontiers of their own kingdom (p. 74) until the Bulgarian prince Omortag (Mortagon) concluded an armistice in 817 for thirty years with the emperor Leo V, desiring to turn his attention to the Franks, who were endangering the Bulgarian kingdom after the expulsion of the Avars from Pannonia. In 818, 822, and 824 requests were made to Lewis the Pious for admission to the Frankish imperial federation by the Praedenecents or Eastern Abodrites from the old Servian town of Braničevo (on both banks of the Mlava at the point of its confluence with the Danube); this town had for the moment shaken off the Bulgarian yoke, as a result of the revolt of the Pannonian Slovenian Ljudevit (819–828); a similar request was made by the Timočans on the Timok. Omortag raised fruitless objections to these proposals in 824, conducted a successful war against Lewis the Pious between 827 and 828, and secured his supremacy over the Pannonian Slavs. However, the Bulgarian rule was of no long duration in this quarter; only the district at the mouths of the Save and Drave remained subject to them until the arrival of the Magyars. A Bulgarian official was resident in Belgrade as late as 885. About 835 the "Macedonians," who had been forcibly removed in 813 to

the far side of the Danube from Adrianople and its surroundings, attempted to avail themselves of the absence of some part of the Bulgarians, who had marched against Thessalonica under their leader Khan Bo(go)ris-Michael, to flee to the Roman districts. They actually succeeded in their attempt; for when the Khan Malamir (Baldimir, Vladimir), a grandson of Krum, crossed the Danube on this news, they inflicted such a blow upon him that he was forced to turn for help to the Magyars, who then dwelt not far from the Danube mouth; in the meantime the fugitives found their way safely on board the ships which the emperor Theophilus had sent to meet them.

(*c*) *The Conversion of the Slav Bulgarians to Christianity* (*840–927*). — Under the Khan Presjam Christianity had already begun to take root in the Bulgarian Empire. His successor, Boris (Bogoris; from 844 to 845, or possibly only from 852), was largely occupied during the first half of his reign with wars against the Greeks, the Serbs, the Croatians, and the Franks. For the most part his conflicts ended unfavourably. Against the Franks he fought in 853, as an ally of the Moravian prince Rastislav (p. 233); he also fought against the Pannonian Slavs at the instigation of Charles the Bald, who had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Lewis the German. Boris now joined the East Frankish king, whose son, Karlmann, had revolted with the help of Rastislav (862). Karlmann was beaten; Lewis and Boris concluded a treaty of alliance in 864 at Tulln on the Danube, which was renewed in 892 by the emperor Arnulf, and remained in force for centuries. In the same or in the following year (865) the Byzantines ceded to the Bulgarians "Zagoria" (between the important frontier fortress Develtos or Valandar and the Iron Gate; for the shifting the name cf. p. 235). There may be a connection between these and the following events.

A great transformation had been brought to pass in the spiritual life of the whole of the Slav people by the brothers Constantine and Methodios (cf. pp. 78 and 233). By their efforts Christianity spread so rapidly in Lower Pannonia (if not under Privina, 848 to 861, then under Kocel or Kozel, 861 to 874) and Moravia that the Bulgarian prince Boris found himself in the midst of powerful Christian nobles, whose doctrine he was forced to consider indispensable to the maintenance and security of his kingdom. Boris also became a Christian for political reasons (cf. p. 78). At first (864) he began to negotiate with Pope Nicholas I, through the medium of King Lewis, but afterwards preferred to turn to Byzantium; when he was there baptised he took the name of Michael, in honour of his godfather the emperor Michael III. He showed indefatigable energy in preaching the new faith to his subjects (and also to the Slavs in the southwest) by the founding of seven churches, and by continual threats and exhortations (between 864 and 867), while he cruelly crushed the revolt of the nobles who remained faithful to heathendom; he even executed their women and children in a most cruel manner and exterminated whole families.

After a reign of thirty-six years Boris abdicated, in 888, in favour of his eldest son Vladimir and retreated to a monastery. While Symeon, the youngest son of Boris, devoted himself to science in Constantinople with a zeal which afterwards procured him the nickname of the "half Greek," Khan Vladimir led a dissipated life, and thereby seriously endangered the work his father had begun. After four years Boris found himself obliged to leave his monastery for a short time for the

purpose of deposing Vladimir and raising Symeon to the throne. Michael Boris died on May 2, 907. He is the first of the series of Bulgarian national saints, and is revered as the converter of his nation to Christianity.

Under the government of Symeon (893–927) the Bulgarian state attained its greatest expansion. It extended from the banks of the Danube to the mountains of Rhodope and Pindos (southward from Mesembria to Adrianople). Besides the Danube Bulgarians, he ruled over Macedonia, Thessalia, Epiros, the modern Albania (the coast of Corfu as far as Drim, with the exception of some Byzantine sea towns), while Servia paid him tribute. By means of a series of fortunate campaigns Symeon brought the East Roman Empire to the verge of destruction. The first inducement to a breach of the peace was given by the Byzantines themselves, who imposed heavy customs duties upon goods imported from Bulgaria. When Symeon was unable to remove this embargo upon Bulgarian trade by diplomatic means, he declared war; after he had beaten the guards of the capital in several battles, he sent home the Khazar mercenaries, whom he had captured, with their noses cut off. The emperor Leo VI now called to his aid the heathen Magyars, who at this time (894) occupied Moldavia and Wallachia. Symeon was forced to retire at the end of January, 895, before the general Nicephorus Phocas, who was quickly recalled from Asia Minor, while Bulgaria was devastated as far as the royal seat of Great Prĕslav (p. 329) by the Magyars and Khazar Kabars (p. 325) under Liuntis, the son of Árpád, who had been ferried across the Danube in the imperial ships. Symeon suffered two defeats, threw himself into the fortress of Drster (Silistria), and begged for an armistice from the Patrician Eustathius, Drungarios of the Excubitores. The emperor Leo agreed and recalled his armies. Symeon forthwith annihilated the Magyars whom the Byzantines had left on his side of the Danube (May, 895), and those that were left on the further bank were driven away by the Petshenegs, who were in alliance with Symeon (p. 85, above). He then secured an advantageous peace from Byzantium by promising the unconditional return of the prisoners, including those who had been made by the Magyars and purchased from them. Soon, however, the unsatisfactory completion of this contract gave him reason to feel fresh dissatisfaction with East Rome; he broke the peace and defeated the Byzantine troops under the new commander of the Guards, Katakalos, at Bulgarophygos, not far from Adrianople. The emperor Leo was so alarmed at the loss of his general that he even armed the Mohammedan prisoners of war then confined in Constantinople (896). The peace now concluded between the Bulgarians and Greeks lasted until the death of the Byzantine emperor (911).

Symeon, who assumed the title of Bulgarian Czar in 917, employed the years of peace in stimulating literary movements. Educated in Constantinople, he was a zealous scholar of Christian literature, and did his best to bring home the new teaching to his people. After the death of Methodios (885) his disciples fled from Moravia and found a suitable refuge in Bulgaria, as in the other Southern Slav countries (p. 235). The reign of the Czar Symeon forms the closing age of the (early Slavonic) Bulgarian literature, though this literature is confined to ecclesiastical writings. The bishop Constantine, the Pope Gregory, John the Exarch, the monk Chrabr (p. 286), and other authors at Symeon's magnificent court, raised ecclesiastical literature to a height that justifies comparison with the Latin and Greek literature of the period, and also extended it from Bulgaria to Servia and

Russia. At the command of the Czar theological works and translations from the Greek were composed. Surrounded by scholars, he found time himself for literary activity; to him is ascribed the translation of a whole collection of homilies of John Chrysostom, to which he gave the title of "Zlato struj(a) (stream of gold). We need not be surprised that contemporaries were accustomed to compare him with King Ptolemaios of Egypt.

In the year 912 Symeon's peaceful work was interrupted. The emperor Leo had died, and his successor Alexander (p. 85) went out of his way to insult the messengers of the Czar Symeon when they requested a renewal of the peace. Alexander did not feel the weight of Symeon's revenge, which was reserved for his successor, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos; notwithstanding the help of the Magyars, Servians, and Arabs, the battle of Mesembria ended with the defeat of the Byzantines on August 20, 917. With the exception of Constantinople and some parts of the seaboard, almost the whole peninsula fell into the hands of the Bulgarians. About the same time the Serbs also came under Symeon's supremacy; with the support of Michael Wyševyč (912–926), the prince of the Southern Serbs, or Zachlumians (p. 281), he imprisoned and executed their high Župan Peter, whose policy favoured the Byzantines, and set up Paul, a relative of the murdered man, as his successor (917). In 919 the Byzantine emperor, who was distinguished rather for scholarship than for political capacity, appointed his field-marshal Romanus Lakapenos as co-regent against Symeon's will (p. 86). In 923 Symeon appeared before the gates of the capital and began negotiations for the necessary naval assistance with the Fatemid Fadlūn of Kairuan (Quairuvān) and captured Adrianople. It was only anxiety with regard to the Petshenegs and Magyars in the North that induced him to conclude peace at the personal request of the Roman on September 9, 924 (according to Max Büdinger, as late as November 9, 926). While Symeon was occupied with Byzantium, the Servian Župan, Paul, whom he had set up, was aiming at independence. Symeon sent an army to Servia, deposed Paul, and handed over the principality to a certain Zacharias in 923; he, however, also entered into relations with the Byzantines, and was therefore forced to flee from Symeon to Croatia. Symeon was unable to realize his plan of bringing Croatia under his supremacy, owing to the defeat in 927 of his field-marshal Alp bagatur (Alobogotur). He died on May 27, 927, the greatest Czar of the Bulgarians, at once a general, a scholar, and the first pioneer of European culture.

(*d*) *The Decline and Fall of the Old Bulgarian State under Peter and Boris II; the Bogumiles.* — Symeon's carefully constructed state fell to ruins under his son Peter (927–969). Under his government the decline of the newly formed state of Old Bulgaria was accelerated by foes within and without. Symeon had left four sons.[1] Michael, the son of his first marriage, had been confined in a monastery to secure the throne to Peter; the latter had two other brothers, John and Boyan, who

[1] Symeon († 927)

Michael, † 929	Peter († 969) = Maria, 927, granddaughter of the emperor Romanos I Lakapenos	John = an Armenian woman	Boyan
	Boris II (–971)	Romanos	

was popularly supposed to be a magician. The Byzantines, Magyars, Servians, and Avars were only awaiting an opportunity to humiliate the youthful Czar. Hard pressed on every side, Peter contracted a marriage on September 8, 927, with Maria, the granddaughter of the emperor Romanus (cf. p. 49), in order to secure the peace of his kingdom with the help of the Greeks. This step, however, was destined to be fatal to Bulgaria. With the entry of the first Byzantine Czarina, East Roman influence began to take hold of Bulgarian politics, an influence destined to produce unlimited disaster in the following centuries. Greek tendencies now made themselves felt both in Church and state. The older strain of the Bulgarian people, the comrades in arms of the Czar Symeon, were dissatisfied with the new state of affairs and joined the younger brother John. However, the revolt was soon suppressed with the help of Byzantine troops; John was taken to Constantinople, was overwhelmed with presents by the emperor Romanus, and was married to a noble Armenian woman. After a short time the monk Michael, Symeon's eldest son, also revolted, and placed himself at the head of the malcontents in 929. However, he died before he was able to drive the Byzantine courtiers out of the country. The continual opposition to Byzantine misgovernment, which was smouldering at the court of the Czar, broke out into flame in 963, when the Boljar (noble) Šišman revolted against the weak government, and after a short struggle secured the western provinces of Macedonia and Albania (cf. below, p. 336). The Serbs also broke away from Bulgaria, and constant plundering raids upon the country were made by the Magyars and the Turkish nomad people of the Petshenegs.[1] Meanwhile, however, Peter carried on a luxurious life amid his Greek relations and courtiers.

Under the government of this good-natured and cultured Czar the intellectual life of the Bulgarians was exposed to severe attacks. A few years after the introduction of Christianity into Bulgaria, a special form of opposition made itself felt among the people to the teaching of the State Church, which began to decay under the influence of the pedantry and preciosity of Byzantine literature; while this opposition was based upon old religious traditions, it was specially drawn to the teaching of a new sect. The not inconsiderable survivals of the heathen Ugrian popular mythology and cosmogony, faded remnants of which still exist in those districts, formed the basis for the development in Bulgaria of the sect of the Bogumiles, whose dualist doctrine was at the outset in harmony with the spirit of the nation. Bogumilism began its career on the Balkan Peninsula with the settlement of the Armenian Paulicians (p. 69); in 746 Constantine V. Kopronymos had transported a large number of them from Syria to Thrace, to act as frontier guards, and a persecution initiated by Basil about 870 can only have increased their numbers. In the first half of Peter's reign the Pope Bogumil appeared in Bulgaria; he was also known as Jeremias, and came forward as the reformer of the Paulician doctrine. His teaching was merely a new stage in the steady development of a doctrine formed by the mixture of Syrian, Persian, and Greek theories with fragments of Christianity; it was marked by a gradual conformation to Christianity, though at the same time the remnants of the old heathen cosmogony, derived from the Ugrian religion, were not cast away. According to the traditions of the Ugrians, God created the world with the help of Satan, who eventually desires to secure the chief power for himself. From this division proceed the

[1] Cf. p. 343, and Konst. Jireček in the Eighty-ninth Annual of the Sitzungsberichte der königlich böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

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A CAVALRY SKIRMISH BETWEEN RUSSIANS AND BULGARIANS IN THE 10th CENTURY.
THE BULGARIANS ROUTED.

FROM A SCLAVONIAN MANUSCRIPT IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY.

(After G. Schlumberger, Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle.)

good and the evil principles. According to Bogumil, the good divinity was a perfect Triune being, the creator of the perfect and unseen world, inhabited by spiritual beings; while the bad divinity, Satan, or the devil, created the visible changeable world, the cosmos animate or inanimate. The opposition arising from this contrast between matter and spirit exists, according to the moral philosophy of the Bogumiles, only in the soul of man. "The soul is an angel fallen from heaven, imprisoned in the body, which will return to its former home after the last death." Besides the Scriptures, the Bogumiles had many other writings, which, together with their preaching, they spread over the whole of Europe. Bogumil himself made a collection of apocryphal writings, which were counted among the sacred books by his adherents. His gloomy doctrine, which pronounced the damnation of all animate nature, dominated the minds of the masses, whereas the nobility clung more closely to the powerful Eastern Church.

This intellectual movement brought mischief enough upon the Czar Peter. In the year 963 the imperial throne of Byzantium was ascended by Nicephorus II Phocas (p. 86); at his secret instigation the Russian prince (Svjatoslav, Svętoslav) invaded Bulgaria in August, 968, and devastated the country with the support of the Byzantines.[1] The nobility joined the Greeks, while the common people, whose minds were clouded by the teaching of Bogumil, resigned themselves to quiet neutrality. Nicephorus, however, soon perceived that he had brought a dangerous enemy into his own neighbourhood in the person of the Russians, and secured a peace, which was to have been confirmed by the double marriage of two Byzantine princes with Bulgarian princesses. Peter also sent his sons Boris and Romanus to Constantinople to be educated; he himself enjoyed this doubtful peace only for a short time; he died on January 30, 969, leaving his tottering throne to his son Boris II. Attracted by the prosperity of the Danube districts, Svjatoslav invaded the country with his Russians for the second time in the summer of 969, took the title of Czar and established himself in the country; this was a deathblow to Old Bulgaria, after an existence of three hundred years. In 971 the new Byzantine emperor John Tzimisces (p. 87) freed Bulgaria from the Russians, but incorporated it with the Byzantine Empire. Boris II was forced to abdicate, and his younger brother Romanus was made an eunuch.

(*c*) *The Šišmanids of West Bulgaria (963–1014).*—Western Bulgaria alone continued an independent existence under Šišman I, who had secured his independence under the Czar Peter in 963. He left behind him four sons; of these his successor, the Czar David, fell in battle against the nomad Wallachians, while Moses lost his life in an attack upon Seres; the third son, Aaron, was executed by the orders of his youngest brother, Samuel (cf. p. 49). Samuel now ascended the throne of Western Bulgaria, and retained it for almost four decades, amid great confusion (976–1014). His domestic policy was guided by one great principle, to avoid arousing the hostility either of the Orthodox Church, which was pre-eminent in the country and enjoyed the support of the powerful nobles (bolyars), or of the Roman Church, which had conferred the Czar's crown upon him, as before upon Symeon and Peter, or again of the Bogumiles, who were spread throughout the country.

[1] See the plate facing this page, "A Cavalry Fight between Bulgarians and Russians in the Tenth Century."

After the death of the emperor Tzimisces (976) the throne of Byzantium was ascended by two youths of the family of Basil I, the brothers Basil II and Constantine VIII; revolts thereupon broke out in every corner of the wide empire. This induced the Czar Samuel to liberate the Bulgarians in Moesia, who had been hastily subdued, and to restore the kingdom of Symeon within its former boundaries. However Basil II, who was a cruel ruler, notwithstanding his monastic mode of life, had made it his object, immediately upon entering upon his government, to bring about the complete subjugation of the Bulgarians. Samuel invaded Thrace and marched upon Thessaly and Hellas, devastating the country as he went. A battle was fought on the Isker between Ichtiman and Simokov in 981, at Stoponian (Štiponje); Basileios himself had the utmost difficulty in escaping to Philippopolis. A peace of fifteen years succeeded, partly interrupted by a fruitless attempt to besiege Sofia (987). Meanwhile Samuel conquered the coasts of the Adriatic and made the Servian prince John Vladimir his vassal. In the year 996 a second war broke out against Basil II, and on this occasion the Bulgarian army was annihilated on the banks of the Spercheios. In the following years the Byzantines occupied the Bulgarian country without striking a blow (only the fortress of Pernik or Peringrad on the Struma held out in 1002 as vigorously as afterwards in 1016); the result was that at the outbreak of the last war Samuel was in possession only of Western Macedonia, Albania, and the environs of Sofia. In the south of the passes of Kl(e)idion and Kimbalongon (Kimpolung in Roumania), his army was annihilated on July 29, 1014, on the Bélasitza mountain (Valathista, cf. p. 88; according to Wilh. Götz on the upper Struma, between Dupnica and Samokov in Western Bulgaria). The Czar escaped with difficulty to Prilep. Basil II put out the eyes of all his Bulgarian prisoners, gave every hundred of them a one-eyed man as a guide, and thus allowed them to return home. Samuel was unable to bear up under this heavy blow, and died suddenly on September 15, 1014.

(*f*) *The Byzantine Supremacy (1018–1186).* — Under Samuel's son and successor, Gabriel (Radomir), the Greeks again invaded Bulgaria. In 1015 Gabriel was murdered, while hunting, by his cousin, John Vladislav, probably at the instigation of the emperor Basileios II. The negotiations for peace set on foot by the murderer led to no result, and Basil II declined to abandon his object. A fresh army invaded Bulgaria. In the spring of 1018 John Vladislav fell in battle before Durazzo. After a short and desperate struggle, his son Fružin surrendered and was appointed commander of the Court Guards by the emperor. From the year 1018 onwards Bulgaria for full one hundred and fifty years no longer formed an obstacle to the expansion of the Byzantine Empire, which had never been more powerful in the Balkan Peninsula since the time of Marcianus, Leo I, and Justinian I. The work of the great Czar Symeon had been destroyed (cf. p. 88). Most of the Bolyars were given posts at the Byzantine court by Basil. Katharina, a daughter of John Vladislav (cf. p. 49), and the last Czarina Maria, lived in Constantinople as ladies of the court, while high military posts were given to the Šišmanid princes. The Bulgarian Church retained its independence, but its supreme head was no longer to be called patriarch, but archbishop. The country was divided into districts or themata, each under the government of a Strategus; as these officials usually occupied their posts only for a year, they did their best to exhaust the wealth of their respective provinces with all speed.

After the death of Basil II the East Roman Empire entered upon a period of decay (p. 89). Peter Deljan (Deleanos), supposed to be the son of the unfortunate Gabriel, escaped from captivity and was welcomed by the nation as Czar in 1040. At the same time the Slavs at Durazzo proclaimed the warrior Tichomir as Czar; however, he was soon deposed and stoned to death by the people. Deljan, as sole ruler, then undertook an expedition against Thessalonica, where Manuel Ibatzes (Ivac), the chamberlain of the emperor Michael IV, went over to the Bulgarians with the army and the imperial treasury. Epirus and Hellas, weary of the extortions of the Strategi, joined Deljan. He, however, unfortunately appointed Alusian, the younger brother of John Vladislav (p. 49) as co-regent in September, 1040, and by way of thanks was drugged and blinded by him on July 3, 1041, and sent to Byzantium. For this reason the Bulgarian revolt came to an end in December of the same year.

Immediately afterwards (1048–1053) Bulgaria became the scene of dreadful struggles with the pure Turkish race of the Petshenegs or Patzinaks (p. 334), who had long before embraced the Mohammedan faith; they had been driven out of their steppes from the Lower Danube to the Crimea by the kindred race of the Kumanians, and had established themselves on either side of the Balkans shortly before 1048. On the further side eleven tribes were settled, about eighty thousand in number, under their Khan Tirach, while two tribes, amounting to twenty thousand heads, had accepted baptism under their chief Kegen, received settlements in the Dobrudža, and now joined the Byzantines, at the end of 1048, in conquering their relatives on the other side of the Danube. The prisoners were settled by Constantine IX Monomachos (p. 90) in the valleys of the western mountain district, in those of Sofia and Nis, and in Northern Macedonia (in the plain of Ovčpolje). Some of them were also employed as mercenaries in Asia Minor; but in that country they revolted in 1049, and after a vigorous struggle concluded a thirty years' peace with Eastern Rome, and retreated for the most part beyond the Danube in 1054, leaving behind them permanent remains and traces of their occupation. In 1064 they helped the Byzantines to drive back an invasion of sixty thousand Kumanians. In 1073 and 1086 they gave their support to Bulgarian revolts against Byzantium and the Dobrudža. It was not until April 29, 1091, that the Byzantine armies, after suffering a series of defeats, were victorious at the battle of Lebunion, and with the help of the Kumanians were able to put an end to the devastations caused by the savage Petshenegs (p. 92). Once more the prisoners were forced to settle in Macedonia, or were occupied elsewhere in the empire as military colonists. Petsheneg archers opposed the crusaders of Peter of Amiens in 1069 and the Normans of Bohemund in 1097.

During the Byzantine supremacy the sect of the Bogumiles developed a wholly unexpected vigour. Notwithstanding the repeated and cruel persecutions instituted by different emperors (Alexios had their chief elder Basil, together with his twelve "apostles," burnt in Constantinople in 1118), the Bogumile doctrine spread westwards by way of the Byzantine settlements in Lower Italy. In Germany the adherents of this belief were known as Cathari, in Italy and Bosnia as Patarenes, in France as Albigenses. In opposition to the unlimited dualism of former times (p. 334), to which the Macedonians clung tenaciously, a second party rose in Bulgaria during the military confusion of the tenth century, which was marked by a belief in a moderate form of monotheism, and explained the existence of Satan

not as a primordial being, but as a fallen angel. The Bogumil belief is of great importance in the history of human civilization;[1] it is, moreover, a very remarkable phenomenon that such a religious movement, originating on Bulgarian soil, should have acquired influence over the people of Western Europe. The struggle initiated by this doctrine against the Roman priesthood eventually led to liberation from the papal oppression. In this respect the Bulgarian Bogumil doctrine contained the germs of the movement that was to develop into the great Reformation.

(*g*) *The Second Foundation of an Independent State under the Asěnids (1197–1297).* — While Bulgaria was exposed under the Greek yoke to disruptive forces both internal and external, the Byzantine Empire was also tottering to its fall. The Kumanians were established in the Danube territories, the islands and the shores of the Ægean Sea were devastated by the Normans and Saracens, while in Asia Minor the empire was threatened by the Seljuk power. When the emperor Isaac II Angelos (p. 97) desired to enter upon a marriage with Margareta, the daughter of the Hungarian king Béla (1172–1196), his plans were checked by want of money. Fresh taxes were imposed, and the Bulgarians and Wallachians in particular were subjected to oppressive extortion. The dissatisfied parties were led by two brothers of an old Bolyar family, Peter and Jo(h)annes Asên. Peter was crowned Czar of the Bulgarians and Greeks in 1186, and an archbishop independent of the patriarch of Constantinople was set up in Trnovo. The rebels were scattered by the Byzantines after some battles, and their leaders were forced to take refuge beyond the Danube with the Kumanians (pp. 92 and 337); but in 1187 Asên appeared in alliance with the revolted party at home. In the year 1187 the Byzantines had recovered the corpse of St. John or Ivan of Rila (died 946), a costly relic, which Béla had carried off to Gran from Serdica (Triaditza, Sofia) in 1183; in 1188 they succeeded in capturing the Bulgarian Czarina by treachery, and an armistice was concluded. On April 10, 1195, Isaac was overthrown by his own brother Alexius III and blinded, when the campaign against the Bulgarians once more ended without result. However, in the midst of his career Asên I, who had made Trnovo his capital, was killed in his palace in 1196 by the Bolyar Ivanko, a mountain chieftain of Kričim in Rhodope (1195–1200); he called himself Alexius, and married the Greek princess Theodora. Peter now took over the government in conjunction with his youngest brother Kalojan; but he was also murdered after a short time by one of his compatriots (1197).

In alliance with the Kumanians, Kalojan or Joannisz (1197–1207; p. 103) made annual invasions into Thrace and Macedonia, where he supported the revolt of the Bolyar Dobromir Strêz (Stregan; the Greek Chryses), who wrested the highland of Vardar from the Byzantine Empire in 1199. In 1201 the Byzantines were obliged to conclude peace with Kalojan and to leave in his power the districts he had conquered. The Bulgarian Empire, restored by this means, extended under his government from Belgrade to the Lower Marica and to the Black Sea, from the mouths of the Danube to the Strymon. This frontier was disturbed by the Hungarian king Emerich (1196–1204). Although Kalojan induced the Kumanians to devastate the territory of the Servian prince Vlkan (Volkan, Vlk, Wukan, p. 290), who was independent of Hungary, none the less the Hungarians

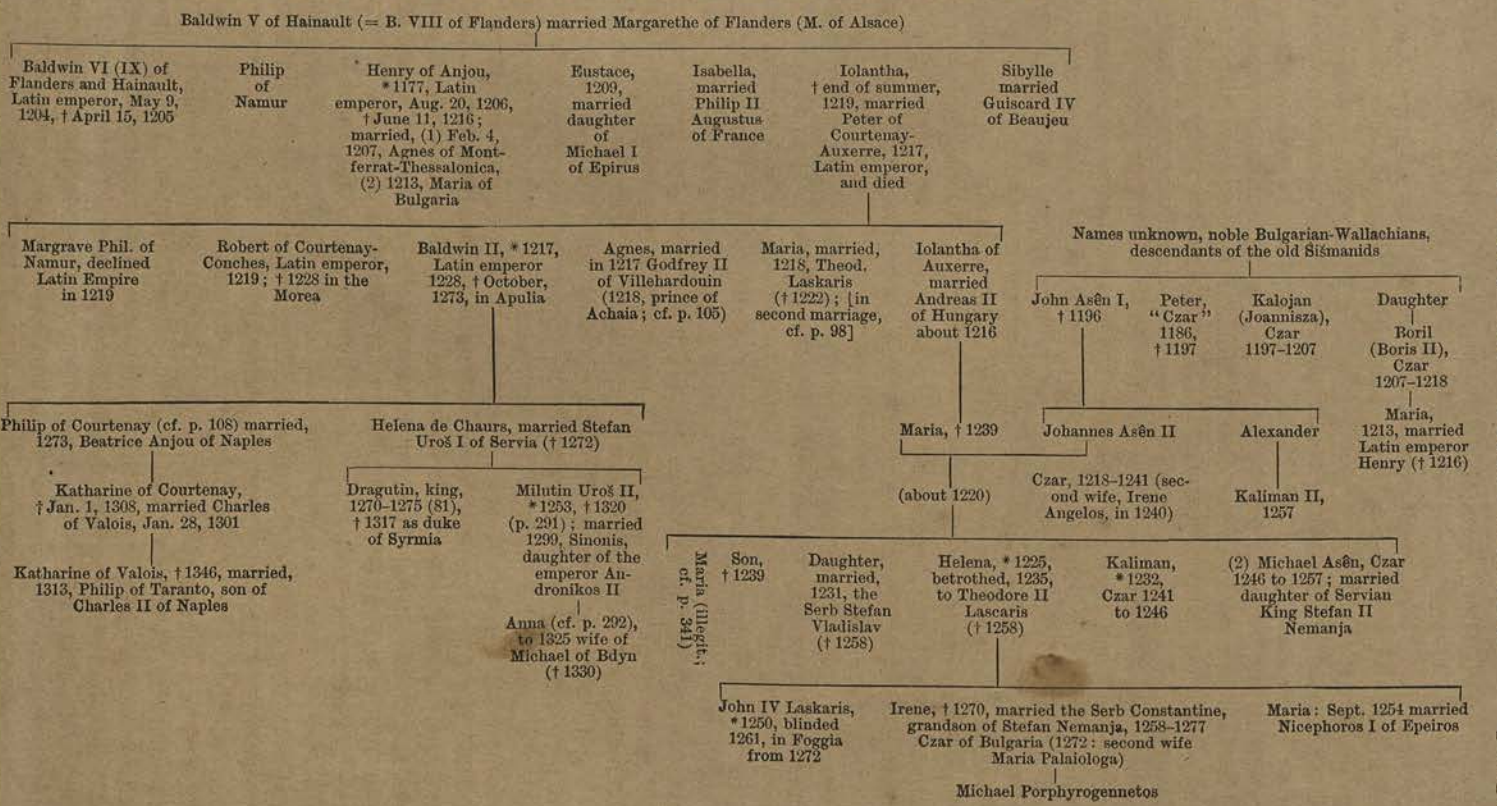
[1] Cf. the "Historia Bogomilorum," by Joh. Chr. Wolf, Wittenberg, 1712, a book now very scarce.

captured from him five bishoprics in Lower Moravia. With the object of confirming his royal title abroad, Kalojan applied to Pope Innocent III requesting a grant of the title of Emperor, and of a patriarch for his kingdom independent of Constantinople (1202). In return Bulgaria was willing to submit definitely to the papal supremacy. Innocent III sent Cardinal Leo of Santa Croce to Bulgaria in 1203; he crowned Kalojan on November 8, 1204, with the royal diadem, after consecrating the archbishop Basil of Trnovo as primate of Bulgaria on the previous day. Kalojan accepted the kingly crown, but afterwards invariably styled himself Czar (Emperor), and arbitrarily altered the title of Primate to that of "Patriarch." This union of Bulgaria and Rome had, moreover, no influence upon worship or doctrine.

Meanwhile Kalojan's position had been entirely altered by the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Count Baldwin of Flanders (cf. p. 340) was crowned emperor in the Church of St. Sofia at Constantinople. Numerous petty kingdoms appeared in the Balkan Peninsula (p. 103). Kalojan's position became more dangerous every day. He was cunning enough to offer a treaty of peace to Baldwin, but the proposal was haughtily rejected by the Frank. An opportunity for a counter stroke was afforded Kalojan by the revolt of the Greek population, who offered him the imperial crown. In alliance with the Kumanians, Kalojan occupied Adrianople, and there fought a decisive battle on the 14th or 15th of April, 1205, with the advancing Baldwin; the Latin emperor and his army were utterly defeated. However, for thirteen months (1205–1206) the Duke of Philippopolis, Renier de Trit, held out at Stanimaka against the overwhelming forces of the enemy. Kalojan, however, met with an unexpected and premature fate. In the course of the siege of Thessalonica, the king of which town, Boniface, had been killed by the Bulgarians of that district at a day's journey from Mosynopolis, Kalojan was stabbed in his sleep at the end of July, 1207, by the Kumanians of Manestra, probably at the instigation of his wife. He died on the following day (probably October 8, 1207), one of the greatest princes of Bulgaria, notwithstanding his cruelty.

Boril (Boris II; 1207 to 1218), a nephew of Kalojan, seized the Bulgarian throne in Trnovo, and married the widowed Czarina (one of the accomplices of the murder?). The legitimate heirs to the throne, the sons of Asên, Johannes Asên and Alexander, fled to Russia. The great empire which Kalojan had acquired and maintained with his strong hand entered upon its decline. Boril possessed his uncle's lust for conquest, but not his generalship or his statesmanlike forethought. He became entangled in war with the Franks, who were now in possession of the greater part of the old Byzantine Empire, and was utterly defeated by the emperor Henry (p. 103) at Philippopolis on July 31, 1208; he then confined his attention entirely to the suppression of disturbances at home. The Bogumil doctrine had obtained so firm a hold on men's minds that the people, weary of continual war and oppression, longed for peace and quiet. The Czar's plans of conquest were opposed even by the court circles. Boril had rightly recognised the reason for the fact, and assembled a synod of clergy in Trnovo on February 11, 1211. The synod pronounced an anathema upon the Bogumil doctrine, and translated a legal code, written against them, from the Greek; the best-known adherents of the doctrine were imprisoned or banished at Boril's command. In 1213 the emperor Henry, abandoned by all his allies, agreed to a marriage with Boril's daughter Maria, in the hope that the Bulgarian prince would support him in a campaign

The Asenids of Bulgaria and the Latin Imperial House in the Thirteenth Century


Baldwin V of Hainault (= B. VIII of Flanders) married Margarethe of Flanders (M. of Alsace)
Baldwin VI (IX) of Flanders and Hainault, Latin emperor, May 9, 1204, † April 15, 1205
Philip of Namur
Henry of Anjou, *1177, Latin emperor, Aug. 20, 1206, † June 11, 1216; married, (1) Feb. 4, 1207, Agnes of Montferrat-Thessalonica, (2) 1213, Maria of Bulgaria
Eustace, 1209, married daughter of Michael I of Epirus
Isabella, married Philip II Augustus of France
Iolantha, † end of summer, 1219, married Peter of Courtenay-Auxerre, 1217, Latin emperor, and died
Sibylle married Guiscard IV of Beaujeu
Margrave Phil. of Namur, declined Latin Empire in 1219
Robert of Courtenay-Conches, Latin emperor, 1219; † 1228 in the Morea
Baldwin II, *1217, Latin emperor 1228, † October, 1273, in Apulia
Agnes, married in 1217 Godfrey II of Villehardouin (1218, prince of Achaia; cf. p. 105)
Maria, married, 1218, Theod. Laskaris († 1222); [in second marriage, cf. p. 98]
Iolantha of Auxerre, married Andreas II of Hungary about 1216
Names unknown, noble Bulgarian-Wallachians, descendants of the old Šišmanids
John Asên I, † 1196
Peter, "Czar" 1186, † 1197
Kalojan (Joannisza), Czar 1197–1207
Daughter
Boril (Boris II), Czar 1207–1218
Maria, 1213, married Latin emperor Henry († 1216)
Philip of Courtenay (cf. p. 108) married, 1273, Beatrice Anjou of Naples
Katharine of Courtenay, † Jan. 1, 1308, married Charles of Valois, Jan. 28, 1301
Katharine of Valois, † 1346, married, 1313, Philip of Taranto, son of Charles II of Naples
Helena de Chaurs, married Stefan Uroš I of Servia († 1272)
Dragutin, king, 1270–1275 (81), † 1317 as duke of Syrmia
Milutin Uroš II, *1253, † 1320 (p. 291); married 1299, Sinonis, daughter of the emperor Andronikos II
Anna (cf. p. 292), to 1325 wife of Michael of Bdyn († 1330)
Maria, † 1239
Johannes Asên II
Alexander
Czar, 1218–1241 (second wife, Irene Angelos, in 1240)
Kaliman II, 1257
(about 1220)
Maria (illegit.; cf. p. 241)
Son, † 1239
Daughter, married, 1231, the Serb Stefan Vladislav († 1258)
Helena, *1225, betrothed, 1235, to Theodore II Lascaris († 1258)
Kaliman, *1232, Czar 1241 to 1246
(2) Michael Asên, Czar 1246 to 1257; married daughter of Servian King Stefan II Nemanja
John IV Laskaris, *1250, blinded 1261, in Foggia from 1272
Irene, † 1270, married the Serb Constantine, grandson of Stefan Nemanja, 1258–1277 Czar of Bulgaria (1272: second wife Maria Palaiologa)
Maria: Sept. 1254 married Nicephoros I of Epeiros
Michael Porphyrogennetos

against the Serbs. Boril certainly equipped an auxiliary force, but was forced to send it against Johannes Asên, who had returned from Russia and had collected a large following. The result was that the Czar Boril was taken prisoner and blinded in 1218; the emperor Henry had died at Thessalonica two years previously (June 11, 1216).

Johannes Asên II, one of the noblest characters of his time, now ascended the Bulgarian throne as Czar (1218–1241). His memory as a humane and politic governor still survives among the nation. The Byzantine Georgios Akropolita (died 1282), the great logothetes or chancellor of the emperor Vatatze, relates of him that all his contemporaries regarded him as a remarkable and fortunate man; "he never turned his arms upon the people at home for their destruction nor stained his reputation by the murder of the Greeks, as his predecessors among the Bulgarian rulers had been wont to do. Hence he was beloved, not only by the Bulgarians, but also by the Greeks and other peoples." His efforts were chiefly directed to raising the prosperity of his country rather than to conquest; yet under his rule Bulgaria acquired an amount of territory which it never possessed either before or afterwards. A special case in point is the acquisition of the important Byzantine frontier fortress Beroë (Augusta Traiana, Stara Zagora, on the southern slope of the Sredna Gora). The shores of Asên's kingdom were washed by three seas. Once again, for the first time since the days of the Czar Samuel, all the Bulgarian Slavs were reunited under one rule; this continued until 1230, with the exception of the mountain principality of Kričim, where a nephew of Kalojan, the Despot Slav (Sthlabos or Esklas; p. 103) of Melenikon, had been living since 1207, and from 1208 had been a friend of the Latin emperor Henry, who gave him his illegitimate daughter to wife. About 1220 Asên II married Maria, the daughter of Andreas II of Hungary (cf. genealogical tree on page 340), and attempted to secure the existence of his kingdom both at home and abroad by various peaceful means, especially by prudent marriages of his daughters.

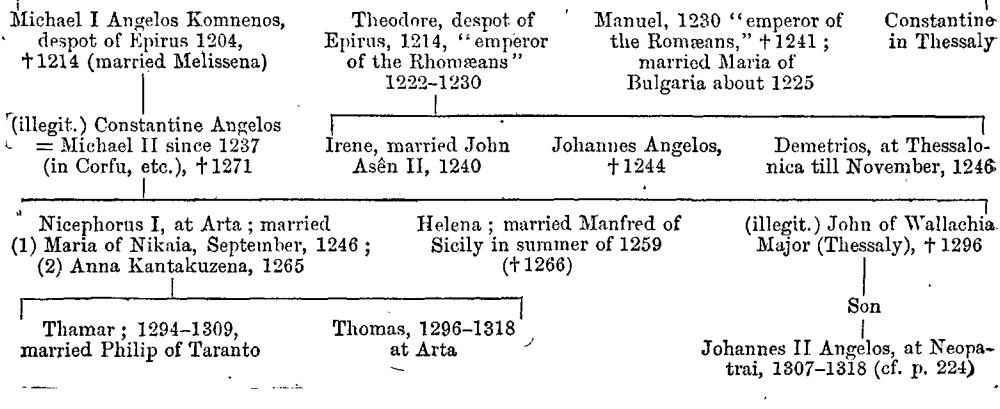
Meanwhile a new state had arisen in the Pindos territory between the Gulf of Corinth and the Marica, founded by Theodoros Angelos, the ruler of Epirus; within a short period he conquered Achrida, Prilep, Pelagonia, Durazzo, Corfu (1215), and Thessalonica, and styled himself henceforward "Emperor of the Romaioi" (1222). Asên concluded a compact with Theodoros, to whose brother Manuel he gave, about 1225, his illegitimate daughter Maria to wife. Notwithstanding the relationship thus brought about, Theodoros soon attempted to conquer the kingdom of Asên. A decisive battle was fought in April, 1240, at the village of Klokotnica, between Philippopolis and Adrianople, where Theodoros was defeated and taken prisoner. Adrianople, with almost the whole of Macedonia and Albania as far as Durazzo, fell into the hands of the conqueror. He set up his own son-in-law, Manuel, who now assumed the title of Emperor in the remnants of the kingdom of Epirus and in Thessalonica. He secured the obedience of the Servian king, Stephen Vladislav, by giving him one of his daughters to wife in 1231.

After thus securing peace, Johannes Asên II devoted his entire attention to the internal organisation of his kingdom. By his splendid buildings he transformed his capital into one of the most beautiful towns in the whole peninsula. In 1231 he rebuilt the fortress of Čepelarska Reka at Stenimachos (the Bulgarian inscription upon it was defaced some two centuries ago by Greek "patriots"). He supported trade and commerce by conferring extensive privileges not only upon

natives, but also upon foreigners, especially the people of Ragusa, who then had the whole carrying trade of the Balkan Peninsula on their hands (p. 302). To secure the recognition and the independence of the Bulgarian Church by the Greeks, he concluded an alliance in 1234 with the emperor Johannes III Dukas Vatatzes of Nicæa (p. 104) against the Latin Empire, and arranged a marriage between his nine year old daughter Helena and Theodoros (the second Lascaris), the son of Vatatzes, who was eleven years of age. The allies now devastated the country as far as Constantinople, although the Czar Asên was excommunicated in consequence by Pope Gregory IX on May 25, 1236. When, however, Asên recognised the growing power of his ally, he suddenly broke off the alliance with Vatatzes and brought home the daughter he had betrothed to Theodoros. Irritated by the tolerance which Asên showed to the Bogumiles, and spurred on by the Latin emperor Baldwin II, who was still a minor, Gregory IX commanded King Béla IV to begin a crusade against Asên on February 27, 1238. The Hungarians were able to occupy Wallachia Minor, and Béla assumed the title of King of Bulgaria and Kumania. A new wave of migration then advanced. The Kumanians (p. 338), driven out of their habitation by the Mongols, who were advancing from Russia, fled partly (in seven tribes) to Hungary, partly to the friendly state of Bulgaria, and partly to Thrace in Asia Minor, where settlements were assigned to ten thousand of them as military colonists by Vatatzes. One fragment only, which formed the nucleus of the mixed people of the Nogai Tartars, remained in their old home. Moldavia, Wallachia, and the northern shore of the Sea of Azov were for a long time known as Kumania. In the year 1239 Asên, strengthened by the Kumanians, marched upon Thrace, to capture the Greek citadels. There, however, he received the news of the death of his wife and son in Trnovo of a plague, and he returned home. In the year 1240 Asên married Irene, the daughter of the Epirot emperor Theodoros Angelos, whom he had kept in confinement and had shortly before blinded; however, he died in June, 1241.

Under the successor of Asên II, Kaliman I (Koloman), 1241–1246, who was a minor, the Tartars returned from Croatia and Russia by way of Servia and Bulgaria (Vol. II, p. 176), their steps being marked by continual devastation. Kaliman died very suddenly, probably from poison. The former ally of Asên II, the emperor Vatatzes of Nicæa, immediately seized the whole country of Rhodope and Northern Macedonia, while Michael II of Epirus[1] occupied Albania and

[1] Name unknown; an Angelos Komnenos, illegitimate brother of Andronikos Angelos (cf. p. 98)


Michael I Angelos Komnenos, despot of Epirus 1204, †1214 (married Melissena)
Theodore, despot of Epirus, 1214, "emperor of the Rhomæans" 1222–1230
Manuel, 1230 "emperor of the Romæans," †1241; married Maria of Bulgaria about 1225
Constantine in Thessaly
(illegit.) Constantine Angelos = Michael II since 1237 (in Corfu, etc.), †1271
Irene, married John Asên II, 1240
Johannes Angelos, †1244
Demetrios, at Thessalonica till November, 1246
Nicephorus I, at Arta; married (1) Maria of Nikaia, September, 1246; (2) Anna Kantakuzena, 1265
Helena; married Manfred of Sicily in summer of 1259 (†1266)
(illegit.) John of Wallachia Major (Thessaly), †1296
Thamar; 1294–1309, married Philip of Taranto
Thomas, 1296–1318 at Arta
Son
Johannes II Angelos, at Neopatrai, 1307–1318 (cf. p. 224)

Western Macedonia. The brother of Kaliman, Michael Asên, who was also a minor (1246–1257), could make no head against Vatatzes, and concluded peace with him. In 1254 Peruštica also fell, shattered by the Byzantine siege engines. Vatatzes died on October 30, 1254, and was succeeded by his son Theodoros II Laskaris, who had married Helena, the daughter of Asên II. Michael Asên attempted to wrest the territory he had lost from his brother-in-law in 1246, but in 1256 was forced to conclude peace and to leave all the Bulgarian possessions in Rhodope and Macedonia to the Byzantines. The Bulgarian throne became weaker and weaker. In the year 1257 Michael Asên was overthrown by his cousin Kaliman II; he, however, died unexpectedly shortly afterwards.

The Bolyars now chose the Serb Constantine as Czar (1258–1277); he was a grandson of Stefan (Symeon) Nemanja, and possessed extensive territory in Bulgaria. He had married Irene, the granddaughter of Asên II (cf. genealogical table on page 340), and took the name of Constantine Asên. During his government Michael VIII Palaiologos (p. 107) captured Constantinople in the summer of 1261 and put an end to the Frankish dominion. At that time the Czar Constantine was forced to turn his attention to Hungary. Between 1260 and 1264 Prince Stephan, who had been intrusted with the administration of Transylvania, undertook five campaigns against the Bulgarians and withdrew to the frontier walls of Trnovo; though he did not definitely occupy the country, still he assumed the title "King of Bulgaria" when he ascended the throne of Hungary as Stefan V (1270–1272). After the death of Irene Laskaris, the wife of Constantine, in 1270, the Czar married Maria, the niece of Michael VIII, in 1272 (p. 110). When he failed to obtain possession of her dowry, the towns of Mesembria and Anchialos, he entangled the Byzantine ruler in a war, which might have proved serious for East Rome had it not been for the interference of Nogai Khan, a chieftain of the "Golden Horde" (Vol. II, p. 180). Michael VIII was the more ready to begin negotiations for peace as his allies, the Albanians of Berat (1273), had deserted, in pursuance of their Angevin policy, and a far more dangerous enemy had arisen in the person of the Angevin Charles I of Naples, who rapidly found allies in Servia and Bulgaria.

(*h*) *Ivajlo and the Terterids* (*1277–1323*). — Constantine then happened to break a limb and fell seriously ill, with the result that his movements were impeded. The consequent inactivity of the Czar proved fatal to [illegible] Maria Palæologa, the [illegible] wife of Constantine, who was acting as regent for the young [illegible] Michael, "born under the purple," took the power for herself (1277). With a [illegible] she [illegible] her most dangerous rival, the half independent despot Jacob Svetslav, a descendant of the Russian family who had been established by Stefan V in the Western Balkans, she invited him to Trnovo, and recognised him at a solemn service as her "son," who was to be henceforward co-regent with her own son Michael. However, in the same year, 1277, Svetslav lost his life through the intrigues of his "mother." The Nogai Tartars again invaded the defenceless kingdom; thereupon Haiduk Ivajlo Lachanas (also known as Brdoka), originally a shepherd, played upon the minds of the people by his prophecies, gathered a band of compatriots and twice defeated the Tartars. He soon announced that the saints had appointed him to the throne of Bulgaria. The hard-pressed people believed him, and Bolyars and even courtiers were numbered among his adherents.

The Czar Constantine rose from his sick-bed and marched upon him with those who remained faithful; but Constantine's forces were scattered, and he himself was slain without being able to strike a blow (in the winter of 1277). Ivajlo now ascended the Bulgarian throne as Czar (1277–1279). These proceedings in Bulgaria had roused the greatest anxiety at the Byzantine court. The emperor Michael hastily married his daughter Irene to a member of the family of the Asenids, who then raised a claim to the Bulgarian crown as the Czar Johannes Asên III. Meanwhile the intriguing Czarina Maria celebrated her union with Ivajlo, and had herself crowned together with him (1278). Attacked simultaneously by the Mongols and Byzantines, Ivajlo was unable to maintain his position, and disappeared at the outset of 1279.

Maria, who was with child by the usurper, was sent into confinement at Adrianople. Johannes Asên III, a feeble and subservient character, entered upon the government, while the people supported the Bolyar Georg Terterii, who was descended from a noble Kumanian family and related to the most powerful families of Bulgaria. With the object of securing the support of this dangerous rival, Asên III gave him his daughter in marriage; the "Despot" Terterii was forced to send his former wife to Bulgaria and his son Svętslav (the Slav name will be observed) to Nikaia as hostages. At that point Ivajlo, who was supposed to be dead, suddenly appeared with a large following before the gates of Trnovo. The emperor Michael VIII sent two armies in the summer of 1280 to the help of his hard-pressed son-in-law, but both were annihilated. Johannes Asên III fled to Constantinople; Georg Terterii I was crowned Czar (1280). Ivajlo fled to the south of Russia to seek help from Nogai Khan. There he met his enemy Johannes Asên III. Nogai Khan amused himself for a time by making empty promises to the rivals, until he finally beheaded Ivajlo. Asên III had some trouble in escaping the same fate. Charles I of Naples found Georg Terterii I a valuable help against the Byzantines. A French army, which landed on the Balkan Peninsula and obtained Albanian reinforcements, was annihilated by the Greeks at Berat at the beginning of April, 1281. The Sicilian vespers (March 30, 1282) put an end to the further plan of Charles I. On December 11, 1282, Michael VIII died, and his successor Andronicus II concluded peace with the Bulgarian Czar (1248); for their common Mongolian enemy was once more threatening their frontiers. However, Georg Terterii was able to offer but feeble resistance to the attack of the Tartars; he was forced to conclude peace and to give one of his daughters to the son of the Nogai Khan. None the less the hordes established themselves in the empire, and Georg Terterii was driven out of the country and imprisoned at Byzantium.

The Mongols now placed the Bolyar Smilec, who had married the granddaughter of Andronicus II, on the Bulgarian throne (about 1292). Nogai Khan shortly afterwards fell in a battle against Tōktū, the ruler of the "Blue Horde" in Western Kiptjak (1290–1312). His son Choki, who assumed that he had hereditary rights to Bulgaria as the step-son of Terterii, made an alliance with Theodor Svętslav (Svetoslav), who had spent his childhood in Nikaia, and drove out Smilec. However, Svętslav captured the Tartar intruder unawares and had him strangled by Jewish executioners. His government (1295–1322) was at first by no means devoted to the works of peace. For three years he carried on war with Byzantium and conquered some towns and fortresses on the Hæmus. Together with the Czar,

his uncle Eltimir played an important part in the country as despot of Krun on the Eastern slope of the Balkans. The Byzantine Empire was at that time hard pressed on every side; Ertogrul, the leader of the Osman enemies, had founded a small kingdom about 1250, Bithynia, which had been extended to the shores of the Propontis by his son Osman in 1301 (p. 121). The second half of the reign of Svetslav, which lasted almost twenty-eight years, was a time of peace at home and abroad; in 1320 he married a granddaughter of the old Andronicus II.

After the death of Theodor Svetslav, his son Georg Terterii II ascended the Bulgarian throne in 1322. In that year he occupied Philippopolis, but in 1323 the town was lost by his Russian field-marshal Ivan, owing to the treachery of the Greek citizens, and fell into the hands of Andronicus the younger. In the same year the last descendant of Terterii died.

(*i*) *The Last Šišmanids at Trnovo* (*1323–1393*). — The Bolyars now chose Michael as their Czar (1323–1330); he was the half Kuman despot of Bdyn (Vidin, Widdin), and was a son of the despot Šišman; with him begins the third and last dynasty of the Bulgarian kingdom at Trnovo, that of the Šišmanids. At that time (1327) civil war was raging between Andronicus III and his grandfather the emperor Andronicus II, who borrowed two thousand Kumanians from Servia. The Czar Michael, who in 1325 had divorced his Servian wife Anna (cf. p. 292, and the genealogical tree on page 340) and had married the widow of his predecessor, a sister of Andronicus the younger, joined first one and then another Andronicus with the object of capturing Constantinople, and thus realising the dream of the ancient Czars. However, his plan did not succeed. Constantinople was conquered on May 24, 1328, by Andronicus III, who deposed his grandfather, aged sixty (p. 109). To secure his kingdom for the future the Czar Michael conceived the dangerous idea of destroying the neighbouring state, the rise of which threatened his existence. In alliance with the Byzantines, Tartars, and Wallachians he marched against Stephan Uroš III (p. 291). A decisive battle was fought on June 28, 1330, at Velbužd (Küstindil), at that time a Servian town. The Bulgarian army was defeated and the Czar Michael lost his life. The Servian king erected a church of the Ascension on the battlefield near the village of Nikoličevci on the Sovolštica, with three cupolas, which is now in ruins, and placed his sister Anna, Michael's divorced wife, and her son Šišman II on the throne. However, the real power of the Bulgarian kingdom was broken. Stephan Uroš III was taken prisoner and strangled, and Stephan Dušan was crowned king on September 8, 1331. Meanwhile the Bulgarian Bolyars revolted against their Czarina. Anna fled to Servia and Šišman II to the Tartars, whence he travelled to Constantinople, and finally settled in Naples under the name of Louis, where he died in 1333.

The Bolyars then appointed John Alexander as Czar (1331–1365), a nephew of the Czar Michael, and son-in-law of the Roumanian prince Ivanko Barasab. He took the surname of Asên, and married his sister Helena to Stephan Dušan, who had entered upon his government almost at the same time, and thus brought about an alliance between Servia, Bulgaria, and Bessarabia (cf. p. 292). While the Serbs overcame Macedonia, Albania, and Epirus, and the Roumanians defeated the Hungarians in the swamps of Wallachia (1330), the Bulgarian Czar forced the Byzantines, after a victory won between Aëtos (Aitos) and Rosokastron (at Burgas in 1333), to make peace, which was afterwards secured by a marriage between his

son Michael and Maria, the daughter of Andronicus, in 1337. On June 15, 1341, Andronicus III died, and his son Johannes V Palaiologos ascended the throne; the learned Grand Domestikos or Viceroy, John VI Kantakuzenos (p. 110), set himself up as an opposition emperor. During a civil war in the Byzantine Empire the Czar Alexander succeeded in considerably extending the boundaries of his state by the conquest in 1344 of the town of Philippopolis, and of the following fortresses on the northern border of Rhodope: Čepino, Kričim, Peruštica, St. Justina (Ustina), Stenimachos (Stanimaka), Aetos, Beadnos, and Koznik. Meanwhile the downfall of the Byzantine Empire was accelerated by an alliance which the two conflicting emperors concluded with the individual Turkish princes, who were accustomed, under the title of "allies," to devastate every district into which they marched. At the end of 1353 (a more correct date than that commonly current, 1356; cf. p. 126 f.) the Turks for the first time gained a footing in Europe (at Tzympe on the Hellespont); in 1354 Kallipolis fell, and soon the Osmans established themselves on the shores of the Marica.

Not only was Bulgaria likely at any moment to fall a prey to the Asiatics, but her solidarity had also been destroyed from within by religious dissension. In the monasteries on Mount Athos (p. 87) there sprang up among the monks about 1846 a special form of mysticism. The adherents of this belief, who were known as Hesychastes (Quietists) (p. 109), buried themselves in the contemplation of their navels until they imagined these surrounded with a supernatural splendour. The monks received instruction in Bogumilism from a nun by the name of Irene, which became the occasion of more or less disgraceful orgies. From these excesses a revival of the remnants of heathendom was brought about by the monk Theodoretos. Theodoretos, who possessed some knowledge of medicine, secured a large following in Bulgaria. He revived early heathen customs, in particular the veneration of the oak-tree, at the foot of which sheep and lambs were sacrificed. His medicinal treatment depended, in the first instance, upon the sacrifice of victims for the purpose of appeasing the sicknesses and inducing them to look favourably upon the patients (the custom has survived to the present day in Turkey of offering victims to the Namestnik, or household spirit). Almost at the same time two monks appeared in Bulgaria (Lazar and Cyrill) who turned the Bogumile movement into more dangerous paths by their contempt for the saints and for the cross, and by the scorn which they poured upon labour and marriage, while another monk disseminated the common Adamite heresy. The Czar Johannes Alexander had also confined his wife in a monastery, and had made the Jewess Theodora his Czarina, in consequence of which Jews obtained special privileges. As the Turks on the further side of the Balkans were extending their possessions from day to day, while in Bulgaria the Bogumiles, Hesychastes, Adamites, and Jews pursued their way without let or hindrance, the learned monk Theodosii at length induced the Czar to summon councils (1350–1355) in which the Bogumiles, Hesychastes, and Adamites were condemned and the encroachments of the Jews were limited.

John Alexander Asên died in the spring of 1365 and left behind him a disunited kingdom tottering to its fall. His son John Šišman III (1365–1393; cf. p. 292) reigned in Trnovo, and another son of Alexander in Bdyn, the Czar John Strasimir (Joan Sracimir), while the districts of Pontos (Varna, Kaliakra, Emona, Kozjak) were subject, until about 1386, to the Kumanian despot Dobrotič, who had inherited the estates of his brothers Balikis and Theodore. After the capture of

Adrianople in 1361, and Philippopolis in 1363, Murad I transferred his capital from Brusa to "Edreneh" (p. 127). Danger, however, was also threatening from another quarter. Lewis I of Hungary conquered Bdyn in the summer of 1364, and carried the Czar Sracimir together with his consort as prisoners to Croatia; in the following year (1366) the Czar Šišman attacked the new Hungarian province with the help of the Turks, but was beaten back. It was not until 1369 that the Bulgarian Czar succeeded in wresting Bdyn from the Hungarians.

While the Christian rulers of the Balkan Peninsula were at war with one another, the newly founded Turkish state increased steadily year by year. Finally the Serb Wukashin (Vlkasin) revolted, but his army was destroyed on the night of September 26, 1371 (p. 293). Upper Macedonia was incorporated with the Osman Empire. The Servian dynasts were forced to serve in the Osman army; Marko Kraljevic (p. 294) and Constantine of Velbužd alone offered a temporary resistance to their new rulers. Ivanko, the son of Dobrotic also held out about 1390 against the Osman advance. In 1388 the Czar Šišman III was forced to agree to the payment of an annual tribute. Almost at the same time Sracimir did homage to the Osman Emir. His example was finally followed by the Küstendil despot, Constantine, the brother of John Dragaš; he fell fighting against the Wallachians in 1394, and he is still remembered as the last Christian ruler of Velbužd, Kratovo, Strumica, and Štip. Servia was delivered up to Turkey, as the result of a battle on the field of Amsel (June 15, 1389; p. 293). Turkish efforts were now concentrated upon Bulgaria. The downfall of the country was secured by the fall of Trnovo (July 17, 1393); John Šišman III probably died in a Turkish prison in the citadel of Philippopolis. Old Bulgaria had now ceased to be an independent state.

(*k*) *Old Bulgarian Art and Literature in the Age previous to the Turkish Period and during the Transition.*—As the Bulgarians were destined to be the rulers of the Balkan Peninsula, so they were also the founders of art and literature, which they communicated to the other Slav races. Through the teaching of a native creed, Bogumilism, they brought confusion into the whole of Southern Europe, then absorbed by the Byzantine culture, with its exaggeration and decay; this culture the Bulgarians too accepted with all its contradictions, and in company with it they declined. With the first Greek woman who ascended the Bulgarian throne, in 927, the first step was taken for the introduction of Greek civilization into Bulgaria. This dangerous influence, however, affected only the upper classes, the Bolyars, and the clergy in the towns; fresh streams of national feeling watered the growth of the Bulgarian peasantry, and without this there could have been no renaissance for Bulgaria. The interests of the dominant Bolyar caste, and those of the people who were for the most part in a condition of serfdom, were naturally in diametrical opposition. Energetic Czars were generally hated by the Bolyars, most of whom ruled their estates and their people exactly as they pleased. After the Osman invasion many Bolyar families accepted Mohammedanism. This was rather a benefit to the body politic, in so far as the division between the Mohammedan nobility and the Christian people grew steadily wider; the lower classes, left to themselves, became a barrier against the extension of the Osman kingdom.

With the fall of the empire literary life also disappeared. Most of the work produced in the pre-Turkish period was lost. Bogumilism, however, performed

the service of handing down to posterity, even under the Turkish supremacy, the written works of the Slav Church. One of the most important works of the Bogumiles is said to have been "The Questions of St. John Bogoslav, which he put to the Lord on Mount Tabor." Side by side with the description of the end of the world they composed a cosmogony in which the old heathen traditions of the Ugriâns were accepted and fitted on to the Bogumile teaching; from Bulgaria the work passed to Russia and Servia and to France and Italy in the Latin translation of Nazarius, a bishop of Upper Italy. Other works ascribed to St. John were also popular. Such were "Questions concerning Adam and Abraham on the Olberg" and a "Sermon upon the Mother of God," also the apocryphal "Journey of the Mother of God in Hell," the "Story of the Twelve Fridays," the "Histories of Daniel and Samson," a tractate on "Bad Wives," which was incorporated in the collection of the Czar Symeon (p. 240). Besides these religious works numerous romances and fairy tales of Greek, Arabic, and Indian origin were widely disseminated, and were transmitted to the Slavs by Bulgarian translations. The life of "Alexander the Great," the "Legend of Troy," the Indian tales of the Panchatantra (Vol. II, p. 417) were widely known among the Slavs in Bulgarian translations. These religious and secular novels formed the intellectual pabulum of the Slavs in those centuries, not only of the upper classes, but in particular of the common people. The "Sborniks" (manuscript collections) give an accurate idea of the current literature of the Bulgarians; together with fragments from Byzantine theological literature, they contain numerous apocryphal writings, fairy tales, histories of miracles, legends, and essays on secular subjects. In the days of serfdom the Sborniks affected the popular mind so strongly that many of these apocrypha, stories, and legends received the stamp of national literature and were incorporated with native songs and ancient traditions.

Of the historical literature of that period, only a few essays and fragments have been preserved, as, for instance, "An Account of the Foundation of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria" (1235), a "pomenik" of deceased Czars, patriarchs, bishops, and bolyars, a "Conspectus of Peoples and Languages," wherein the people are compared with animals (from the early part of the thirteenth century), a "List of Languages and Writings." Apart from these there are also two great compilations (Letopis) of popular origin, the "Legends of Alexander," and even some apocryphal books; one of these includes the downfall of Constantinople (1453). The greatest historical work is the chronicle of Constantine Manasses, carried down to 1078, which was translated at the orders of the Czar John Alexander (1331–1365); in whose reign the reformer of the church discipline, Theodosii of Trnovo (p. 346), together with his disciples Dionysii and Euthymii, composed numerous lives of national saints and letters to the ecclesiastical princes. However, in the following three centuries more manuscripts were destroyed by the Osmans than Bulgarian industry could replace.

C. The Turkish Period

The darkest period in the history of the Bulgarian people is the age of the Turkish supremacy, from the end of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the national renaissance. Trade and commerce were in the hands of the Greeks, and

the higher offices were almost all occupied by Mohammedans. The people existed only for the purpose of bearing the weight of taxation. Victories of the Austrian armies (p. 305) had aroused idle hopes in Bulgaria, and many of the inhabitants migrated in vain to the south of Hungary. At no period, however, of the Turkish supremacy were men wanting to drive back the Turkish oppression by armed force and to continue their free life in the mountains. It was not so much robbery, as revenge upon the oppressors of their co-religionists, which was the life-work of these Haiduks (Hayduks), whose struggles and adventures were immortalized in numerous songs, surviving even at the present day. They were knightly figures, impatient of servitude, who made it their profession to plunder and slaughter the Mohammedans, while protecting and supporting the Christians.

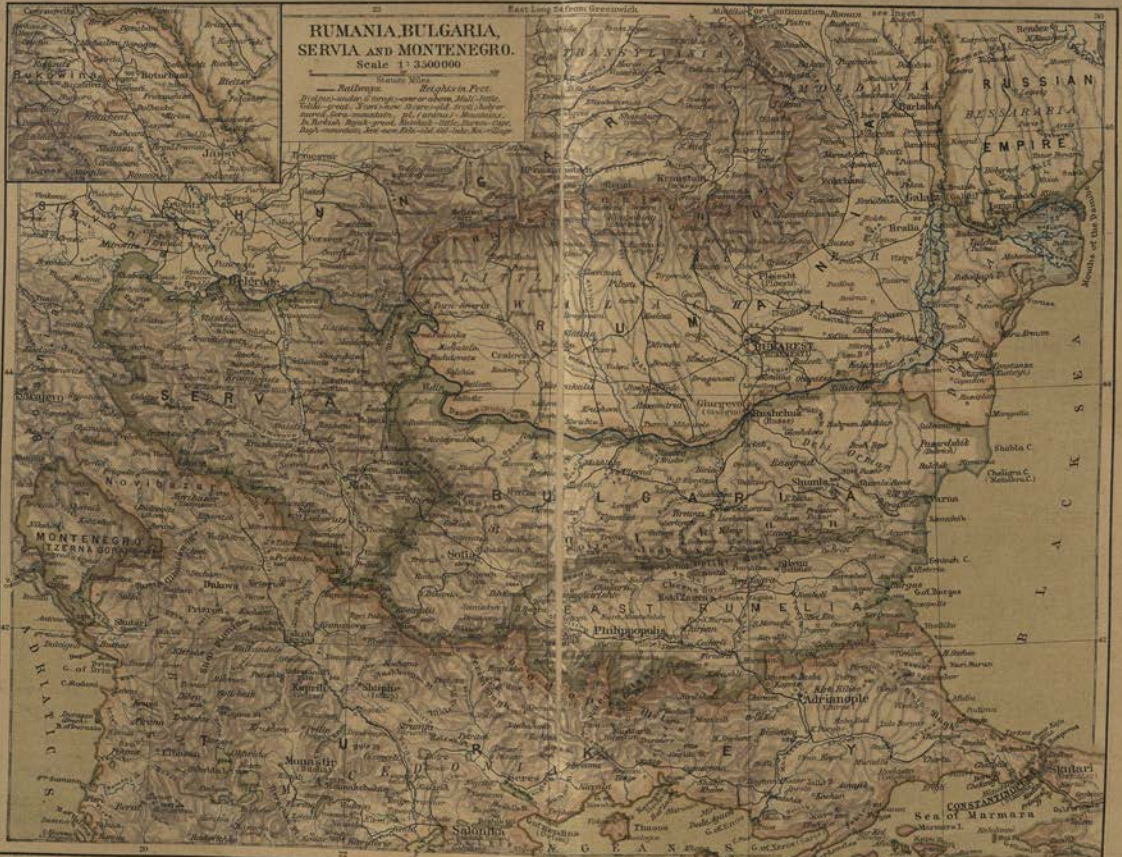
After the fall of the Bulgarian kingdom and of the national church, which became wholly subject to the Greek Church, many of the Bogumiles sought satisfaction for their animosity in Catholicism. Numerous Bogumiles were converted by the Franciscans of Bosnia, such as Fra Peter of Soli or Tuzla (died 1623) and his disciples at Ciporovci (at the sources of the Ogost in the Western Balkans), at Kalačveo (Kalačli), and in other villages near Philippopolis. These converts afterwards called themselves Paulicians (not to be confused with the older sect of that name, p. 242), and emigrated for the most part to Roumania, Transylvania, and the south of Hungary. In the year 1688 the emperor Leopold I of Austria gave his support to a revolt of the Catholic Bulgarians of Čiporovci, which was, however, suppressed by the Turks; the population were driven out of their settlements and fled to Roumania. A few of them also reached Transylvania, and were settled in Déva and Alvincz. Others again, who removed from Petikladenci at Nicopolis on the Danube in 1727 to Wallachia Minor, which was then an Austrian province, betook themselves in 1740 to the Banat of Temes (Southern Hungary), where they were known as Pavlikéni.

In 1762 the monk Paysii (Paysios; p. 307) of Mount Athos wrote a small "Sloveno-Bulgarian History of the Bulgarian Peoples, Czars, and Saints," which has been of great importance in the modern development of the Bulgarian people. The enthusiastic patriotism which inspires every line of this little book found a ready response. A truly popular work, the "History of the Bulgarians," by Paysii, was widely disseminated in countless editions and revisions. His pupil, Stoiko, who was afterwards bishop of Vraca (Wratsha), under the name of Sofronii (Sophronios), continued the work of the national renaissance. The sentiments of patriotism, hatred of the Greeks, and contempt for the Turks are even more strongly marked in his writings than in those of his master. In 1802 he composed translations of Greek fables, narratives, and aphorisms. In his memoirs he drew an accurate picture of the age, about 1804. His chief work was his sermons, which formed the first book printed in the Bulgarian language, in 1806, and for that reason are still popular.

In the year 1786 Bulgarian immigrants again appeared in Hungary and settled for the most part in the county of Torontal. In their new home these settlers in the mountain districts have retained their Bulgarian nationality in more or less complete purity to the present day, while the settlers in the lowlands have become a mixed people, and have adopted many of the characteristics of the Roumanians and Serbs. The fact that they have not entirely lost their characteristics amid the mixed people of their new home is largely due to the fact that, like the Balkan

Bulgarians, they tenaciously clung to their ancient customs, a habit which survived the severest period of the Turkish supremacy. The custom of household communism (Zadruga, Sadruga; p. 271) still connects the members of a family in a corporation in which the cleverest, and not necessarily the oldest, is spokesman, manages the common property, and distributes the labour and the profits of it among the members of the family. This feeling of corporate family life has, by its persistence, given to the Bulgarian character a certain narrowness of mind and a special theory of life which deals largely with facts as they are, cherishes no presumptuous dreams of future prosperity, and regards life from an eminently practical point of view. This theory of corporate family life is also apparent in the ancient marriage customs. It was in these scenes of patriarchal family life that those epic poems arose among the Bulgarians which immortalized the national heroes, the champions of freedom, and the Haiduks. This proud consciousness of their nationality and this tenacious preservation of old customs found its best representative in the historian and ethnographer Jurii J. Huca, otherwise known as Wenelin (Venelin; 1802–1839), a Ruthenian, born in Northern Hungary; however, his attempts were only isolated efforts.

A flourishing literature was not developed until the last decade of the Turkish supremacy. Several attempts at revolt had been made, and nipped in the bud, whereupon a number of Bulgarians in Bucharest and Odessa made it their special work to forward a movement for the enlightenment of their people. Beron composed a primer (1824; Bukvar) which was very widely circulated. Stojanov and Peshakov first attempted to write Bulgarian poetry in imitation of the popular songs. A valuable service in the cause of this useful literature was performed by the teacher, afterwards Archimandrite (Hieromonach), Neofyt Rilskii (of the monastery of St. John of Rila; died 1881); he published the first Bulgarian grammar, in 1835, for use in the first purely Bulgarian school at Gabrovo; he also produced a Slovenic Bulgarian Encyclopædia with special reference to the folk-lore of the country, and a chrestomathy of Old Slovenish, with a Greco-Slovenian vocabulary (1852); he translated the New Testament into the popular language, and in 1875 began to print a dictionary in Greek, ecclesiastical Slavonic, and modern Bulgarian, which has unfortunately been continued only to the word "ovca." As the modern Bulgarian literature began to increase, printing-presses were set up in several places; thus, with the support of the Bulgarian colony at Smyrna, Constantine Fotonov published the illustrated monthly "Ljuboslovie." Almost at the same period (from 1852 onwards) the author Petko Račov Slavejkov came forward; by his poems, his scientific dissertations, and his work upon the folk-lore of the country, he gained an honourable place in Bulgarian literature. He laid bare the treasury from which rich deposits of original poetry and thought have been brought to light by the later antiquarians D. and K. Miladinov, Čolakov, Verkovič (Vol. VIII), Matov, Ivan D. Šišmanov (translator of the German classics), Zepenkov, and especially Sava Georgiev (*nom de guerre*, Georg Stoikov) Rakovskii (died 1867; *loc. cit.*). Side by side with Slavejkov, mention should be made of Najden Gerov, a teacher and afterwards a vice-consul, as a poet of importance (since 1845); since 1870 the careful style of the writings of Ivan Vazov has gained him an honourable place with this company. The best novelist was Ljuben Karavelov (died 1879); he published poems and numerous tales, marked for the most part with strong political feeling. In 1860 Basil Drumev, known as Bishop Kliment,


RUMANIA, BULGARIA,
SERVIA AND MONTENEGRO.
Scale 1 : 3500000
Statute Miles
Railways
Heights in Feet
East Long 24 from Greenwich
RUSSIAN
EMPIRE
BESSARABIA
MOLDAVIA
TRANSYLVANIA
HUNGARY
SERVIA
BULGARIA
EAST RUMELIA
TURKEY
MONTENEGRO
(TZERNA GORA)
Belgrade
Sarajevo
Novibazar
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Monastir
Salonika
Seres
Thasos
Samothraki
Galatz
Braila
Bucharest
Giurgevo
Rushchuk
Shumla
Varna
Sliven
Skutari
CONSTANTINOPLE
Sea of Marmara
Marmara I.
Shabla C.
Cheligra C.
Kaprili
Shtiphe
Dakova
Prizren
Skutari
Jassy
Botuchani
Bukowina
Cernowitz
Temesvar
Kronstadt
Pleiesti
Bendex
Mouths of the Danube
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC S.
AEGEAN S.
London, Wm Heinemann
Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut Leipzig
New York: Dodd, Mead & Co

composed the first novel, "The Unfortunate Family." The first attempts at dramatic literature fall within the middle of the century. The first original play, the comedy of "Michael," was written by Sava H. Dobroplodni; he was followed by Dobrjo Popov. Vojnikov after 1868, who composed a number of plays, and also by the above-mentioned Drumev, with his "Ivanko" (1872). Of historians who really deserve the name, Marin Stepanovič Drinov, who was born in 1838 in Panagjurište, and taught in Russia (Kharkov), is alone worthy of mention.

D. The Beginning of a New Period of Independence

After four hundred and eighty-five years of servitude, the hour of Bulgarian freedom was at last to strike. After the last revolts had been crushed, in 1875,[1] the great powers summoned a conference at Constantinople (December, 1876, to January, 1877), at which their representatives proposed the formation of two provinces under Christian governors (cf. p. 195). The Porte declined to accept the proposal, and stronger measures were taken against the Bulgarians. Russia declared war, and Turkey and Bulgaria became the scene of a desperate struggle, which ended on March 3, 1878, with the peace of San Stefano. The Congress of Berlin, held immediately afterwards, freed Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke on July 13, 1878 (see the map facing this page, "Roumania, Bulgaria, etc.").

On February 22, 1879, the first Bulgarian Assembly of Notables assembled at Trnovo and discussed the preliminary questions from a liberal standpoint (Constitution of Trnovo). This was followed (on April 29) by the first great National Assembly, which appointed to the throne of Bulgaria, on the day of its opening, Prince Alexander of Battenburg,[2] then twenty-two years of age and nephew of the Russian Czar, Alexander II. It was under the most unfavourable circumstances that the young prince undertook the government of a country which was torn by every kind of dissension between parties and vested interests. The Radicals and Conservatives were at bitter enmity with one another. Weary of this long feud, Alexander issued a declaration in May, 1881, to the effect that his previous efforts had been of no avail; he asked that a new National Assembly should grant a change in the constitution and give him extraordinary powers for the space of seven years, that he might bring into order the affairs of the principality, which stood in great need of improvement. The National Assembly, which met at Svištov, was composed for the most part of Conservative peasants, and granted the king's desire on July 13. However, a powerful party was working for the fall of Alexander; though there is not sufficient evidence to prove that

[1] In September in Stara Zagora, in April and May, 1876, in the Sredna Gora and Rhodope; these were the Bulgarian "atrocities" or "horrors" of W. Baring, E. Schuyler, and Gladstone.

[2] Count Moritz von Hauke, † 1830, Polish lieutenant-general

Julie, * 1825, † 1895, "countess," and from 1858 "princess of Battenberg"

Ludwig II of Hesse-Darmstadt

Alexander, * 1823, † 1888, Russian and Austrian general — [Ludwig III and Carl, † 1877]

Maria, * 1824, † 1880, known as Maria Alexandrovna — Tsar Alexander II of Russia, † 1881

1851 — 1841

Louis, * 1854, British naval officer

Alexander, * 1857, Prince of Bulgaria, 1879–1886, "Count of Hartenau" from 1889, † 1893

Franz Joseph, * 1861, Dr. phil., married Anna of Montenegro, 1897

Alexander III, Tsar, 1881–1894

they had allied themselves for this purpose with the Russian consul Hitrovo, and with Colonel Stapanov-Popov, who had been sent from Moscow to Bulgaria. In any case the prince demanded of the Czar that General Leonid N. Sobolev should be Prime Minister, and that General Baron Alexander V. Kaulbars should be Minister of War (July 15, 1882); however, in the opinion of their colleagues in the Conservative ministry, which retired at the beginning of March, 1883, their efforts were entirely devoted to the task of transforming Bulgaria into a Russian province in the shortest possible space of time. To put an end to all these intrigues, Alexander sent a vain request for the retirement of the two generals to the new Russian agent, A. S. Jonin, at the beginning of September. A report, not wholly above suspicion, asserts that Jonin then handed over the following ultimatum: (1) Alexander was to renounce the extraordinary powers which he obtained in the year 1881. (2) The National Assembly was to be summoned for an alteration of the Constitution. (3) The prince was to intrust the government to Sobolev and Kaulbars. (4) In the case of refusal, Sobolev was to have the right of absolving the subjects from their oath of fidelity. In view of these dangers, the different parties met together on September 18, and declared the old Constitution of Trnovo restored; on the next day the generals were replaced by a ministry of the Liberal leader, Dragan Cankov. A possible dissension with Russia, on account of the recall of officers on either side, was avoided in November by a fresh convention. On December 17 the alterations desired by Alexander were granted in detail by the Chamber.

On September 18, 1885, the Bulgarians living in East Roumania revolted, with the intention of forming a union with the principality of Bulgaria. In 1878 numerous gymnastic societies had been formed in the country on the occasion of the hundredth birthday of the German promoter of gymnastics, Fr. L. Jahn; these and smaller associations had been incidentally working to dissolve their dependence upon the Porte, which the Berlin Congress had reaffirmed, by means of a union with Bulgaria. Alexander immediately started to Philippopolis and there proclaimed the union of the two countries on September 21.[1] Milan, the king of Servia, declared war on the Bulgarians in consequence on the 14th of November; the Servians were defeated at Slivnica (November 17 and 19) and at Pirot (November 26 and 27), and peace was concluded at Bucharest on March 3, under the terms of which the old state of affairs was restored. By the protocol of Constantinople, of April 5, Prince Alexander was recognised as the general governor of East Roumania.

However, certain dissatisfied officers surprised Alexander in his bedroom on August 20, 1886, and secretly carried him beyond the frontier. But in the next ten days the reactionary movement proved triumphant. The exile was recalled from Lemberg by telegrams from Stefan Stambuloff and from the lieutenant-colonel Mutkuroff. Alexander, however, was so imprudent as to send a telegram to the Czar, asking his countenance for all further steps. When this was bluntly refused, the prince abdicated on September 7.

Stambuloff, Mutkuroff, and G. Živkov were now at the head of the regency until the National Assembly elected Prince Waldemar of Denmark, on November 10, 1886; when he declined the proposal, the Assembly appointed the Roman

[1] See the small map at the bottom right-hand corner of the map facing page 166.

Catholic, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg (Kohary), who was twenty-six years of age on July 7, 1887. He left the direction of the ministry for a long time in the hands of Stambuloff, "the Bulgarian Bismarck," until the Russophile party again gained the upper hand, on March 30, 1894. Stambuloff, the great champion of national independence, fell at the hand of an assassin on July 15, 1895. Since that period much has been done towards a compromise with Russia (1895–1896 and 1901–1902). Domestic policy suffered partly under the influence of unfavourable financial conditions and under the continual disturbances caused by the Macedonian question (p. 197), for which no solution has yet been found, notwithstanding the agreement of Mürzteg, concluded between Russia and Austria in October, 1903.

3. THE ROUMANIANS

A. The Origin of the Roumanians

An infinite number of different theories, both in scientific and in pseudo-scientific circles, have continually reappeared until recent times concerning the origin of the Roumanians, a nation which has settled in smaller groups in the Balkan territories in Hungary and Transylvania, and in a coherent body in the modern kingdom of Roumania. This people is known by the Slavs (like all the Roumanians between the Black Sea and the Adriatic) as Wlach, Walach (Vlach, plural Vlasi), which nearly corresponds to the Germanic "Wahl" (Welsh). The Roumanian shepherds of the mountains of Dinai were distinguished from the Italian townspeople of Dalmatia as the "Black Vlachs" (Moroblachi, Morlacchi; cf. also p. 353). Like Italian, Spanish, and French, Roumanian has descended from popular Latin, of the kind spoken by the Romanised subjects of Rome during the first six centuries of our era on the Lower Danube and in ancient Dacia (Transylvania). Hence the name "Daco-Romani" (Daco-Roumanian), to distinguish this from the other Romance languages. For the period of the colonisation of Dacia by the Romans, the best descriptive material is to be found in the bas-reliefs of the Dacian war decorating the pillar of Trajan, which have been well reproduced by W. Froehner and Gust. Arosa (1872–1874), and in most admirable style by Konr. Eichorius (since 1896).

During the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. shepherd peoples might have immigrated from the Apennines, from the papal district and from the Romagna, near Ravenna (formerly known as Romania), during the period of the Lombard and the Byzantine confusion by way of Friuli, to Illyricum, to the modern Bosnia and North Albania; Romans may thus have come to the Balkans, and within the Slav districts the dialect of these shepherds may have extended and have become an individual Romance language by correspondence with its environment. All this, however, is mere theory, impossible to prove by the evidence at our disposal, and no longer tenable, for scientific reasons. All that can be said is, that, apart from the phonetic influences of Slavonic and Albanian, the Roumanian language, like the Albanian, places the article at the end of the word, forms the future tense by periphrasis, has borrowed its numeral system from Slavonic, and that both languages have borrowed a large number of technical terms required by civilization.

H. Tiktin estimates the numerical proportion of Slavonic, Low Latin, Turkish, Greek, Magyar, and Albanian in the vocabulary of literary Roumanians, as about the following: 76; 52; 14; 13; 10; 1. Early history must therefore be regarded as having run something like the following course: the scanty native population of Daco-Thracian origin coalesced with numerous soldiers and colonists, whose popular Latin soon became individual in character, but in spite of all changes preserved its fundamental Romance type. This process of change is best depicted in volume 1 of the "History of the Roumanian People," by N. Jorga (Gotha, 1905). In the year 697 (and to some extent a century earlier; cf. p. 325) the Finno-Ugrian Bulgarians migrated into the country, and preserved their "Turanian" language (cf. p. 375) for three centuries before they were absorbed by the mixed peoples of the Balkan Peninsula; during that time, the influence which they exerted upon Albanian, medieval Greek, etc., was naturally also extended to early Roumanian. Side by side with and subsequent to this influence we have to take into account the strong and permanent influence of the Slav population (p. 273). Not until that time, if we may believe Moses Gaster, did Roumanian, thus transformed, come into contact with Albanian, which had been no less modified by Turanian and Slav influences (the Thracian origin of Albania has been explained on page 220). Of still later date are the modifications which Roumania owes to Bulgarian, Turkish, and Modern Greek.

The main dialect of the Roumanian language is spoken by about nine millions of people in Moldavia and Wallachia, in Bessarabia and Transylvania, in the Banat, in part of Hungary and Bukovina, and alone possesses any literature; two subordinate dialects also exist, the South or Macedonian Roumanian of the Kutzo Wallachians or Zingars in Macedonia, Albania, Thessaly, and Epirus (amounting to about one million people; Kucovlasi = Limping Wallachians), and the half Slav Istro-Roumanian, which is spoken by about three thousand people in the neighbourhood of the east coast of Istria and in the interior of the Karst range side by side with the Croatian, which is the dominant language.

After the extensive settlements of Roman colonists by Trajan (Vol. IV, p. 438), the former land of Dacia for many decades occupied the position of a frontier territory or outpost of the Roman Empire; as that empire declined to its fall, the barbarians caused increasing disturbances, which only occasionally and for short periods gave way to a sense of security, as under the emperor Maximin (235–238). Aurelian, the "Restorer of the Empire" (270–275), was forced to abandon the further bank of the Danube to the Goths, to transport the colonists over the stream, and to form a new Dacia on the south. From that period the districts to the north of the Lower Danube were invariably the object of the invading hordes of barbarians as they advanced to the southwest. The Huns and Gepids about 450 were succeeded a century later by the Avars (about 555), and by the Slavs (previously the Antes; cf. p. 328), in different advances and attacks. Then in 679 came the Bulgarians (Khazars and Old Ziagirs, p. 327), and after one hundred and fifty or two hundred years the Magyars, from about 840 to 860 (p. 325), whose settlements, in parts at least, were only temporary. Such fragments of Roman colonial civilization as survived those stormy times were hard beset by the repeated raids of the Petshenegs (about 900; pp. 85 and 337) and by the Kumanians or Uzes (about 1050; pp. 92 and 338). It will be obvious that, in view of the disturbed state of the country, no detailed chronology free from suspicion can be given. It can be

observed, however, in the barest outlines, that, apart from the numerous invasions of the barbarians, one striking exception is to be observed, consisting in certain scanty remnants of Germanic languages (Western Gothic and Gepid), while Slav and Ural Altaic or North Mongolian blood was infused into the Daco-Roumanian population that remained in the plains (Bessarabia, Dobrudža, and Wallachia). The pure Daco-Roumanian nationality may have survived in a fragmentary state among the inaccessible wooded mountains of Northwest Moldavia and Transylvania, also in Dacia during the period of Aurelian; these elements may have left their highlands when the country was pacified or passed north of the Danube, and again have exerted a special influence upon the motley complexion of the nation now known as "Roumanian." Worthy of mention is the custom of the Carpathian shepherds to bring their sheep to winter in Wallachia or Moldavia; similarly the Wallachians of Thessaly sent their flocks during the summer into the mountains of Bulgaria ("the wandering Transylvania," to quote the title of Joh. Hantz, or "la transhumance" of Em. de Martonne). Notwithstanding this regular change of situation, Transylvania cannot be regarded as the true cradle of the Roumanian race in early or later times.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries it is noticeable that similar principalities or banats were formed in Dacia, of which those advancing too far from Transylvania into the low lands of the Theiss fell under Magyar supremacy. On the other hand, the duchies which spread to the east and south of the Carpathian Mountains were able to maintain their ground against the Petshenegs, Kumanians, and Mongols. About the middle of the fourteenth century the two kingdoms of Wallachia and Moldavia began their existence, starting from the Carpathians, and continuing for a long time in mutual independence with a history of their own.

B. WALLACHIA

(*a*) *The House of Basarab* (*until 1654*). — At the outset of the thirteenth century Wallachia was in the hands of the Hungarian kings of the house of Árpád. Béla IV gave the country in 1247 to the Knights of St. John, with the exception of the half Kumanian "terra" of the "Olacus" Seneslav, who was at that time Voivod of "Great Wallachia" to the east of the river Olt (Aluta, Alt), and with the exception also of the "Keneziatus" (jurisdiction) of the Voivod Latovoĭ (Litovoy, erroneously known as Litean or Lythen), who was almost independent. When Ladislaus IV, the Kuman, ascended the throne of Hungary in 1272, while yet a minor, Litovoĭ and his brother attempted to shake off the burdensome obligation of yearly tribute, but Litovoĭ was killed about 1275, and his brother Barbat was obliged to pay a high ransom. Shortly afterwards Basarab (Bassaraba), a son of Tyhomirs (Tugomirs, or to give him his Christian name, Ivankos, about 1290), and a grandson of the above-mentioned Seneslav, founded to the west of the Olt the principality of "Transalpina" (Hungarian Wallachia, or Wallachia Minor;[1] in Moldavian, Mutenia), with Arges as the

[1] It should be observed that Moldavia, constitutionally a state of later date, in contrast to Wallachia or the "Roumanian territory" in general, is occasionally known as Wallachia "Minor," until it was overshadowed by the older neighbour state under Alexander the Good; under Stephan the Great it is sometimes known as Bogdania.

capital. In contrast to Moldavia, which was chiefly formed by foreign immigrants, this principality is a state which developed from its own resources. The power of Basarab was considerably diminished by the defeat of his ally, Michael Trnovo, at Velbužd (1330; p. 345). However, the attempt of the Hungarian Angevin, Charles Robert I, to re-enforce a half-forgotten homage, became a total failure amid the wilderness of the Carpathian Mountains; Basarab (died about 1340) remained master of the whole of "the Roumanian territory," which indeed became then, for the first time, the nucleus of a state in the proper sense of the word. However, this "Wallachia Minor," which began its history with much promise, was soon overshadowed by "Wallachia Major," and falls into the background.

The son of Basarab (Nicholas) Alexander concluded an independent agreement with Louis I the Great at Kronstadt (1342–1382), concerning the conditions on which he held his position as Voivod; however, in his own country his rule was largely disturbed by dissatisfied subjects. To his period belongs the foundation of a new principality in Moldavia (near Baia) by Bogdan (cf. p. 363); the affairs of the Balkan Peninsula in his proximity induced Alexander to leave this ambitious rival in peace. In 1359 the Byzantine metropolitan, Hyacinthus, came from Vičina at the mouth of the Danube to Hungarian Wallachia as Exarch. By his first wife, probably a Servian or Bosnian woman, Alexander Basarab had a son Vlad (Vladislav, Vlaico, Layko); afterwards, about 1350, he married a Roman Catholic, the Hungarian Clara, and died on November 16, 1364. Layko (died 1377 or 1382 to 1385) was able to maintain his position against King Louis; as early as 1369 he styled himself in his documents "Ladislaus by the Grace of God and the King of Hungary, Voivod of Wallachia, Ban of Syrmia and Duke of Fogaras" (Fogaras, in Transylvania, was afterwards granted as a fief to the Voivod of Wallachia by the kings of Hungary, as it was a secure refuge in the period of Turkish invasions, which began in 1367 and 1385). Under Layko, Argeș became a Roman bishopric in 1369, although the conversion desired by the Pope was not accepted on the side of the Voivod. In fact, his inclination to the Greek Church was plainly apparent in the marriage of the successor Radu(l) with Kallinikia, to whose influence is certainly due the occurrence of more extensive ecclesiastical gifts.

The sons of this couple were the hostile brothers, Dan (ruler in October, 1385 and 1393) and Mircea the Old or Great (Mirče, Mircha; 1386–1418). In 1390 Mircea made a convention with the Polish king Vladislav Jag(i)ello II, which was renewed in 1411. About 1391 he took Dobrudža and the town of Silistria from the Bulgarians. However, in 1389 he was defeated at Kossovo (p. 293 f.) with his allies, and became a semi-vassal of the Osmans in 1391 and 1394. With the object of protecting his country from the threatened advances of the Turks, Mircea came to Transylvania in 1395, and on March 7, at Kronstadt, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with King Sigismund, in accordance with the terms of which he fought with the Christian army in the unfortunate battle of Nikopolis (September 28, 1896). On April 3, 1904, King Carol I, in his lecture, "Nikopolis," to the Roumanian academy, has eloquently recounted that memorable alliance between the Germans and Roumanians. Mircea was, however, now forced to recognise once again the Turkish supremacy, to abandon entirely the right bank of the Danube to the Osmans, and to pay the Emir a yearly tribute of three thou-

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PRINCES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

EXPLANATION OF THE PORTRAITS OF THE PRINCES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA OVERLEAF

Right above: 1. Vlad Tepes (Tzepesh), prince of Wallachia (1455–1462; 1483–1496)

(From a photograph lent by the Royal Academy of Roumania, taken from the original painting [illegible] Ambras in Tyrol.)

Left above: 2. Michael the Bold, prince of Wallachia (1593–1601). The glorious [illegible] this Roumanian prince, especially his brave struggles against Sinan Pasha at Tirgoviste, [illegible] and Giurgevo in Wallachia, roused great enthusiasm throughout the Christian world [illegible] of their performance.

(From G. J. Jonescu-Gion, Istoria Bucurescilor [History of the town of Bucharest]; Bucha[illegible])

Left below: 3. Mateiu (Matthias) Basarab, prince of Wallachia (1633–1654).

(From a reproduction of the original painting by Abraham van Westerveldt in Hurmuzaki privitóre la Istoria Românilor [Documents bearing upon Roumanian hi[illegible])

Right below: 4. Vasile (Basilius) Lupu, prince of Moldavia (1634–1653).

(From the reproduction of a copper-plate engraving by the Venetian Marco Boschi[illegible] tioned work of Hurmuzaki.)

sand red banes or three hundred silver Turkish dollars (the defiance shown by Mircea in withholding the tribute for three years was broken down in 1417). In return the Porte guaranteed, in 1411, the free administration of the country under a Voivod chosen by the inhabitants. This convention was to form the basis, even in the nineteenth century, of the relations of Wallachia with Turkey, and was renewed in 1460 between the Voivod Vlad IV and Mohammed II; such, at any rate, is the common account. N. Jorga, who certainly displays that national sensitiveness peculiar to almost every historian of South Europe, and leans to the side of Moldavia, regards the transaction from a wholly different point of view. In the struggles for the succession which broke out in 1403 upon the death of Bajazet I (cf. p. 131), Mircea supported Musa, and met with his reward when the latter was recognised as ruler of the Osman kingdom in February, 1411. Hence the convention of 1411 may be regarded as a friendly alliance. However, this friendly relationship between Wallachia and the Porte was not to continue permanently. In 1413 Musa fell fighting against his brother Mohammed. The latter crushed the pretensions of the false Mustafa, who was also deceived by Mircea; he also punished the Roumanians in 1417 by subjugating their country, a process which even Jorga cannot avoid calling "complete." He may certainly be right in regarding the agreement for tribute concluded between Bajazet and Mircea as a falsification, like that between Mohammed II and Radu the Fair (p. 358); concerning the amount of tribute we have no certain information before 1532.

In 1413 Mircea appointed his son Mihail co-regent, and himself died on January 31, 1418; the two princes are represented together in a tolerably well-preserved fresco in the Byzantine style in the monastery of Cozia. Mihail also died in 1420, and was succeeded by his hostile brother Dan, the protégé of the Osmans, who disappears from the scene in 1430. The Boyar Aldea, known as Alexander, who was supported by Moldavia and Turkey, struggled to secure the throne for four years (1432–1436), and was then driven out by Vlad, the legitimate son of Mircea, who had been brought up at the court of the emperor Sigismund.

During the reign of the haughty Voivod Vlad II, known as Drakul (devil), a period of the greatest distress and poverty passed over the country. In 1432 he was driven out of his capital, Tîrgoviște, while Turkish troops devastated the districts of Burzen and of the Székler; in 1436 he even fell into the hands of the Osmans, but was eventually able to maintain his position in isolation. In the year 1438 he guided the army of Murad to Transylvania, and styled himself Duke of Fogaras and Amlas. After the battle of Szent-Endre (1442) the leader of the Hungarian army, John Hunyadi, a Roumanian of Transylvania, marched into Wallachia and forced the Turkish vassal, Vlad Drakul, to submit; in 1443 Vlad accompanied him to Servia. This position of affairs was not, however, of long duration. The statement that he captured Hunyadi on his flight from the disastrous battle of Varna (Warna; November 10, 1444) is proved by no evidence, according to Jorga. However, the power of Hungary was so weakened that Vlad concluded a fresh peace with the Porte in 1446. This induced the Hungarian general to invade Wallachia at the end of 1446, and to confer the dignity of Voivod on Vladislav, who styled himself Dan IV. Vlad Drakul was defeated at Pegovist, taken prisoner, and executed at Tîrgșor together with his son Mircea. For a long period the struggle for the dignity of prince continued between the

families of Dan and Drakul.[1] Partly as a consequence of Hungarian help and partly with Turkish help the Voivods succeeded one another rapidly. Dan IV supported Hunyadi in the middle of October, 1448, with eight thousand men, in the battle on the field of Amsel (p. 135), but his personal indifference to the result was punished by the confiscation of his fiefs situated beyond the Carpathians.

From 1455 or 1456 until 1462 Vlad IV reigned, the second son of Drakul; he is sufficiently characterised by his nickname Ţepeş (Tzepesh or Cepelus, the piercer or impaler; see his portrait on the plate facing page 359, on the upper left-hand side). Immediately after the death of John Hunyadi (1456) and of Ladislaus Posthumus (1457), Vlad made an unexpected invasion into Transylvania, reduced Kronstadt to ashes, and impaled all his prisoners. For the purpose of securing his rear, he concluded an alliance with the Porte in 1460 (p. 357), but in 1461 he surprised Bulgaria from pure lust of plunder and slaughter, and caused, some twenty thousand human beings to be impaled. To avenge this outrage the Turks marched against him in the spring of 1462 in conjunction with Stephan the Great of Moldavia, and drove him into Transylvania. The Alibeg of the Osman Emir, Mohammed II, placed the brother of Vlad, Radu(l) the Fair, on the throne in the autumn of 1462, on condition of paying a yearly tribute of twelve thousand ducats (see the small map in the upper right-hand corner of the double map facing page 166); he also recognised the supremacy of the Hungarian king Matthias, who kept the hypocritical Vlad and Peter Aaron V, the Voivod of Moldavia, who had also been expelled (p. 365), prisoners in Ofen. Radu was for the second time definitely driven out in the autumn of 1473 by his Moldavian neighbour, Stephan the Great; in the period of confusion which followed he soon lost his life. His successor, Laiot, known as Basarab the Elder, lost the favour of Stephan in 1474 on account of his undue partiality for the Turks; he, too, was driven out by Moldavian and Transylvanian troops (October 20, 1474). He again suffered this fate at the end of 1476. Vlad Ţepeş once again took his place upon the throne of the Voivods with the help of Hungary. However, his death soon followed, and a family war continued for two years between the Basarabs; the younger Basarab, known as Ţepelus (the little impaler), maintained himself with increasing power from 1477 to 1481. An unfrocked monk then became master of Hungarian Wallachia under the title of Vlad V (1481–1496; he was a submissive vassal of the

[1] Radu(l), Voivod of Wallachia about 1380, married the Greek Kallinikia

- Dan, Voivod in 1385, † 1393
- Mircea the Old, or the Great, Voivod of Wallachia, 1386, † January 31, 1418
  - Mihail, co-regent from 1413, † 1420
  - Dan, Voivod, 1420–1430
  - (Aldea-Alexander, † 1436)
  - Vlad II Drakul, 1432–1446, married daughter of Ilies of Moldavia (p. 365)
    - Vladislav-Dan (IV), Voivod, 1446–1455
    - Dan, pretender, † 1460
    - Laiot, or Basarab, senior, Voivod, 1473–1474 and end of 1474–1476
      - Basarab the younger, or Ţepelus, Voivod, autumn 1474 and 1477–1481, married Neaga, sister of the Boyars on the Olt and the Bans of Craiova
        - Danciul, pretender, 1508, † 1510
        - Basarab III Neagoe, Voivod, 1512 to September, 1521, married a Serb wife, niece of the metropolitan Maxim
          - Teodosie, 1521–1523
    - Mircea, † 1446
    - Vlad IV Ţepeş, Voivod, 1455–1462 and end of 1476
      - (Mihnea the Bad, pretender, 1508–1510)
    - Radu the Fair, Voivod, 1462–1473

Porte, showing none of the desire for freedom manifested by Stephan the Great. A convention of 1482 established the river Milkov as the frontier between the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. The son and successor of Vlad, Radu(l IV or V ; 1496–1508),[1] who, in many respects, is rightly styled the "Great," attempted to relieve the general distress by reforms in the administrative and ecclesiastical systems, especially directed against the encroachments of Nifon, the patriarch of Constantinople. Although he did personal homage in Constantinople in 1504, the Turks deprived him of the Danube customs' receipts in 1507. Michael (Mihnea), who was supposed to be the son of Vlad Ţepeş, reigned for two years (1508 to 1510), until he was forced to abdicate by party struggles. The leader of the opposition party, Vlăduţ or Vladiče (Little Vlad, 1510–1512), recognised the supremacy of Hungary, was defeated by the dissatisfied Boyars who were in alliance with Mohammed of Nicopolis, and beheaded on January 25, 1512. Basarab III Neagoe (1512–1521), who was descended on his mother's side from a Boyar family of Olten, now occupied the throne of the Voivods; he was a peace-loving ruler, and gave his generous support to churches and monasteries; he dedicated in 1517 the beautiful church of Curtea-de Argeş, which was restored in 1886 under King Carol (Vol. VIII). His successors (Radu de la Afumaţi Mircea Ciobanul, and others; see the genealogical tree below) were from 1525 or 1530 mere tools in the hands of the Turks, were generally at war with one another, and usually fell by the hand of an assassin. Even Jorgas, with his love of minute detail, shrinks from the task of reducing this confusion to any certain chronological or genealogical order. The consciousness of national existence seemed to have wholly disappeared from the people; the nobles spoke Slavonic and also Greek, and attempted to enrich themselves in conjunction with the Turkish grandees.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the throne of the Voivods was secured by Michael II the Bold (Mihaï Viteazul, 1593–1601); he was a brilliant soldier and a dexterous politician.[2] Between 1599 and 1601 he also occupied

[1] Vlad V, the monk, 1481–1496
Radu V, the Great, Voivod, 1496–1508

Radu of Asumaţi, Voivod, 1525 to January, 1529

Peter, monastic name Paisie; title as Voivod, Radu Călugărul, 1535 to March, 1545

Marco

Mircea Ciobanul, Voivod, 1545–1552, 1553/54, and 1558/59, married, 1546, Chiajna of Moldavia (p. 365)

Petrascŭ, 1554–1557, married a Greek, Theodora

Maria, asked, in marriage, 1560, by Jakobos Basilikos († 1563; p. 368); married, 1566, Michael Kantakuzenos, otherwise Shaitanoglu († 1578)

Peter the Lame, Voivod, 1559–1568, † 1591, married (1) Cherepovich, a Hungarian of Transylvania; (2) Maria Amirali of Rhodos

Alexander Mircea, married Ekaterina Salvaresso

Mihnea, about 1580, married a boyarin of Wallachia

Miloš, hostage in Constantinople

Peter Cercel

Marco Cercel, married a Greek of Constantinople

Michael the Bold, Voivod, 1593–1601, married Stanca

Daughter, married Bartolommeo Minetti

Radu Mihnea, Voivod of Wallachia, 1609, and of Moldavia from 1616; married a Greek, Argyra

Daughter, married Miron Barnovski (executed at Constantinople in 1633)

Daughter, married Moise Movilă

Alexander Cocunul, married, 1625, Roxandra Skarlati of Constantinople

(Mihnea III, Voivod, 1658/59)

[2] See his portrait on the plate facing this page, "The Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia," in the upper right-hand corner.

Transylvania and Moldavia. He was a son of the Voivod Petrascŭ (1554–1557), and in his youth had carried on an extensive commercial business. Through his wife Stanca he was related to the most powerful families, in which he found strong support against the preceding Voivod Alexander Mircea; after an unsuccessful attempt at revolt he eventually secured the throne in September, 1593, chiefly with the help of Andronikos Kantakuzenos. On November 5, 1594, Michael concluded an alliance with Sigismund Báthori and Aaron of Moldavia, and shortly afterwards, on November 13, massacred the Osmans in Jassy and Bucharest. He then defeated several Turkish and Tartar armies (Sinan Pasha) in a brilliant winter campaign, and inflicted considerable loss upon Sinan himself at Kalugărenĭ on August 23, 1595. The glorious deeds of this brave Wallachian resounded throughout Christian Europe during his lifetime. On May 20, 1595, before the invasion of Sinon, he had been deceived into taking the oath of homage to Sigismund Báthori; enlightened upon this point and freed from the Turks, he formed an alliance with the emperor Rudolf II on June 9, 1598, against the prince of Transylvania, who abdicated in the spring of 1599. However, when Cardinal Andreas ascended the throne the Transylvanian Michael, vigorously supported by the adventure-loving Cossacks of the Dnieper, invaded the country on October 17, 1599, secured the help of the Széklers, besieged Hermannstadt, and won a victory on October 28 on the heights of Schellenberg. Andreas Báthori was murdered while fleeing to the country of the Széklers. Michael advanced in triumph to Weissenburg (Karlsburg), and was appointed imperial governor on November 20; on May 7, 1600, he crossed the frontiers of Moldavia. The Voivod Jeremias Mogila fled to Poland. The bold ruler seemed to have conceived the idea of securing the throne of that country for himself; even at the present day he is known by the Wallachians as King Michael (also Alexander) the Great. He made preparations for an invasion of Poland, but he was forced to return to Weissenburg in order to negotiate with Pezzen, the ambassador of the Hungarian king, about Transylvania; on July 1 he caused himself to be proclaimed prince of Wallachia and Moldavia and also of Transylvania in the name of Hapsburg.

Dangers, however, threatened him from another side. The Poles and the Turks were menacing his frontiers and Sigismund Báthori was meditating an invasion of Moldavia. Transylvania itself was so entirely impoverished in consequence of Michael's continual military enterprises, that the nobles broke into open revolt against him and refused to perform military service. After a disastrous battle at Miriszló (Mirislau; September 18, 1600) Michael fled, and was again defeated in his own country by the Pole Jan Zamojski, between Buzău and Plojești; he could not even make head against Simeon Movilă, who defeated him at Argeș. Meanwhile the Transylvanian nobles chose the characterless Sigismund Báthori as their ruler for the third time, on February 3, 1601. The Voivod Michael had betaken himself to Prague (December 25, 1600), and had there presented to the court a memorial in his own justification; he obtained eighty thousand florins, and with his troops joined the army of the Austrian general Georg Basta, who had been already sent to occupy Transylvania in 1589, now fought a successful battle against Andreas Báthori, and then turned upon Sigismund. On August 6, 1601, the prince of Transylvania was defeated in the battle of Nagy-Goroszló (Goroslau on the Samos); he fled to Moldavia, where he received a letter in which Michael undertook to help him to the throne if

he would hand over his wife and children, who had been left as hostages in Transylvania after his fall. This piece of treachery was reported to Basta, who had the Voivod Michael murdered on August 19, 1601, in T[h]orda, probably in fulfilment of instructions previously received.

After Michael the Brave, the position of Voivod was occupied by wholly unimportant personalities. The only important ruler was Matthias (Mateĭ or Mateiŭ) Basarab (1632 to April, 1654; see his portrait on the plate facing page 363, in the left-hand bottom corner); he defeated the Osman claimant Radu, the son of the Moldavian Voivod Alexander Iliaș, at Bucharest. He carefully protected his boundaries against the encroachments of the Danube Turks, and took particular trouble to secure the general increase and advancement of national prosperity, while suppressing Greek influence, which had become predominant. In 1652 he founded the first printing-press, organised schools and monasteries, secured the composition of a legal code, the "pravilă" (1652), on the model of Slav (1640) and Greek compilations of the kind; he translated ecclesiastical books into Wallachian. No doubt his efforts in these directions were stimulated by the examples of the Transylvanian prince Gabriel Bethlen of Iktár (1630–1639) and Georg I Rákóczy (1631–1648), who set up Wallachian printing-presses in 1640, and published many ecclesiastical books in the Wallachian language (catechisms, a commentary of the Gospels, the New Testament, and the Psalter); his object was to spread the Reformation among the Wallachians; for since the catechisms of Hermannstadt in 1544 and the Old Testament of 1582, this movement had found adherents among the Roumanians of Southeast Hungary. As a matter of fact, his efforts led to no more permanent result than those of John Honterus, the reformer of the Saxons of Transylvania. Neither the doctrine of Luther nor that of Calvin gained any lasting hold on the hearts of the Wallachians, but these publications gave a considerable impulse to the Roumanian written language and to intellectual life in general. The proceedings of Matthias Basarab were successfully imitated by his contemporaries and opponents, and by the Voivod of Moldavia, Basile Lupu (p. 362) and one of his successors, Șerban II Kantakuzen (1679 to November 8, 1688). The Moldavian Logosăt Eustratios had already translated the Byzantine legal code into Moldavian in 1643; in 1688 the Bible in Roumanian was printed by two laymen, the brothers Greceanu. Side by side with these ecclesiastical works, which consisted chiefly of translations from Greek and Slav, chronicles arose by degrees, such as those of Michael Moxa[lie] of Miron and Nicolae Costin, of Grigore Ureche the "Romanist," and those of Danović, Neculcea, and Axente. Under the influence of ecclesiastical literature religious lyric poetry also flourished; the chief representatives of this were the metropolitan Dositeiu (Dositheos of Jerusalem), Michael Halitius, the high Logosăt Miron Costin (who was executed by Kantemir the Old), and Theodore Corbea. However, the chief glory of Roumanian scholarship in that period is Dimitrie Kantemir (1673–1723), a philosopher and poet, a geographer and historian, and an intermediary between Eastern and Western science and literature.

(*b*) *The Close of the Period of Independence* (*1654–1716*). *The Rule of the Phanariots* (*1716–1822*), *and the Last Decades before the Union* (*1822–1859*). — Hard times soon put an end to these promising impulses, which spread even more vigorously to Moldavia in 1680. Under the rich Voivod Constantine Brankovan

(Brîncoveanu, 1688–1714), who was in other respects a good ruler, disasters burst upon the country, which was transformed into a military road during the wars of Austria, Poland, and Russia with the Turks. Brankovan entered upon an alliance in 1698 and 1711 with the Czar Peter the Great; this somewhat loose connection was begun upon the advice of Jenăchiță Vacarescus. Shortly before Easter, 1714, Brankovan was imprisoned in Bucharest, and executed in Constantinople with his four sons and his adviser. The same fate befell his successor, Stephan III Kantakuzen (1714 to June, 1716).

This event extinguished the last glimmer of Wallachian independence; the freely elected Voivod ceased to exist, and Voivods appointed by the Porte ruled henceforward, who brought Wallachia to the point of collapse as they had brought Moldavia, and initiated a period of total decline from an economic point of view; the tribute at that date amounted to more than one hundred and forty thousand dollars a year. The first of these foreigners, who were generally rich Greeks, was Nikolaus Maurokordato, who had previously been prince of Moldavia on two occasions (1716–1730; cf. below, p. 370). The accession of this first Greek prince, who himself came from the Island of Chios and not from Phanar, forms an important epoch in the literature of Daco-Roumania, the first age of which, beginning about 1550, here comes to an end.

In the course of the eighteenth century (after the rule of Austria, which had again lost in 1739 the Oltland or "Wallachia Minor," which it had won in 1718) Russia began to interfere in the domestic affairs of the country, a process which culminated in the occupation of Wallachia by the Russians during the Russo-Turkish war of 1770. By the peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji (Kučuk-Kajnardsi, 1774; p. 169) Wallachia again fell under Turkish supremacy; but Russian influence kept the upper hand. In 1781 the Porte agreed to set up a Hospodar government under the supervision of the Russian general Consul. During the Turkish war (1788) the land was constantly overrun by Austrian troops, who also held the capital of Bucharest from 1789 to 1791. In 1805–1806 Russia occupied the country, which she did not evacuate until the peace of Bucharest (1812), in which Bessarabia was assigned to her. The Greek struggle for independence, which began shortly afterwards, inspired the Roumanians to war against the foreign domination. The revolt, however, was soon suppressed; Ypsilantis fled to Hungary, where he was imprisoned in the fortress of Munkács.

The Sultan again felt himself obliged to appoint natives of the country to the position of Voivod, and immediately after the suppression of the revolt (1822) he conferred this much-desired dignity upon Gregor Ghika. Gregor was honestly desirous of ameliorating the unfavourable situation and increasing the prosperity of the country. But in 1828 war again broke out between Russia and Turkey. By the peace of Adrianople (1829), which confirmed the conventions of "explanation" and "fulfilment" of Akkerman (1826), the supremacy of the Sultan over Wallachia was again recognised. However, by the intervention of General Paul von Kisselev the country received a kind of constitution (*Réglément organique* of 1832) and greater liberty of public administration; but permanent progress was hindered by Russian influence. On the other side it cannot but be observed that at that time (1830) in the literary world of Daco-Roumania the breach with Greek influence, which had been predominant since about 1710, now became complete. Henceforward Western influence became ever more powerful, as is shown by the

fact that the Slav alphabet, which had been retained even through the Greek age, was gradually replaced by the Latin. With this change the third phase of Roumanian literary history begins.

After the retirement of the Russians (1834), Gregor, and afterwards Alexander Ghika, were overthrown by party strife, and Georg Bibesco was elected Voivod by Russian influence in 1842. Bibesco fled to Kronstadt on the night of the 25th of June, and a provisory government undertook the conduct of affairs ([H]eliade, the two Golesku, etc.). The revolt was suppressed by Turkish troops in September. By the convention of Balta-Liman (May 1, 1849) the old state of affairs was restored, and the position of Voivod was occupied for seven years on the 16th of June by Dimitri Barbu Stirbei, with the rank of a Mushir. Then followed the Crimean War in 1853, and Wallachia was occupied from 1854 to 1857, first by the Russian and then by the Austrian troops. The peace of Paris (1856) with its supplementary clauses finally determined the position of the country, which, together with Moldavia, was placed under Turkish supremacy and under the protectorate of all the great powers. Instead of a prince, Alexander Ghika, the Hospodar, deposed in 1842, was made Kaimakam or governor; his efforts were directed to uniting Moldavia and Wallachia into one body politic. On the 17th of February, 1859, the legislative National Assembly conferred the same position in Wallachia on Colonel Alexander Cuza (Cusa), who had already been chosen prince in Moldavia on January 29. Thus that personal union was brought about which became of practical effect in 1862, when Moldavia and Wallachia were united into one kingdom under the name of Roumania.

C. Moldavia

Bounded on the west by the Carpathians, on the north and east by the Pruth and Russia, on the southeast by the Danube and the Dobrudža, and on the south by the Sereth, the mountainous country of Moldavia is especially suited for agriculture and cattle-rearing. The name "țara Moldoveĭ" means land on the Moldova. The Roumanians and their Slavonic teachers seem to have fled to the rivers on the occupation of the country. The name appears in historical times towards the middle of the fourteenth century. As early as 1335 the Voivod Bogdan, the son of Micul, had caused the despatch of an Hungarian primate to the country, on account of his disobedience to King Charles Robert I. In 1342, when the Angevin ruler was dead and his son Louis had succeeded to the throne at the age of sixteen, Bogdan again revolted. Although the youthful king declined to acknowledge his position as Voivod, the rebel was supported by the Lithuanians of the Halitshland (see the small map, "Poland, Lithuania, and Western Russia," on the double map illustrating Polish history, etc., below) and by the Roumanian mountaineers, and was able to maintain his position in the Marmaros; in 1352 his submission caused but little change in his position. At that time this southeast corner of Europe was in a constant state of disturbance; and on the first occasion of peace Bogdan followed the example of Basarab and shook off the Hungarian yoke in 1360, to which success he was aided by the "benevolent neutrality" of Poland. About 1365 Bogdan was the undisturbed master of the "terra Moldavana."

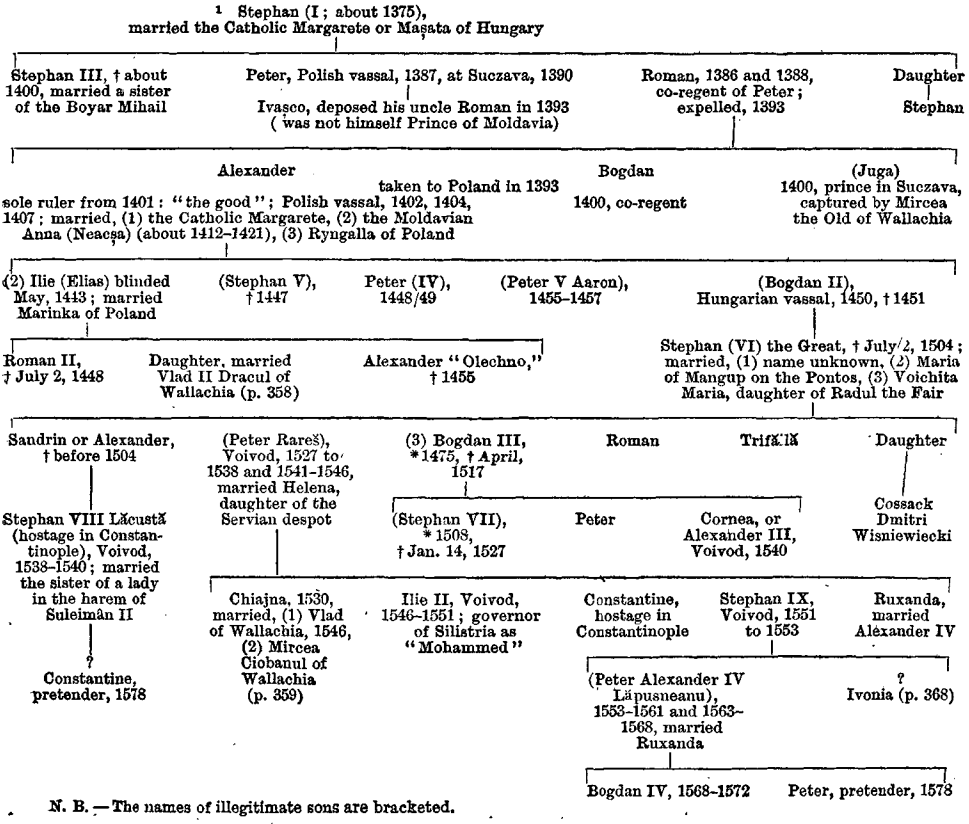
After his death his eldest son Lațco (Latzko, Lezko) ruled the country, practi-

cally in the position of a Polish vassal; in 1370 he permitted the erection of a Catholic bishopric at Sereth. After this a series of events followed which are partly shrouded in obscurity, but none the less point to a Lithuanian Ruthenian foundation for the young state. As late as the fifteenth century the language of Little Russia predominated as a means of communication. However, Moldavia definitely shut the door in the face of Slav influence at a comparatively early period, an attitude adopted at the present time by Roumania. Partly explained by the influence of geographical position, this fact is also due to a number of occurrences, which at that time gave Moldavia a separate position apart from the three Balkan states similar to that occupied by the modern kingdom of Roumania. There is no doubt that a considerable number of Lithuanians and Ruthenians removed to the Sereth from the district of Marmaros, together with the conqueror Bogdan. Even in the official documents of Stephan the Great, in the second half of the fifteenth century, a large number of Ruthenian names are to be observed; there, as they advanced eastward, they met with a number of settlers from Little Russia, upon whom the Wallachians looked askance as strangers. After the death of Latco in 1374 the Lithuanian Knez or supreme judge Jurii Koryatovicz (Georg Koriatović) was brought into the principality of Baia (the Greeks at that time knew Moldavia as Maurovlachia, Rhossovlachia, or Moldoblachia; cf. p. 353); he however, soon disappeared, and was probably poisoned. Equally short was the reign of a certain usurper known as Stephan I. His son Peter (probably 1379–1388) took the oath of fidelity to the Polish king Vladislav II Jag(i)ellon in Lemberg in 1387; he conquered Suczava, which he made his capital. His youngest brother Roman, who immediately succeeded him (he had been co-regent from 1386 at latest), was carried off to Poland in 1393 by the orders of Vladislav, and replaced by his elder brother Stephan III. He was made a tributary vassal by the Hungarian king Siegmund at the end of 1394, but on January 6, 1395, he again solemnly recognised the Polish supremacy. In the year 1400 Juga, the illegitimate son of Roman, enjoyed a short period as governor at Suczava.

(*a*) *The Period of Prosperity (1401–1504).* — At the beginning of the fifteenth century the first important Voivod of Moldavia began his government; this was Alexander, the other son of Roman (cf. genealogical table on page 365) who was known as the "good" even during his lifetime. During his long reign (1401–1432) he reorganised the defences, the administration, and the military system, compiled a legal code from the "Basilika" of Leo VI (p. 83), and improved the intellectual state of the people by founding schools and monasteries. Upon three occasions he took the oath of fidelity to the King of Poland in 1402, 1404, and 1407, on the last occasion as the first "lord" of the Moldavian territory. He married, as his third wife, Ryngalla, the "sister" of King Vladislav, after sending auxiliary troops to Marienburg to the help of the Poles against the German Orders. During his reign numerous settlers from Lesser Armenia migrated into the country, most of whom afterwards removed to Transylvania; at this period, also, the first gipsies appeared in the country (on this point cf. below, Section 5).

Under his sons Elias (Ilie, Iliaş) and Stephan V the supremacy of Poland was again recognised in 1433. The two step-brothers began a severe struggle for the supremacy, which ended in 1435 with the following division: Stephan obtained Vasluiŭ, Bîrlad, Tecucĭ, Oltenĭ, Covurluiŭ, and Chilia in the south, while Elisa

secured the north of Moldavia with Suczava. In 1442 Stephan concluded an alliance with the Hungarian general John Hunyadi to oppose the Turkish danger, and in the following May, 1443, he caused his step-brother to be blinded. However, Roman II, a son of Ilie,[1] who had been thus mishandled, put an end to his uncle's life (in the middle of July, 1447) and secured the position of Voivod for himself. But in the next year, 1448, Peter IV, a son of Alexander the Good, who had fled to Hungary to John Hunyadi, and had married his elderly sister, returned to the native land with an Hungarian army and drove out Roman, who fled to Podolia to ask help from the Polish king. Roman died of poison on July 2, 1448. Peter now took the oath of fidelity to King Kasimir IV, and continued to rule under Hungarian and Polish supremacy until the year 1449. Thereupon Bogdan II, an illegitimate son of Alexander the Good, revolted on February 11, and on July 5, 1450, concluded two important treaties with Hunyadi, but was murdered in 1451 by the Voivod Peter V (formerly Aaron, an illegitimate son of Alexander the Good). Peter was then forced to divide the government of Moldavia with Alexander "Olechno," a son of Ilie, who had been originally supported by Poland and afterwards by Hungary; but in 1455 Alexander was poisoned by his own Boyars. Peter now ruled alone until 1457, and was only able to maintain his power by a miserable and cowardly subjection to Poland and the Osmans.


[1] Stephan (I; about 1375), married the Catholic Margarete or Maşata of Hungary
Stephan III, † about 1400, married a sister of the Boyar Mihail
Peter, Polish vassal, 1387, at Suczava, 1390
Ivaşco, deposed his uncle Roman in 1393 (was not himself Prince of Moldavia)
Roman, 1386 and 1388, co-regent of Peter; expelled, 1393
Daughter
Stephan
Alexander
sole ruler from 1401: "the good"; Polish vassal, 1402, 1404, 1407; married, (1) the Catholic Margarete, (2) the Moldavian Anna (Neaçsa) (about 1412–1421), (3) Ryngalla of Poland
taken to Poland in 1393
Bogdan
1400, co-regent
(Juga)
1400, prince in Suczava, captured by Mircea the Old of Wallachia
(2) Ilie (Elias) blinded May, 1443; married Marinka of Poland
(Stephan V), † 1447
Peter (IV), 1448/49
(Peter V Aaron), 1455–1457
(Bogdan II), Hungarian vassal, 1450, † 1451
Roman II, † July 2, 1448
Daughter, married Vlad II Dracul of Wallachia (p. 358)
Alexander "Olechno," † 1455
Stephan (VI) the Great, † July 2, 1504; married, (1) name unknown, (2) Maria of Mangup on the Pontos, (3) Voichita Maria, daughter of Radul the Fair
Sandrin or Alexander, † before 1504
(Peter Rareš), Voivod, 1527 to 1538 and 1541–1546, married Helena, daughter of the Servian despot
(3) Bogdan III, *1475, † April, 1517
Roman
Trifăilă
Daughter
Stephan VIII Lăcustă (hostage in Constantinople), Voivod, 1538–1540; married the sister of a lady in the harem of Suleiman II
(Stephan VII), *1508, † Jan. 14, 1527
Peter
Cornea, or Alexander III, Voivod, 1540
Cossack Dmitri Wisniewiecki
?
Constantine, pretender, 1578
Chiajna, 1530, married, (1) Vlad of Wallachia, 1546, (2) Mircea Ciobanul of Wallachia (p. 359)
Ilie II, Voivod, 1546–1551; governor of Silistria as "Mohammed"
Constantine, hostage in Constantinople
Stephan IX, Voivod, 1551 to 1553
Ruxanda, married Alexander IV
(Peter Alexander IV Lăpusneanu), 1553–1561 and 1563–1568, married Ruxanda
?
Ivonia (p. 368)
Bogdan IV, 1568–1572
Peter, pretender, 1578

N. B. — The names of illegitimate sons are bracketed.

From 1455 the Porte was able to consider the Voivod of Moldavia, with his tribute of two thousand Hungarian florins, as one of its permanent vassals.

After this almost uninterrupted period of party struggles for the dignity of Voivod, a period of unspeakable misery for the country, an age of rest and prosperity at last dawned for Moldavia in the second half of the fifteenth century; henceforward Moldavia, which had hitherto been placed in the background under the title of Wallachia Minor or Bogdania (cf. p. 356, above), became of more importance than the older "Roumanian" district, which had been brought low by the two Vlads, the Demon and the Impaler. The Voivod Stephan VI (1457 to July 2, 1504), a son of Bogdan II, was rightly surnamed the "great" by his people. The miniature painting in the book of Gospels of Voronetz, which remains comparatively undamaged, has preserved a not unpleasing portrait of this ruler. A brilliant general and politician, he not only extended his realm, but also removed it from the political influence of his two neighbouring states. He advanced the established church, which was dependent on the orthodox patriarch at Achrida, and the good order of which was in strong contrast to the confusion prevailing in Wallachia, and founded a third bishopric (about 1470, at Radautz or Rădăuți, where he also restored the old monastery church in 1479 and 1480); he also built a great monastery at Putna in Bukovina (1466–1469). He incorporated a Bessarabian frontier district of Wallachia with his own country, recovered Chilia (Kilia) in January, 1465, and in December, 1467, successfully repelled an attack of the Hungarian king Matthias, who was wounded by an arrow at Moldovabánya (Baja) in the course of this campaign. Harassed by Tartar invasions, Stephan nevertheless found leisure to invade Transylvania during the Bohemian expedition of King Matthias (1469) and to expel Radu, the Voivod of Wallachia, in 1471–1473. The Hungarian king was occupied in the west until 1475 and overlooked this aggression, more particularly as Stephan, in alliance with the Transylvanian Széklers of Udvarhély and Esik, had driven back a Turkish army of one hundred and twenty thousand men (which invaded Moldavia under Suleimân Pasha on January 10, 1475) at Racova (on the "high bridge" to the north of Vasluiŭ), and had by this means diverted the danger from Hungary. The exploit is characteristic of this glorious age in which Moldavia often formed a bulwark against the Osmans on the south and against the assaults of neighbours on the north.

The Sultan Mohammed II now undertook in person a punitive campaign against Moldavia, and won a victory on July 26, 1476, at Războieni in the "White Valley" (Valea-Albă). Stephan, however, with the help of Stephan Báthori, who was accompanied by the fugitive Vlad Țepeș, eventually drove out the hostile army and secured for Vlad the position of Voivod of Wallachia. However, after the death of Vlad (at the end of 1476) the new Voivod of Wallachia Basarab Țepeluș (the Little Impaler) made an alliance with the Turks; Stephan then defeated him in the battle of Rîmnicul-Sărat (July 8, 1481), and handed over the position of Voivod to a certain Mircea. With the object of securing their connection with the Tartars in the Volga districts, the Turkish armies of Bajazet II invaded Moldavia again in 1484, together with Tartar and Wallachian allies, and stormed Chilia and Cetatea-Albă (formerly Bêlograd or Moncastro, known as Akkerman since 1484) on the 14th of July and the 4th of August. Only by means of Polish help, which he was forced to purchase by paying a homage long refused, was Stephan able to save his country from overthrow by the enemies' bands in

1485. Turning to his own advantage the necessities of Poland, which became pressing immediately afterwards, Stephan occupied Pokutia in 1490, and even paid tribute to the Porte to secure his position, as formerly Peter Aaron had done. In 1497 the Polish king John Albert invaded Bukovina with the intention of incorporating the whole principality with his own empire, and besieged Suczava (the capital until 1550); by the intervention of the Voivod of Transylvania an armistice was secured, and the end of the affair was that the Polish cavalry were surprised in the forests and scattered at Cozmin on the day of St. Demeter. In 1498 Stephan appeared in person before Lemberg, and some one hundred thousand human beings were carried into captivity in Turkey. However, on the 12th or 18th of July, 1499, Stephan dissolved his connection with the Porte and concluded a convention with Poland and Hungary, wherein he tacitly recognised the supremacy of both states over Moldavia, and undertook to oppose the progress of the Turkish armies through his country and to keep the neighbouring states informed of any hostile movements on the part of the Turks. Stephan fulfilled his obligations in 1499, when he put an end to the devastations of Balibeg, a son of Malkoch (Malkajoglis). After the death of John Albert he dissolved his connection with Poland and stirred up the Tartars against the new king Alexander; while they devastated Podolia he occupied the Ruthenian Pokutia, and sent his Boyars and tax-gatherers to Sniatyn, Kolomea, and Halicz (Halich) in 1502. This was the last success of this greatest of all Roumanians.

(*b*) *The Native Voivods under Osman Supremacy.* — Stephan's son and successor, Bogdan III, known as the "blind," the "one-eyed," or the "squint-eyed" (Orbul; 1504–1517), gave up his claim to Polish Pokutia in return for a promise of the hand of Elizabeth, a sister of Alexander; but he was cheated of this prize. The approach of the Turkish power induced him in 1504 to promise a yearly tribute to the Sultan, consisting of four thousand Turkish ducats, forty royal falcons, and forty Moldavian horses, in return for which, according to later reports, he was guaranteed the maintenance of Christianity; the Voivods were to be freely elected, and the country was to be self-governing in domestic affairs (see the smaller map in the upper right-hand corner of the double map facing page 166). This convention, which in recent times has formed the basis for the constitutional relationship of Moldavia with the Porte, was renewed by Peter Rareș "the Restless" (1527–1528, and for the second time from the end of February, 1541, to September, 1546) in the year 1529; according to a document of 1532 he sent annually one hundred and twenty thousand aspers or ten thousand gold ducats to Constantinople. At a later period this tribute was considerably increased. With Peter Rareș (after ten years' rule by Stephan VII, an illegitimate son of Bogdan III) began the rule of the illegitimate branch of the house of Dragoș (who was a natural son of Stephan the Great). The chief object of Peter after the disastrous defeat of Mohács (August 29, 1526), the significance of which was understood neither by Stephan VII nor by his uncle Peter, was to turn to his own advantage the disputes about the succession in Hungary, which had broken out between King Ferdinand and John Zápolya; on several occasions he invaded Transylvania, inflicting appalling devastation on the country, which, in 1529, declined to accept his rule. An attempt to recover Pokutia from Poland was brought to an end by the defeat of Peter at Obertyn on August 22, 1531. His faithlessness brought about the fall of Aloisio Gritti, who had been sent by the Sultan to Transylvania in 1533.

After the expulsion of Peter (1538) the Voivods of Moldavia became ready tools in the hands of the Porte; provided they paid the Sultan a yearly tribute, they were allowed to govern their own territory precisely as they pleased. The people groaned under the burden of heavy taxation and extortion of every kind and attempted to secure relief by joining the party struggles set on foot by individual wealthy families, hoping also to secure some momentary relief by the murder of their masters. Thus the Voivod Stephan VIII "the Turk," or "Lăcustă" (so named after a plague of locusts in the year 1538; 1538–1540), was murdered after a reign of two years. His successor Alexander III, a scion of the legitimate Dragoș family from Poland, met with the same fate in the same year. The Voivod Elias (II, Ilie; 1546–1551), a son of Peter Rareș, was ordered by the Sultan to invade Transylvania in 1550, but transferred this commission to his brother Stephan, abdicated in May, 1551, and soon afterwards died as the renegade "Mohammed," governor of Silistria. His place was occupied by his brother Stephan IX, the last direct descendant of the illegitimate branch of the Dragoșids, until he was murdered by the Boyars in 1553. His opponent and successor, Peter the Stolnic, known as Alexander IV Lapusan (1553–1561), speedily made himself highly unpopular with the Boyars by his infliction of torture and death, from the stain of which he tried to cleanse his conscience by founding a monastery at Slatina. In 1561 the Greek sailor Jakobos Basilikos seized the position of Voivod, under the title of John I (Joan Voevod), founded a Latin school at Cotnarĭ (East Moldavia), and a bishopric, which was naturally but short-lived. After playing the part of a tyrant for two years he was murdered in the course of a popular rising (November 5, 1563). During and following upon the short rule of one Stephan X Tomșa (beheaded in Poland in 1564), Alexander IV, who had fled to Constantinople, resumed the government (1563–1568), until he gradually went blind. His son Bogdan (IV; 1568–1572) was wounded by an angry nobleman while visiting his betrothed in Poland. The Sultan then appointed, as Voivod of Moldavia, Ivonia (John II), a Pole of Masovia, who had accepted the Mohammedan faith in Constantinople, where he was believed to be a descendant of Stephan IX, who had been killed in 1553. In order to secure his independence, Ivonia allied himself with the Cossacks (hence his name Joan the "rebel"), but was surrounded in Roșcanĭ and executed (June 11, 1574). The Cossacks, who were forced to organise under Stephan Báthori in 1576, were at that period a bold robber-tribe, feared both by the Tartar and the Osman; they devastated the districts on the far side of the Dniester from their islands in that river, and after 1595 sought to find opportunity for their wild military exploits under Michael the Bold, even in Wallachia itself. At the same time, like the ancient Vikings, they put a stop to all trade on the Black Sea for forty years.

Peter VII the "Lame," the son of Mircea of Wallachia, who was appointed Voivod by the Sultan (1574–1577), held from the first a precarious position, and was overthrown after surviving an attack from the Cossack protégé, Joan the "Curly" (Ereţul); his conqueror, the Cossack, John or Peter Potkova (Joan Potcoavă, "a breaker of horseshoes," in this respect a predecessor of Augustus the "Strong"), reigned for a few days, and was then executed in Lemberg by the order of the Polish king Stephan Báthori (1575–1586). The Sultan then again conferred the position of Voivod on Peter VII (1577), whom he expelled in the following year, until he restored him afterwards for the third time (1584–1592). Moldavia

was at that time a plaything in the hands of the Osmans, who expelled and appointed Voivods as they pleased, while their deputies and their troops devastated the country in all directions. Before Peter became Voivod for the third time the country had been governed, for a short period in 1578, by Alexander, a brother of Potcoavă, and, after a constant succession of real and pretended claimants, by a certain Jankul (Jankola, Joan Lungul) the "Saxon" (Sasul) of Transylvania, who had used the wealth of his wife, a Palaiologa of Cyprus, to induce the authorities of Constantinople to depose Peter and to confer the position of Voivod of Moldavia upon himself (1579). He became involved in a quarrel with Stephan Báthori, through his encroachments upon the Polish frontier, and was taken prisoner and beheaded in 1582. One of his successors, Aaron, who had formerly been a coachman and then a Boyar (territorial lord), was driven out by the Cossacks, after a reign of one year (1591), and fled to Constantinople. The Cossacks restored Peter in 1592; but he was captured by the Transylvanian troops of Sigismund Báthori and handed over to the Sultan, who executed him. Aaron was now placed for the second time in the position of Voivod (1592–1595), and pursued a foreign policy of unblushing duplicity; on November 5, 1594, he made an alliance at Bucharest with Sigismund Báthori and with Michael of Wallachia against the Turks; however, he deserted the Wallachians, was taken as a prisoner to Alvincz by the Transylvanian troops, and died there in 1597. His successor Stephan XI Resvan (Răzvan or Rezwan) supported Sigismund Báthori in his enterprises against the Turks, but was impaled at the end of 1595 by the Polish chancellor Jan Zamoiski (p. 360), who had invaded Moldavia. In August the position of Voivod was taken over by Jeremias Mogila (Movilă; 1595–1608), a feeble character, who allowed the country to fall entirely under Polish supremacy. At that time Southern Moldavia had been driven to find room for fifteen thousand Tartar settlers; the tribute which the Khan of the Crim Tartars, who from 1475 had harassed the Russians, Poles, and Roumanians, then subject to the Osmans (Vol. II, p. 182), had been receiving from Moldavia since 1566, "according to ancient custom," as the price for his consideration of their frontiers, was now dropped. However, this remarkable branch of the conquering Nogais (under the "Mirzak" Kantemir) lost their independence in 1637, though their marauding raids were still continued.

It was not until the seventeenth century that a better period began to dawn; after a conspiracy of the Boyars against Alexander VII Ilia,[1] who favoured the Greeks, and after various other confusions the Greek Albanian Basilius (Vasile) Lupu came to the throne (1634–1653; see his portrait at the bottom right-hand side of the plate facing page 359); he founded schools and benevolent institutions, and did his best to improve the condition of the country. He was a cunning politician, and began intrigues at the court of Constantinople against Georg Rákóczy, the ruler of Transylvania. He, however, in co-operation with the Sultan, sent an army into Moldavia under his general John Kemény (1653), and drove the Voivod out of the country. Vasile Lupu fled to the Cossacks; his son-in-law was the son of the Hetman Timuš Bogdanović Chmielnicki; with Cossack help he speedily returned to Moldavia, but after several victorious engagements was taken prisoner;

[1] Alexander Ilias, brought up in Turkey, first Voivod of Moldavia, then of Wallachia, married the daughter of the Turkish Ban Ianaki Katerdji, a Greek, who is regarded as the ancestor of the Roumanian family of Catargi (Catargiu; cf. below, p. 372). A certain Maria Catargi was the mother of King Milan of Servia; cf. the genealogical tree facing p. 308.

and the Khan of Tartary, although related to him by marriage, sent him to Constantinople. On January 8, 1654, the Cossacks surrendered to the Russians. Moldavia, however, came under Transylvanian supremacy. The Voivod Stephan XIII Gheorghe (Gergice or Burdüsa; 1653–1658), after secret negotiations with the Russian Czar (1654–1656), joined the Wallachian Constantine Basarab in placing himself under the protectorate of Georg Rákóczy II. As he joined this ruler in an attempt to secure the crown of Poland (1675), the Sultan declared him deposed, and he was forced to leave the country.

(*c*) *Greeks and Albanians as Voivods (1658–1712), the Rule of the Phanariots (1712–1822), and the Last Period of Semi-Independence (1822–1859).* — The following years were a period of unspeakable misery and sorrow; the last two native rulers, Stephan XIV and XV, maintained their position with interruptions until 1680 or 1690, but between 1658 and 1712 the Turkish court, at its will and pleasure, appointed rulers from the Albanian or Greek families of Ghika, Dabija, Duka, Kantakuzen (Canta- or Contacuzino), Rosetti (Ruset), and Kantemir (Cantemir). No one of these ruled for more than a short period, although Greek influence had spread widely among the Roumanian families at the close of the sixteenth century.

A new period in the history of Moldavia (1712–1822) begins with the appointment of the Phanariots (p. 139) to the position of Voivod; they were merchants from Constantinople, and each one of them, intent solely upon his own enrichment, did his best to reduce the country to ruin by every kind of extortion.[1] The position of Voivod was literally put up to auction by the Sultan. The first governor was Nikolaus Maurokordato (1712–1716), who governed Moldavia tolerably well until he secured Wallachia (cf. *loc. cit.*). Under his successor, Michael Rakovicza (Mihaĭ Ricoviță; 1716–1726), who had already held the post for a time between the rule of Antioh Kantemir and the first governorship of Maurokordato, the Austro-Turkish war broke out. In 1716 Hungarian hussars invaded Moldavia and carried the sister of the Voivod into captivity in Transylvania; Rakovicza revenged himself by stirring up the Tartars to invade Transylvania.

Under the unimportant Voivod Gregor II (Kallimak[ch]i (1766–1769), a further change took place in the political situation. The Russo-Turkish war broke out, and, by reason of the support he lent to Russia, the Voivod was taken prisoner and beheaded in Constantinople. The Russians occupied the country between 1769 and 1774, and then conferred the dignity of Voivod upon Gregor III Ghika, who was murdered by the Janissaries at Jassy in 1777.

After the death of Ghika, the partition of Moldavia began. Austria had occupied the territory of the Olt between 1713 and 1739 (p. 362), and now seized Bukovina on the ground of a treaty concluded with the Sultan in 1774; in 1777 the province was definitely incorporated with the Austrian state. In 1812 Bessarabia was added to the Russian Empire, and the Voivod Alexander Ypsilantis supported the Greek struggle for liberation; the Porte thereupon determined to appoint only native rulers (p. 176). Johann Sturdza was consequently made Voivod on July 19, 1822, but was prevented by Russian influence from realising his object of improving the prosperity of the country by beneficent reforms.[2]

[1] Upon the importance to literary history of the Greek occupation of this throne, cf. the section "Wallachia," p. 361.

[2] With respect to the conclusion of the Greek period in literature, and the rise of a Daco Roumanian "modern" period, cf. above, p. 362.

In the year 1828 events took a turn for the worse. Russia again became involved in a war with Turkey. In the peace of Adrianople, September 24, 1829, the supremacy of the Porte over Moldavia was indeed confirmed, but Russian influence had grown considerably stronger, and in accordance with it a new constitution was "administered" by General Kisselev (p. 362) until 1833. The Voivod Michael Sturdza, who was appointed in 1834, reduced the already impoverished country to the utmost misery by his extortions and by those of his Russian favourites. In April, 1848, the oppressed people at last revolted, but the movement was suppressed by the Russian troops, and the old state of affairs was reaffirmed in the convention of Balta-Liman (May 1, 1849; p. 185). On the 16th of June the Porte appointed Gregor Ghika, a prince of Moldavia, to the rank of a Mushir for the space of seven years. Inspired by lofty intentions, Ghika did his best to relieve the universal suffering and improve the unfavourable conditions, but the Russian occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1854 prevented the success of these schemes. During the Crimean war in 1854 Austrian troops occupied Moldavia to oppose the advance of the Russian armies to the Balkan districts. The peace of Paris, August 30, 1856, reaffirmed the supremacy of the Porte over Moldavia. The "Kaimakam" or governor was Theodor Balsch; on his premature death (March 1, 1857) he was succeeded by Prince Nik. Vogorides. Henceforward Moldavia and Wallachia struggled to unite themselves in one kingdom.

D. Roumania

The name of Roumania did not come into official use until 1859, when Alexander Cuza was appointed Prince of Wallachia and Moldavia, against the will of the powers.[1] The great powers had concluded at Paris, on August 19, 1858, that both Wallachia and Moldavia might elect a hospodar for life, but the choice of a common ruler was not to be theirs (notwithstanding the existence of the "central commission," common to either party). However, Napoleon III, who was meditating war upon Austria and hoped to find support in Cuza, furthered his election to the post of common prince of the two countries. This choice was confirmed by the Sultan, Abd ul-Mejid, on December 2, 1861, at the request of the French ambassador in Constantinople, who permitted the new prince to unite the two principalities under the name of Roumania and to make Bucharest the common capital of the state, which remained under Turkish supremacy. "Alexander John I" began his government vigorously on January 1, 1862, filled with the best of projects for the future; but the execution of these was everywhere hindered by the ruling class of the territorial lords (Boyars). On May 14, 1864, he eventually determined upon a *coup d'état*, dissolved the legislative body (Reichstag), summoned fresh deputies, elabourated a new constitution, and abolished the institution of serfdom (the agricultural law of Cuza of August 26, 1864). At the same time he reorganised education, founded high schools at Bucharest and Jassy, and introduced other beneficial reforms. As, however, he could not appreciate the true condition of the country, he brought it into extreme financial straits. In order to avert this threatening danger a conspiracy was formed, in which the army participated, chiefly at the instigation of the Armenian statesman Demeter Sturdza (see his portrait on the plate facing this page, at the left-hand bottom

[1] Cf. p. 363; see also small map in the left-hand lower corner of the double map facing page 166.

corner). On the 22d of February, 1866, the conspirators surprised the prince at night, and forced him to sign a decree of abdication in the early morning of the 23d. A valuable but little known service of Cuza was the fact that he saved his country from the danger of war and severe confusion by disregarding an alliance with the Hungarian immigrants, which he had concluded at the command of Napoleon III, and whereby he was bound to support the proposed rising of Hungary in the event of a war between Austria and France; Napoleon's plan for a French alliance of Hungary and Roumania against Austria was thus overthrown by the political insight of Cuza.

After the abdication of Cuza, the conduct of affairs was undertaken by Nikolaus Golescu, Laskar Catargi[u], and Nikolaus Haralamb[ie], who immediately summoned the Assembly to elect a new prince. Count Philip of Flanders, a brother of the king of Belgium, was elected to the throne of Roumania on February 23, 1886, but declined the offer on the 27th. On the 14th of April, 1886, and following days a new election was discussed; and the choice of the Assembly fell by a large majority upon a member of the Catholic branch of the house of Zollern, Prince Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (see his portrait on the plate facing page 371, "the Founders of the Kingdom of Roumania," on the left above). The Sultan declined to accept the election of Karl to the Roumanian throne and invited the powers definitely to settle the affair, while Russia proposed the restoration of the old dual system. Russia made no objection to the choice, nor did Napoleon III, though Austria was so opposed to the Hohenzollern that he was obliged to travel secretly through Salzburg, Vienna, and Pesth to the Danube, in order to reach his new kingdom. The outbreak of the war between Austria, Russia, and Italy prevented the powers from intervening. Under these circumstances the Porte was obliged to renounce the plan of a Court of Arbitration and would have been glad to occupy Roumania. Here, however, it was thwarted by the straightforward action of Karl. Immediately upon his arrival in Bucharest (May 22, 1866) he announced his accession to the Porte by telegraph, and gave assurances that he would carefully observe all the claims and wishes of the Sultan. But at the same time he mobilised the Roumanian army at several fortified points without delay. This unexpected attitude induced the Sultan to give up his views of incorporating the country, and to invite the prince to accept his recognition. Thus, on October 24, 1866, Karl travelled to Constantinople, where his position was confirmed and the rights of succession were conferred upon him.

It was a difficult problem which the new ruler had undertaken to solve. For centuries his principality had been exposed to the attacks of friends and foes, had formed a highway for marching armies, had found its development checked by foreign domination, and was now groaning for remedial reforms. Trade and commerce were for the most part in the hands of foreigners; the territorial proprietors troubled themselves very little about the affairs of the country, and the defenceless masses cultivated their vines or corn and reared their cattle only for the purpose of paying the numerous taxes imposed upon them. They were a people who lived in complete isolation, tenaciously clinging to old customs and habits, upon the rich meadows of the plains or in the valleys of the Carpathians, where boundless pastures extended side by side with primeval forest, and where upon the misty heights and in the secluded valleys thousands of sheep found abundant pasture upon the green meadows. Rich corn lands and vineyards, lush

THE FOUNDERS OF THE KINGDOM OF ROUMANIA

EXPLANATION OF THE PORTRAITS OVERLEAF

Left above: King Carol I of the house of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Born April 20, 1839; "prince of Roumania," April 20, 1866; entered Bucharest on May 22 of the same year; commanded the Russo-Roumanian army of investment at Plevna, August 31, 1877; recognised as sovereign prince, 1878; proclaimed king, March 26, 1881, and crowned in Bucharest on May 22 of that year.

(From a photograph in Sturdza's "Tre-deci de ani de domnie aĭ Regelui Carol I, Cuvîntărĭ şi acte" [The thirty years' reign of King Charles I, speeches and acts], Vol. II; Bucuresci, 1897.)

Right above: Joan C. Brătianu. Born, 1821, in Bucharest; political refugee in France, 1848–1857; leader of the reds (liberals), 1866; minister of the interior from March, 1867, to the end of 1868, then minister of finance at the beginning of 1876; national liberal prime minister from June 24, 1876, to April 1, 1888 (except from April to June, 1881); died May 16, 1891, in Florica.

(From an etching by Hans Meyer, Berlin, 1893.)

Left below: Demeter A. Sturdza of Micläusheni. Born March 10, 1833; chancellor of the divan of Moldavia, 1857; helped in the overthrow of the prince Alexander John I Cusa, February, 1866; provisory minister of public works, 1866; under Brătianu he held, from 1876 to 1888, the posts of minister of public works, of finance, of foreign affairs, and of education; National Liberal prime minister from October 15, 1895, to the end of November, 1896; president of the senate in 1897; and general secretary of the Academia Română.

(From a contemporary photograph.)

Right below: Michail Kogălniceanu. Born September 6, 1817; an eminent politician and statesman and a valuable helper to the king in the task of developing present-day Roumania. Died June 20, 1891.

(From a contemporary lithograph.)

(The originals for the portraits of Brătianu, Sturdza, and Kogălniceanu were lent by the royal academy of Roumania.)

meadows, and shady woods alternated with sandy moorland and bare rock. The picturesque silence of their environment was itself a stimulus to their introspective natures; and indeed the character of the Roumanian is marked by a strong tendency to superstition. Life passes by for him in a quiet monotony, whether he be an agriculturist upon the plain, an owner of flocks and herds, or a shepherd high in the mountains. His entire life is devoted to the accurate maintenance of social, moral, and religious traditions. Far from the dust of the broad highway along which "all that is foreign and bad passes by," he lives his days in the peaceful quiet of the woods and fields, buried in unconscious contemplation of the everlasting change of nature. His imaginative power has, therefore, time to work. The result has been a marvellous wealth of ballad poetry, the glorious sounds of which fill the life of the Roumanian with the magical touch of splendour and beauty. This rich source has also exerted a beneficial influence upon the more artificial poetry of the nation.

It was no easy task successfully to rule a nation consisting of a dominant but degenerate nobility (admirably described by George Allan in his novel "Roumanian Society," "North and South," August, 1880), and of a dejected and disillusioned proletariat, who had been long accustomed to internal wars and changes of dynasty. The almost uninterrupted party struggles caused continual changes in the cabinet; to mention one case only, the moderate liberal, Prince Demeter Ghika (died February 27, 1897), the son of Prince Gregor (p. 362), who had been appointed hospodar of Wallachia in 1822, retired definitely from the business of administration in 1868. None the less, during the first ten years of the government of Charles, the country made such rapid strides in every direction that the Eastern disturbances which broke out in 1876 found Roumania strengthened and organised as a flourishing state. In 1877, when the Russo-Turkish war broke out, Roumania attempted to secure from the European powers a guarantee of her neutrality against the two conflicting states. As this attempt was unsuccessful, Prince Charles concluded a convention with the Czar Alexander II, by the terms of which Roumania permitted the passage of Russian troops, while her autonomy, rights, and institutions were to be respected. The Porte regarded this convention as an infringement of its suzerainty, and sent troops to the Danube after Roumania had declared her independence on May 22, 1877. During the passage of the Russians through the country it was proposed to place the Roumanian army under Russian commanders; Charles declined this proposition, and confined himself to the occupation of the line of the Danube. The repeated repulses experienced by the Russians at Plevna obliged the Russian archduke Nicholas to telegraph repeatedly to the prince, begging for speedy help. At the storming of Plevna, of the redoubt of Grivitza, and of the fort of Opanez, at the capture of Racova (Rachovas) and at the siege of Smardan and Widdin, the Roumanian army performed inestimable services, which were forgotten by Russia at the conclusion of peace. In the convention concluded on the 3d of March, 1878, at Santo Stefano, without consultation of the Roumanian ambassadors, Roumania obtained the Dobrudža, but was forced to cede part of Bessarabia to Russia. The Berlin Conference maintained this decision in the case of Roumania, but recognised her independence without difficulty.[1]

[1] See the map, "Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro," facing page 351, and the small map, "Turkey and the Neighbouring Territories after the Berlin Congress," on the double map facing page 166.

On the 22d of May, 1881, Charles was crowned king. Materially and intellectually the new kingdom began a period of successful activity immediately after the Russo-Turkish war. It was the best conceivable limitation to and protection against the growing power of the Balkan Slav nationality and of Panslavism; in a comparatively short time it rose to high prosperity by its keen and regular commercial connection with foreign countries (Silos in Galatz and Braila, the Danube Bridge "Regele Carol" at Cernavoda). A beneficial reform of the system of taxation and the founding of numerous scientific institutions brought about a surprisingly rapid intellectual advance. The great services of King Charles to his country were seconded by D. Sturdza (v. p. 371), who shared in all the decisive negotiations undertaken by modern Roumania (1895–1896 and 1897–1899, and the head of the National Liberal ministry from February 27, 1901); with him should be mentioned the two statesmen, Joan Bratianu, the leader of the "Red" liberals (died May 16, 1891), and Michael Kogălniceanu, who died in Paris on July 2, 1891 (new style; see their portraits on the plate facing page 371, on the right-hand side top and bottom). It was really Bratianu who enabled his country to play an advantageous part in the Russo-Turkish war; it was he who secured independence for his nation and the position of king for his prince. He was Prime Minister for nearly twelve years (1876–1888). It may be said that, notwithstanding many grievances yet existing, Roumania can look forward to a prosperous future.

4. THE MAGYARS

A. Hungary as the Scene of Pre-Magyar History

The district occupied by the modern state of Hungary was, long before the arrival of the Magyars (pronounced Madyars), a beaten track for immigrating nations and a battlefield and resting-place for the most different races. The valleys of Hungary breathed something of the attraction of primeval life. Powerful fortresses rose at an early period in the frontier districts, protecting the main roads. The soil still shows traces of the men who ploughed at that time, and of the quiet rows of graves in which they ended the burden and distress of life. Successive waves of migration have left their marks on buildings and on the soil. However, the clash of arms and the war-cry of heathen hordes, or the prayers and hallelujahs of Christian immigrants, were hushed by the deep silence of the endless moorland, or by the solitude of the woody slopes of the Carpathians. Long ago Celts and Thracians invaded these districts and founded a kind of civilization. The Romans then occupied the west and south, and in the course of two centuries created a flourishing community. The waves of the great migration, however, swept away the Roman settlers, together with the few barbarians inhabiting the country, into other districts. The Roman legions retired to Italy before the advancing Huns (p. 320). After the death of Attila (453; p. 324) his kingdom fell to pieces; the Huns were incorporated with other races and disappeared from the scene (p. 327). Goths, Gepids, and Langobards now maintained their position for a longer or shorter time upon the arena and destroyed what scanty remnants of Roman civilization had survived. These Teutonic hordes

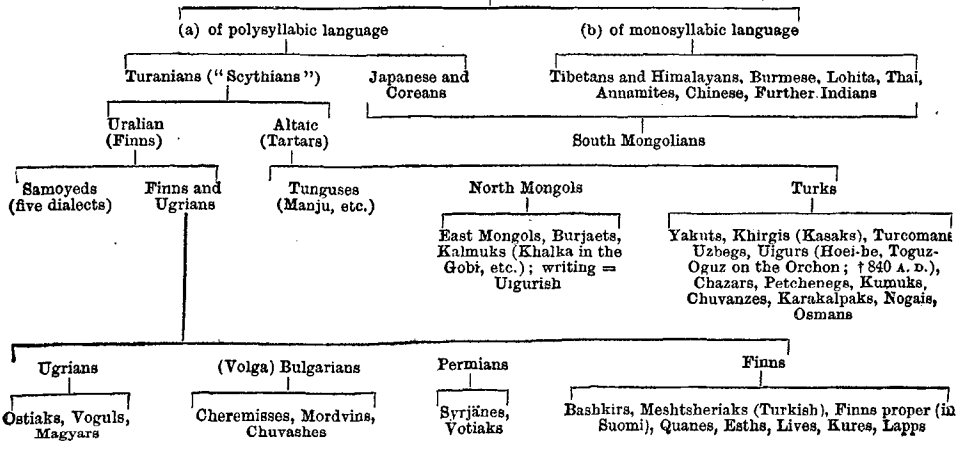
were in their turn driven out by the Avars, who occupied the eastern frontiers from 626, notwithstanding their defeat, until the Frankish emperor Charles broke their power in 803. Their deserted territory was occupied by Slav nomads and some Bulgarians, together with the remnants of the Avars, until the end of the ninth century, when it was seized by that nation whose name it was henceforward to retain.

B. The Early History of the Magyars to the Time of St. Stephan

(*a*) *The Origin and Immigration of the Magyars.* — Whence came these immigrants and what was their race? Herm. Vámbéry is of the opinion that the Magyars were Altai-Turks, and originally inhabited districts in the South Ural, on the border between the Altaic (Turco-Tartar) and Ural (Finnish Ugrian) nationalities, and had absorbed numerous Finno-Ugrian elements into their language. Far more probable is the view of J. Marquart, who considers that the Magyars were originally settled in the south of Ingria, on the Isim, Irtish, Om, and in the wooded steppes of Baraba; that at an early period they were driven into the districts between the Caspian and Black seas, and that they settled between the Don and the Kuban, where they became a fishing people (p. 84). On this hypothesis they are a genuine branch of the Finnish Ugrian group of the Mongolian race.[1] It was the influence of their Hun neighbours, already described on page 328, that first induced these Ugrians to adopt cattle-breeding, an hereditary occupation of the Turkish nomads. The bracing effect of the dangers which threatened them on every side, as they pushed forward in the vanguard of their race, gradually changed their national character, with the result that they were eventually inferior to no Turkish nation in political capacity, — an attribute highly unusual in the Finnish tribes, with the exception, perhaps, of the Finns proper in Finland, who came under Russian suzerainty in 1809 (Suomi), and have ever since struggled desperately to ward off the deadly influence of a Slav environment.

The attainment of this height, however, implies a long stage of previous development. Such a transformation must have extended over centuries, and was

[1] The Mongolian (Central or High Asiatic) race includes peoples


(a) of polysyllabic language
(b) of monosyllabic language
Turanians ("Scythians")
Japanese and Coreans
Tibetans and Himalayans, Burmese, Lohita, Thai, Annamites, Chinese, Further Indians
Uralian (Finns)
Altaic (Tartars)
South Mongolians
Samoyeds (five dialects)
Finns and Ugrians
Tunguses (Manju, etc.)
North Mongols
Turks
East Mongols, Burjaets, Kalmuks (Khalka in the Gobi, etc.); writing = Uigurish
Yakuts, Khirgis (Kasaks), Turcomans Uzbegs, Uigurs (Hoei-he, Toguz-Oguz on the Orchon; † 840 A. D.), Chazars, Petchenegs, Kumuks, Chuvanzes, Karakalpaks, Nogais, Osmans
Ugrians
(Volga) Bulgarians
Permians
Finns
Ostiaks, Voguls, Magyars
Cheremisses, Mordvins, Chuvashes
Syrjänes, Votiaks
Bashkirs, Meshtsheriaks (Turkish), Finns proper (in Suomi), Quanes, Esths, Lives, Kures, Lapps

certainly not accomplished by the Magyars in isolation. At the outset we have to remember their habit of capturing the women of other tribes, and the results of Hunnish influence. This is by no means inappreciable as a modifying force; on the contrary, from the date of Attila's invasion of Western Europe to the troubled times of Lewis the Child, this influence is a steady force, and its existence may be explained by the confusion, habitual in Byzantine circles, between the Huns of 451 and the Hungarians of 933 and 955. Apart from these, other tribes have also contributed to the gradual transformation of the Magyar nationality. Among such "ancestors" of the Magyars we may conjecturally mention the Akatzirs (middle of the fifth century; p. 321), who were probably identical with the Mordvins (Burdās); and with more certainty, notwithstanding their Turkish names, the Hunugurs (Onogurs) and Unigurs on the Don (seventh century) and in Old or Great Bulgaria (to the first half of the ninth century; p. 236). In this connection must also be mentioned the Unugundur Bulgarians on the Kuban, who possessed a strong infusion of Hunnish blood; for, as we have already seen (p. 328), the name of Burgars is occasionally applied to the Magyars. The Eastern branch or offshoot of the Hungarians appears towards 760 in Armenia (on the Kur in the south of Gugark[c]), in the person of the robber tribe of the Sevordik[c] (*Σαβάρτοι ἄσφαλοι* in Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, Sijāwardi in Arab writers, who probably coalesced with the Alban Utiero). In any case the famous military power of the Magyars had fallen so low at the close of the ninth century that the seven tribes in Atelkuzu were forced to submit to the supremacy of the Kabars, who had been scattered by the Turkish Khazars. Arpady, the youthful son of Salmučy (Almus), who shortly after 862 had been appointed under the eyes of the Khazar Khagan as duke of the Magyar nation (now composed of eight tribes), was of Kabar, that is to say, of Turkish origin. However, it is not for these reasons that the Byzantines called the Magyars *Τοῦρκοι*; this name, which does not appear until 839, and is a direct invitation to dire confusion, is explained by Marquart as a derivative, formed by consonantal change and a T prefix, of the Herodotean name *Ἰύρκαι* on the one hand, and on the other of the title *Οὖγγροι*, Ungri (Ungarii, Hungari, Agareni, in Old Slav, Ogri) or Ugri, with which the Slavs and West Europeans have replaced the originally habitual name of Magyar.

For a long period the Magyars paused in their migrations and settled in the plains on the Lower Don, where they had their chief market town in Karch (= Tanan, Old Russian Tmutorokan). Muslim ben Abū Muslim ab-Garmī (about 830–845), and other Arabs constantly confused the Magyars with the Bashkirs, who resembled them in nationality and name, and were settled eastward of the Petchenegs in the steppes between the Ural and Caspian lakes, bounded on the north by the Isgil Bulgarians on the Kama (p. 327); to this confusion is due the hypothesis, long vigorously supported, of a "Magna Hungaria" in Southeast Russia as the first home of the Magyars. The truth is that their district, which lay upon the Maeotis, bordered that of the Alans, Khazars, and Bulgarians, and extended to the Kuban on the northwest end of the Caucasus; it was known as "Lebedia" to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. About 833 these Western Turkish Khazars found themselves so oppressed by the Magyars that they applied for protection to the emperor Theophilos (p. 76). The result was the construction of a fortified trench and the building of the brick fortress of Sarkel on the Don. Cut off in this direction by the Khazars, the Magyars removed to the

Lower Danube in 839–840, where they intervened in the Bulgarian and Greek struggles (p. 323).

Soon we find them loosely dependent upon the Khazars. However, when these latter, in alliance with the G(h)uzes of Lake Aral, drove the Petchenegs from their possessions between Ätil (Don) and Jajyk (Ural) this movement proved unfavourable for the Magyars, for the Petchenegs had been little weakened, and now appeared in a hostile attitude upon the Don; the Magyars, therefore, about 862, turned their backs upon Lebedia, which was henceforward closed against them, and established themselves to the west of the Dniepr, on the Bug and Dniestr. This new home is repeatedly referred to as Atelkuzu (p. 85, above). The Khagan of the Khazars was equally hard pressed, and made a proposal to Lebedias, the first tribal chieftain of the Magyars (Voivod; p. 85, above) in Chelandia (Kalanča at Perekop), to become prince of the Magyars under his supremacy. He, however, declined the proposal in favour of the above-mentioned Arpady (Árpád, shortly after 882).

Although hemmed in by the Khazars and Magyars, the power of the Petchenegs grew rapidly. After the years 880–890 the Magyars found it impossible to continue their marauding expeditions eastward; for this reason they abandoned Atelkuzu, which had lost its value for them, and had become absolutely unsafe in the east upon the Dniepr, and moved further westward in 889. This second and final forced movement of the Magyars from the north shore of the Black Sea is of importance in the history of the world; driven forward by the Petchenegs, and also from the Balkan Peninsula, which at the invitation of the Byzantines they had devastated in 894, from the Pruth and Seret, to meet with expulsion in 895 from the bold Bulgarian Symeon (p. 332), the Magyars in 896 pushed their way like a wedge amid the Southeast European Slavs; here they remained and developed their civilization, and for a thousand years they continued to occupy this position, of no mean importance from a Germanic point of view.

The Magyars advanced into the districts of the Theiss and Danube, across the North Carpathians, through the pass of Vereczke. It is said that the chieftains of the several races (together with Árpád and his son Liuntis, who ruled the predominant tribe of the Kabars, Kursan is also mentioned) executed a closer form of agreement upon this journey; choosing Árpád as their leader, they concluded a "blood-treaty" by catching blood from their arms in a basin and drinking it. The nomadic races who had spent their previous existence on the steppes of Hungary were at once attracted by the flat country which surrounded them in their new home (Pannonia and Slovakei to the Bodrog), with its great expanses, its pellucid atmosphere, and its lack of colour. Like every steppe people, they were accustomed to live in a state of warfare, and depended partly upon the booty which they were able to extort from their settled neighbours by their bold cavalry raids. Some time, however, before their appearance in the plains of the Theiss they had progressed beyond the savagery of a primitive race; this fact is proved by an examination of the oldest words in the Magyar vocabulary. The fact is, that all the Ugrian languages, especially those in the districts of the Volga and the Ural, contained many Iranian elements, the phonetic colouring and the distribution of which can only be explained by presupposing the influence of some dominant race in early times. The fact must not be forgotten that the ancient Magyars had lived for centuries on the Caucasus in the immediate neighbourhood of the

Iranian Alans and the Cherkesses (Kašak, Kasogi); the legendary brothers Hunor and Mogor are said to have carried off two daughters of the Slav prince Dula on the Lower Don, and thereby to have become the ancestors of the Magyars.

The occupation of this new home was effected without difficulty; there was in fact no one to bar their way. The scanty population was soon incorporated with the new arrivals, who first settled in the plains of the lowlands, where they found abundant pasturage for their herds of horses and cattle. From this base of operations they then extended their rule towards the natural frontiers of the district they occupied. Their only conflicts took place on the northwest, in the district of the Waag River, and finally Moravia Major succumbed to their attacks (906; p. 235). The several chieftains settled with their tribes in the districts appointed to them, and built themselves castles which served as central points both for defence and for economic exploitation. Árpád himself took possession of Attila's castle, in the ruins of which (according to the somewhat unreliable Gesta Hungarorum of the anonymous Notarius of King Béla) the Hungarians "held their daily festivals; they sat in rows in the palace of Attila, and the sweet-toned chords of harps and shawms and the various songs of the singers sounded before them." Minstrels (tedegös) sang the exploits of fallen heroes to the accompaniment of the lute, and story-tellers (rejés) related legends of the heroes of old.

The warlike spirit of the brave Hungarians found, however, little satisfaction in this peaceful occupation. They began their invasions of Upper Italy in 899, 921, 924, 941–942, 947, 951; of Saxony in 915; of Central and even South Italy in the winter of 921; in 922, 926, and 937 they raided Burgundy; Southwest Franconia in 924, 937, and 951; Suabia in 937. Advancing upon their hardy steeds they ravaged and plundered far and wide. They held Central Europe terror-stricken for half a century; then laden with rich booty and slaves they returned home. The Czechs, who had become the neighbours of the Magyars after the fall of Moravia, often suffered from their raids. On July 5, 907, the Bavarians experienced a severe blow. After 924 a Magyar division from Venice appears to have joined in a piratical raid, conducted by the Emir Thamar of Ṭarsūs; others made their way to Galicia and Andalusia about 943. Neither the death of Árpád (907) nor the defeat inflicted upon them in 933 by the German king Henry the Fowler put an end to their extensive raids; in 934, in alliance with or under the rule of some hordes of Petchenegs, part of whom had been converted to Mohammedanism about 915, they undertook an invasion of the East Roman Empire, upon a scale which reminds one of the typical crusade; they devastated the boundary fortress of Valandar and advanced to the walls of Constantinople. In 943 and 948 this attempt was repeated upon a similar scale.

(*b*) *The Settlement of the Magyars and their Conversion to Christianity.* — It was not until 955, when they suffered a dreadful defeat at Augsburg and lost the East Mark of Germany for the second time, that a considerable transformation took place in the intellectual and social life of the Magyar nation. Contact with foreigners, even by way of enmity, and in particular the large immigration of foreign Slavs, who had amalgamated with the Hungarian nation (cf. the observation on page 236 regarding the immigration of the "Ishmaelite" Bulgarians from the Kama), had brought about a new state of affairs, and convinced the upper classes that no nation could live by military power alone in the midst of peaceful

nationalities. The great-grandson of Árpád, "the duke" Géza (Gejcsa or Geisa; 972 to 997) accepted Christianity. His government marks the point at which the Hungarians passed from the simple conditions of life in their heathen nomad state to the position of a settled nation.

When Wajk, the son of Géza, who was baptised as Stephan I, ascended the throne in 997 he found the path already prepared; in the course of four decades he was able to complete the work of civilization begun by his father, and to secure for Hungary a position among the nationalities of Europe. With statesmanlike insight he joined, not the Greek, but the Roman Church, and thereby threw open his country to the new intellectual movement which was beginning to stir the West. His German wife, Gisela, a daughter of the Bavarian duke Henry II (died 995), was his faithful supporter in these labours. The Pope, Silvester II (999–1003),conferred upon him the dignity of king (1000) in recognition of his services to Christianity; at the same time he conferred extraordinary ecclesiastical privileges upon the king and his successors. By the foundation of monasteries and bishoprics Stephan laid a firm basis for the organisation of the Roman Church in Hungary. Many tribal chieftains certainly took up arms against these innovations, but Christianity was firmly rooted in Hungary after a short space of time. The fact that it spread thus rapidly and transformed Hungary to a "land of Mary" (Nagyasszony országa = kingdom of the great lady) is to be explained by the character of the pre-existing cults. When the Magyars began to give up their heathen worship, Mariolatry was a comparatively widespread belief in other countries; the Synod of Ephesus (431; cf. Vol. IV, p. 207) had explained in full detail the mode in which the Virgin should be represented. At the time when Christianity was introduced among the Magyars, their popular traditions contained many references to the Nagyasszony (great lady) or Nagyboldogasszony (great sacred lady), the mother of the gods. In contrast to this divinity, the Virgin now received the name of Kisasszony (little lady or young lady). The people transferred the characteristics of the Nagyasszony to the Kisasszony or Boldogasszony (holy lady), and represented the latter as the goddess of birth. In this way the goddess of birth among the heathen Magyars continues in the popular belief as the protector of children and of women in childbirth; even with her modern attributes, which have been more or less transformed by Christianity, she still corresponds to the divinity of the related tribe of the Mordvins, the Ange-Pat'aï, and to the Kave, the birth goddess of the Finns.

King Stephan also introduced innovations in military, judicial, and economic institutions. He effected nothing less than a revolution in the domestic and public life of his subjects. To him is due the division of the country into comitates or counties. In spite of the fact that his constructive activity was chiefly directed to works of peace, he was forced on several occasions to take up arms. After a victorious campaign against the Petchenegs and Mieczyslav II of Poland, the successor of Boleslav Chabri (p. 237), he was obliged to measure his strength after 1030 with the German emperor Conrad II, and in the peace of 1031 was able to extend his kingdom westwards beyond the Fischa to the Leitha and Danube. The remainder of his life the great king spent in mourning for the loss of his son Emerich. On August 15, 1038, the real creator of the Hungarian kingdom ended his laborious existence; deeply revered by his people, he was canonised by the Church in 1087.

C. The Hungarians until the Battle of Mohács (1038–1526)

(*a*) *From the Death of Stephan I to the Extinction of the Árpáds.* — Stephan the Saint was succeeded by Peter Orseolo (1038–1041 and 1044–1046), Samuel Aba (1041–1044), Andreas I (1046 to December, 1060), and Béla I (1060–1063), whose daughter Sophie is regarded by the Askanians, the Hohenstauffen, the Guelfs, and the Wittelsbachs as their common ancestor; then followed Salomon (1063, 1064–1074; disappeared from 1087; married in 1063 Judith or Sophie, the daughter of the emperor Henry III and of Agnes of Poitou) and Géza I (Geisa, 1074–1077). During this period development was impeded by quarrels about the succession, and internal disturbances. The efforts of the German Empire to maintain the supremacy which had been secured over Hungary in 1044 came to an end in 1052 with the fruitless siege of Pressburg undertaken by the emperor Henry III; for the campaign of Henry IV in 1074 was equally unproductive of definite result. The last efforts of heathendom were crushed with the suppression of a revolt begun by the heathen population under their tribal chieftain Vatha (killed 1046) and his son (?) Janus (died about 1060–1061). St. Ladislaus I (1077–August 29, 1095) and Koloman the author (Könyves Kálmán, 1095–1114) were able to continue the reforming work of Stephan. Towards the end of the eleventh century Hungary occupied an important position among the independent states of Europe. St. Ladislaus, who survived in Hungarian legend as a type of bravery and knightly character, incorporated the inland districts of Croatia with his kingdom, founded a bishopric at Agram in 1091, and divided his new acquisition into comitates. His successor Koloman, whose interests were primarily scholastic and ecclesiastical, though he also turned his attention to legislation, subdued the Dalmatian towns with the object of erecting a barrier against the growing power of Venice. From this time Croatia has remained a component part of the Hungarian Empire.

While the empire was extending its boundaries westward the eastern frontier was troubled by the Kumanians. In 1091, when the authorities were occupied with Croatia, this nation made a devastating invasion into Hungary; Ladislaus captured most of them in two campaigns, and settled them in the districts of the Theiss. He did his best to introduce security of property (Decretum III). In the momentous struggle between the Pope and the empire he promised to support the Roman Church against the emperor Henry IV, but was far-sighted enough to take no direct part in the quarrel. In the year 1192 he was canonised. During the government of Koloman, the first Crusaders, led by Count Emiko of Leiningen, marched through the land in disorderly array, and were for that reason driven beyond the frontier, while a friendly reception was extended to Godfrey Bouillon.

After the death of Koloman, his weak-minded and dissipated son Stephan II occupied the throne (1116–1131); during his government the Venetians recovered the larger part of the Dalmatian district. When he died without issue, the Hungarians submitted to the blind king Béla II (1131–1141), who, together with his father, Duke Álmos of Croatia, had been previously blinded by King Koloman for participation in a revolt. Hardly had the blind king entered upon his government when the country was invaded by Borics, the son of Koloman by a Russian wife

KING LOUIS I OF HUNGARY CONFIRMS THE GOLDEN BULL OF 1222 IN 1351

Lodovicus dei gratia Hungarie, Dalmacie, Croacie, Rame, Servie, Gallicie, Lodomerie, Cumanie Bulgarieque Rex, princeps Salernitanus et honoris montis ſancti Angeli dominus. Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus preſentibus pariter et futuris preſencium noticiam habituris Salutem in eo, qui Regibus dat feliciter regnare et victoriose triumphare. Tronus et potentia Regalis dignitatis tunc dinoſcitur roborari, cum ſubditorum quieti et tranquilitati provida circumſpectione providetur, Ipſisque digno remuneracionis bravio in ibertatibus largiendis, ymo eciam per alios Reges pia confideracione inſtituti confovendis nec non confirmandis liberaliter reſpondetur. Nam obſervancia fidei ſui trahens originem debitum racionis native legibus ſtabilis perſeverat, cum benivolencia principis in ſuos oſtenſa, Regnicolas ſic ſemper coaleſcit in ſubditos, ut, niſi vite ſuffocetur igniculus in corpore, vigor fidei non leuteſcit. Ea propter ad univerſorum noticiam harum ſerie volumus pervenire: Quod Baronum nec non procerum et Nobilium Regni noſtri cetus et univerſitatis ydemptitas noſtrum Regium conſpectum adeundo, fidelitatibus ſuis et fidelium ſerviciorum preclaris meritis in cunctis noſtris et Regni noſtri negocijs proſperis et adverſis cum ſumpne fidelitatis ſtudio et votiva diligencia noſtre majeſtati exhibitis et impenſis declaratis et noſtram in memoriam revocatis: exhibuerunt nobis quasdam literas privilegiales Illuſtriſſimi principis domini Andre, tertij Bele Regis filij, olym Incliti Regis Hungarie, Avi et predeceſſoris noſtri pie recordacionis, Aurea bulla ſua roboratas libertates ipſorum per Sanctiſſimum Stephanum Hungarice gentis Regem et Apostolum (ut predicte litere declarabunt) Ipſis inſtitutas innovantes et confirmantes tenoris ſubſequentis ſupplicantes unanimiter et conformiter noſtre humiliter majeſtati, ut ipſas acceptantes, ratificantes et approbantes preſentibus de verbo ad verbum tranſumpmi faciendo ſimul cum omnibus libertatibus eorum in eisdem expreſſis, excepto ſolummodo uno articulo in ſubſequentibus declarando, confirmare, et easdem libertates in dictis literis expreſſas ex Regie benignitatis clemencia autoritate Regia innovando ipſos in eisdem perbempnaliter frituros et gaviſuros literis noſtris privilegialibus mediantibus ſtabilire dignaremur, quarum tenor talis eſt:

In nomine ſancte trinitatis et individue unitatis. Andreas dei gratia Hungarie, Dalmacie, Croacie, Rame, Servie, Gallicie, Lodomerieque Rex in perpetuum. Quoniam libertas tam nobilium Regni noſtri quam eciam aliorum inſtituta a ſancto Stephano Rege per aliquorum Regum potenciam ulciſcencium aliquando iram propriam, aliquando etiam attendencium conſilia falſa hominum iniquorum vel ſectancium propria lucra fuerat inquamplurimis diminuta, multociens ipſi Nobiles noſtri ſerenitatem noſtram et predeceſſorum noſtrorum Regum ſuorum precibus et inſtancia multa pulſaverunt ſuper reformacione Regni noſtri. Nos igitur eorum peticioni ſatisfacere cupientes in omnibus ut tenemur, preſertim quia inter nos et eos occaſione hac jam ſepius ad amaritudines non modicas eſt proceſſum, quod ut regia honorificencia plenius conſervetur convenit evitari (hoc enim per nullos alios melius fit, quam per eos), concedimus tam eis quam alijs hominibus regni noſtri libertatem a ſancto Rege conceſſam ac alia ad ſtatum regni noſtri reformandum pertinentia ſalubriter ordinamus, in hunc modum: ut annuatim in feſto ſancti Regis niſi arduo negocio ingruente vel infirmitate fuerimus prohibiti Albe teneamur ſollempnizare, et ſi nos intereſſe non poterimus, Palatinus proculdubio ibi erit pro nobis, ut vice noſtras cauſas audiat, et omnes ſervientes qui voluerint libere illuc conveniant. Volumus etiam, quod nec nos nec poſteri noſtri aliquo tempore ſervientes capiant vel deſtruant favore alicuius potentis, niſi primo citati fuerint et ordine judiciario convicti. Item nullam collectam nec liberos denarios colligi faciemus ſuper predia ſervientium, nec domos nec villas deſcendemus niſi vocati. Super populos etiam eccleſiarum ipſorum nullam penitus collectam faciemus. Si quis ſerviens ſine filio deceſſerit, quartam partem poſſeſſionis filia optineat, de reſiduo ſicut ipſe voluerit diſponat, et ſi morte preventus disponere non potuerit, propinqui ſui qui eum magis contingunt obtineant, et ſi nullam penitus generacionem habuerit, rex obtinebit. Comites parochiani predia ſervientum non diſcuciant niſi cauſa monetarum et decimarum. Comites curie parochyani nullum penitus diſcuciant niſi populos ſui Caſtri, fures et latrones Byloky Regales diſcuciant ad pedes tamen ipſius Comitis. Item populi coniurati in unum fures nominare non poſſint, ſicut conſueverant. Si autem Rex extra Regnum exercitum ducere voluerit, ſervientes cum ipſo ire non teneantur niſi pro pecunia ipſius; et poſt reverſionem judicium exercitus ſuper eos non recipiet. Si vero ex adverſa parte exercitus venerit ſuper Regnum, omnes univerſaliter ire teneantur. Item ſi extra Regnum cum exercitu iverimus, omnes qui Comitatus habent vel pecuniam noſtram nobiscum ire teneantur. Palatinus omnes homines regni noſtri indifferenter diſcuciat; ſed cauſam nobilium, que ad perdicionem capitis vel ad deſtructionem poſſeſſionum pertinet, ſine conſcientia Regis terminare non poſſit. Judices Vicarios non habeant, niſi unum

Louis I, by the grace of God, King of Hungary, etc.

To all faithful Christians our royal greeting!

The king's throne is most secure when careful provision is made for the peace of the subjects, by the grant and confirmation of free privileges.

Confidence for confidence, loyalty for loyalty; hence we will gladly comply with the requests of our barons, dignitaries, and nobles, and

will reconfirm the privileges formerly granted to them by St. Stephan, king and apostle of Hungary, which our ancestor and predecessor Andreas II, son of Bela III, confirmed under the golden bull, with the exception of one article only, to be explained below.

The contents of the bull are as follows:

In the name of the Holy Trinity and undivided Unity. Andreas II, by the grace of God king of Hungary, etc.

Forasmuch as the privileges granted by St. Stephan to the nobles and to others in our kingdom have been constantly curtailed by many kings, and the said nobles have repeatedly besought a reformation of the shattered condition of the kingdom.

We, being ready to comply with their desires in all cases, as is incumbent on us, grant them the old privileges and ordain as follows:

1. Every year at the festival of St. Stephan we will hold an assembly in Stuhlweissenburg, and only in case of urgent necessity will we be represented by the Palatine.
2. No noble shall be condemned without a hearing.
3. The estates of our nobles and of the Church are exempt from taxation; nor will we quarter ourselves upon such property uninvited.
4. Our nobles who have no sons may dispose of their property as they will.
5. The authority of our local courts over the vassals of the nobles is confined to questions of coinage and of tithes. The court of a walled town has jurisdiction only over the people of the town.
6. Thieves are not to be indicted by juries of the people, as formerly.
7. All are bound to military service in the case of foreign invasion; service in foreign campaigns is obligatory on all inhabitants of counties and paid soldiers.
8. The judicial powers of the Palatine are

in Curia ſua. Curialis Comes noſter, donec in Curia manſerit, omnes poſſit judicare et cauſam in Curia inchoatam ubique terminare. Sed manens in predio ſuo priſtaldum dare non poſſit nec partes facere citari. Si quis Jobagio habens honorem in exercitu fuerit mortuus, eius filius vel frater congruo honore ſit donandus, et ſi ſerviens eodem modo fuerit mortuus, eius filius ſicut Regi videbitur donetur. Si hoſpites, videlicet boni homines, ad regnum venerint, ſine conſilio Regni ad dignitates non promoveantur. Uxores decedencium vel condempnatorum ad mortem per ſententiam vel in duello ſuccumbencium vel ex quacunque alia cauſa non fraudentur dote ſua. Jobagiones ita ſequantur Curiam vel quocunque proficiſcantur, ut pauperes per eos non opprimantur nec ſpolientur. Si quis Comes honorifice ſe juxta Comitatus ſui qualitatem non habuerit vel deſtruxerit populos Caſtri ſui, convictus ſuper hoc coram omni Regno dignitate ſua turpiter ſpolietur cum reſtitucione ablatorum. Agaſones, caniferi et falconarij non preſumpma[n]t deſcendere in villis ſervientium. Integros Comitatus vel dignitates quascunque in predia ſeu poſſeſſiones non conferemus perpetuo. Poſſeſſionibus etiam, quas quis juſto ſervicio obtinuerit, aliquo tempore non privetur. Item ſervientes accepta licentia a nobis poſſint libere ire ad filium noſtrum seu a majori ad minorem nec ideo poſſeſſiones eorum deſtruantur. Aliquem juſto judicio filij noſtri condempnatum vel cauſam inchoatam coram ipſo, prius quam terminetur coram eodem, non recipiemus nec e converſo filius noſter. Jobagiones Caſtrorum teneantur ſecundum libertatem a ſancto Rege conſtitutam. Similiter et hoſpites cujuscumque naciones ſecundum libertatem ab inicio eis conceſſam teneantur, decime argento non redimantur, ſed ſicut terra protulerit vinum vel ſegetes perſolvantur; et ſi Epiſcopi contradixerint, non juvabimus ipſos. Epiſcopi ſuper predia ſervientium equis noſtris decimas non dent nec ad predia Regalia populi eorundem decimas ſuas aportare teneantur. Porci noſtri, in ſilvis vel pratis ſervientum non pascantur contra voluntatem eorum. Nova moneta noſtra per annum obſervetur a paſca uſque ad paſca, et denarij tales ſint, quales fuerunt tempore Regis Bele. Comites Camare monetarij, Salinarij et tributarij nobiles regni, Iſmaelite et Judei fieri non poſſint. Sales in medio Regni non teneantur niſi tantum in Zal[n]och et in Zeged et in confinijs. poſſeſſiones extra regnum non conferantur; ſi alique collate vel vendite, populo regni ad redimendum reddantur. Marturine juxta conſuetudinem a Colomano Rege conſtitutam ſolvantur. Si quis ordine judiciario fuerit condempnatus, nullus potentum eum poſſit defendere. Comites jure ſui Comitatus tantum fruantur, cetera ad Regem pertinentia ſcilicet cybriones, tributa, boves et duas partes Caſtrorum Rex obtineat. Item preter hos quatuor Jobagiones ſcilicet Palatinum, Banum et Curiales Comites Regis et Regine duas dignitates nullus teneat. Et ut hec noſtra tam conceſſio quam ordinacio ſit noſtris noſtrorumque ſucceſſorum temporibus in perpetuum valitura, eam conſcribi fecimus in ſeptem paria literarum et aureo Sigillo noſtro roborari. Ita quod unum par mittatur domino Pape, et ipſe in regiſtro ſuo ſcribi faciat. Secundum penes hoſpitale. Tertium penes templum. Quartum apud Regem. Quintum in Capitulo Strigonienſi. Sextum in Colocenſi. Septimum apud Palatinum, qui pro tempore fuerit, reſervetur. Ita quod ipſam Scripturam pre oculis ſemper habens nec ipſe deviet in aliquo in predictis nec Regem vel nobiles ſeu alios conſenciat deviare, ut et ipſi ſua gaudeant libertate ac propter hoc nobis et ſucceſſoribus ſemper exiſtant fideles et Corone Regie obſequia debita non negentur. Statuimus etiam, ut, ſi nos vel aliquis ſucceſſorum noſtrorum aliquo unquam tempore huic diſpoſicioni contraire voluerit, liberam habeant harum autoritate ſine nota alicuius infidelitatis tam Epiſcopi quam alij Jobagiones ac nobiles Regni noſtri univerſi et ſinguli preſentes ac poſteri reſiſtendi et contradicendi nobis et noſtris ſucceſſoribus in perpetuum facultatem. Datum per manus Cleti, Aule noſtre Cancellarii et Agrienſis eccleſie prepoſiti Anno verbi incarnati Milleſimo ducenteſimo vigeſimo ſecundo venerabili Johanne Strigonienſe, Reverendo Ugrino Colocenſe Archyepiſcopis exiſtentibus, Deſiderio Chanadienſe, Roberto Weſprimienſe, Thoma Agrienſe, Stephano Zagrabienſe, Alexandro Waradienſe, Bartholomeo Quinqueeccleſienſe, Coſma Gevrienſe, Briccio Wacienſe Epiſcopis exiſtentibus, Regni noſtri anno decimo ſeptimo.

Nos igitur peticioni dictorum Baronum, procerum et nobilium Regni noſtri aures exaudibiles Regio cum favore inclinantes conſideratis et in memoriam revocatis fidelibus obſequijs et ſinceriſſimis complacentijs eorundem, quibus in cunctis noſtris et Regni noſtri negocijs proſperis pariter et adverſis, ſpecialiter vero in ſumpmenda vindicta innoxij ſanguinis olim domini Andree Jeruſalem et Sicylie Regis, fratris noſtri kariſſimi beate recordacionis, cujus dyre necis acerbitas fere totius orbis fines ſeu plagas perpuliavit, ad dictum Regnum Sycilie nobiſcum proficiſcendo inopinatis fortune caſibus et varijs perſonarum periculis ſumpma fidelitate ſulti intrepide ſe ſubmittendo noſtre majeſtati ſtuduerunt complacere et ſe reddere utique gratioſos et acceptos: volentes voto ipſorum gratioſe occurrere et eorum beneplacitum adimplere, ut ipſos ad ſimilia fidelitatis opera exercenda devota mente incitemus, predictas literas ipſius domini Andre Regis, Avi et predeceſſoris noſtri kariſſimi, Aurea Bulla ſua roboratas omni penitus ſuſpicione carentes de verbo ad verbum preſentibus inſertas acceptantes, ratificantes et approbantes ſimul cum omnibus libertatibus in eisdem expreſſis (excepto ſolummodo uno articulo modo prenotato de eodem privilegio excluſo, eo videlicet: *quod nobiles homines sine herede decedentes possint et queant ecclesiis vel alijs quibus volunt in* limited. A judge may be represented by no more than one deputy.
9. Our court judge has judicial powers at court: on his own estates he may neither issue summonses nor send out summoners.
10. The son or brother of a baron or noble killed in war will be compensated by the king.
11. Aliens shall not be preferred to dignities without the advice of the kingdom.
12. Widows shall not be deprived of property acquired by marriage. 13. Barons when following the court shall not oppress the peasantry.
14. A count who devastates his county will be punished with degradation from his dignity and will be forced to restore his plunder. 15. Beaters, huntsmen, packs of hounds, and falconers shall not trespass upon the estates of the nobles. 16. Counties or other honourable posts shall not be conferred in perpetuity. 17. No one shall be deprived of possessions legally acquired. 18. With our permission nobles may attach themselves to our son; we will also respect our son's decisions, and *vice versâ*.
19. Citizens and foreigners shall be treated according to old-established rights.
20. Tithes shall not be paid in silver, but delivered in wine or corn proportionately to the harvest.
21. Bishops are not bound to provide forage for the king's horses from their tithes. 22. The king's swine may only feed in the woods and meadows of the nobles with their permission.
23. Our new coinage shall circulate for a year, from Easter to Easter, and shall be struck as in Bela's time. 24. Jews and Ishmaelites shall not hold the offices of overseer of the royal mint, salt stations, and taxation office. 25. Salt stations exist only in Szolnok, in Szegedin, and on the frontier. 26. Foreigners are excluded from holding landed property. 27. Marten money shall be paid according to the arrangement of King Coloman. 28. Outlaws are not to be protected by the nobles. 29. The count is to enjoy only his due share of the revenue of a county, and the king the remainder.
30. With the exception of the Palatine, the Banus and the two court counts of the king and queen, no one may hold two offices.
31. All these ordinances we have caused to be sealed with our golden seal, and seven identical copies are to be placed in seven different localities. Should they be infringed by us or by our successors, our nobles may without hesitation enter a protest and oppose our action [abolished 1687]. Given, etc., in the year of the Word Incarnate 1222, etc.
Thus we graciously confirm this golden bull of King Andreas II in gratitude for faithful service rendered

(with the exception of the following article: "nobles without heirs of their body may give to churches or to any one they wish so much as they will of their property during lifetime or bequeath it at their death," inasmuch as it is proper that the nearest male heirs of the male branch and their children should be regarded as legal heirs [this so-called right of Avicitas remained valid in Hungary till 1848]),

vita et in morte dare vel legare, possessiones eorum vendere vel alienare; imo ad iſta facienda nullam penitus habeant facultatem, ſed in fratres proximos et generaciones ipſorum poſſeſſiones eorundem de jure et legitime, pure et ſimpliciter absque contradictione aliquali devolvantur, ut tenor continet privilegij Bullati domini Andre Regis ſupradicti) confirmantes et easdem libertates de beneplacita voluntate Sereniſſime Principiſſe domine Elyzabeth eadem gratia Regine Hungarie, genitricis noſtre kariſſime, ac de conſilio eorundem Baronum noſtrorum, e regie benignitatis clemencia innovando ipsos in eisdem perhempnaliter commiſimus fruituros et gaviſuros. Inſuper pro tranquiliori ſtatu et pacifico commodo eorundem Regnicolarum noſtrorum de voluntate eiusdem genitricis noſtre et conſilio eorundem Baronum noſtrorum ipſis ex ſolita liberalitate huiusmodi libertates infraſcriptas ſuperaddendo duximus concedendas. Quod ſi prelati vel aliqui viri eccleſiaſtici[ci] contra nobiles regni noſtri in aliqua cauſa in prefencia alicuius judicis Regni noſtri proceſſerint et litem habuerint, tunc pro cauſa, pro qua agitur, Lite pendente interdictum in eos ponere vel contra ipſos ſentenciam excommunicacionis non poſſint promulgare, ſicut hactenus uſi ſunt et conſueti, absque ſcitu et noticia regie majeſtatis. et ſi ijdem viri eccleſiaſtici ſeu prelati tramite juris obſervato in alicuius Regi[i] judicis preſenciam de jure convicti fuerint, tunc in eiusdem gravaminis penam, quo eorum adverſarios intendebant honerare ſeu agravare, incidant eo facto. nec pro funere hominum per aliquem vel per aliquos interemptorum Archydiaconi mala conſuetudine, ſicut uſi ſunt, unam Marcam exhigere valeant atque poſſint. Minuti etiam Conventus ab emanacione literarum ſuarum ſuper perpetuacione poſſeſſionum conficiendarum ceſſent, et eorum ſigilla omni careant firmitate. Lucrum vero Camere, prout tempore Incliti Principis domini Karoli olym regis Hungarie, genitoris noſtri kariſſimi pie memorie, de quolibet integro ſundo Curie tres groſſi ſolvebantur, ſic et nunc cum tribus groſſis in noſtra Camera cudendis (quorum groſſorum unus ſex denarios Camare noſtre in valore et quantitate ſex laterum Wiennenſium valeat et ipſorum groſſorum quatuordecim unum fertonem faciant) persolvatur; ſuperfluos autem denarios videlicet dicarum redempcionem et victualia recipere non valeant. villicos et ſervientes in proprijs eorum poſſeſſionibus commorantes ac ſervos ipſius lucri Camare dicatores dicare et ſuper ipſos lucrum Camere exhigere non poſſint; et generaliter dicendo nichil plus quam tres groſſos recipere valeant et extorquere. Preterea ab omnibus Jobagionibus noſtris aratoribus et vineas habentibus in quibuslibet villis liberis ac etiam udwarnicalibus villis quocunque nomine vocitatis ac regnalibus conſtitutis (exceptis Civitatibus muratis) nonam partem omnium frugum ſuarum et vinorum ipſorum exhigi faciemus et domina Regina exhigi faciet; ac predicti Barones et nobiles ſimiliter ab omnibus aratoribus Jobagionibus et vineas habentibus in quibuslibet poſſeſſionibus ipſorum exiſtentibus nonam partem omnium frugum ſuarum et vinorum ſuorum eorum uſibus exhigant et recipiant. Prelati quoque et viri eccleſiaſtici Jobagiones habentes primo decimas et poſt hec ſimiliter nonam partem omnium frugum ſuarum et vinorum ſuorum exhigant; et ſi qui in exactione predicta ſecus fecerint, nos in talium rebellium et prefentem noſtram ſtat[ue]ionem alternancium poſſeſſionibus pro uſu noſtro ipſam nonam partem ipſarum frugum et vini exhigi faciemus ſine diminucione et relaxacione aliquali, ut per hoc honor noſter augeatur et ipſi Regnicole noſtri nobis fidelibus poſſint famulari. de poſſeſſionibus enim a nobis et noſtris ſucceſſoribus inveniendis juxta earum quantitatem videlicet de poſſeſſione proventus decem macarum facieuti vicecancellarius noſter unam marcam et ſcriptor unum fertonem et de maioribus poſſeſſionibus proventus viginti marcarum facientibus duas marcas et ſcriptor ſimiliter unum fertonem recipere poſſint et habere, et ſic conſequenter juxta excreſcentiam poſſeſſionum de novo inveniendarum. Tributa etiam injuſta ſuper terris ſiccis et fluvijs ab infra defcendentibus et ſupra euntibus non exhigantur niſi in pontibus et navigijs ab ultra transeuntibus perſolvatur, cum in eisdem nobiles et ignobiles regni noſtri multo et nimium percepimus agravari. Ceterum ſi quis nobilis ordine judiciario in facto potentiali ſuccumbitus duelli in pena calumpnie a[tte]ſtationis falſi teſtimoni et exhibicionis falſarum literarum ac ſentencie capitalis pro quocunque facto in preſentia Palatini et judic[i] Curie noſtre aut alterius cuiuscunque judicis preſencia convictus fuerit, judex illius cauſe talem convictum recaptivet et tribus diebus cauſa reformacionis pacis inter partes fiende et ordinande detineat; et ſi concordare nequirent, tunc in manus ſui adverſarij ad infligendam ſibi penam juxta regni conſuetudinem et de jure debitam aſſignet. et ſi tali convicto pars adverſa mortem vel aliam penam conſuetudinis regni de jure debendam infligerit vel [infligi] fecerit, tunc a judice et parte adverſa ſine recepcione alicuius pecunie vel gravaminis poſſeſſionis ſue erit expeditus; filijque, fratres, proximi, forores et uxores pro exceſſu talis pereuntis hominis non debeant agravari, ſed in poſſeſſionibus, domibus et bonis ipſorum quieti et pacifici permaneant. Si autem cum parte adverſa homo premiſſo modo convictus poſſet concordare, judex non ultra niſi quinquaginta marcas dando ſibi terminum debitum ad easdem perſolvendas recipere poſſit; et ſi dato ſibi termino ſolvere non curaret, de poſſeſſione ſua expirato ipſo termino recepto homine Regio et teſtimonio alicuius Capituli vel credibilis Conventus porcionem vel porciones ipſas quinquaginta marcas valentem vel valentes poſſit occupare tam diu poſſidendam vel poſſidendas, donec per hos, quorum redempcioni eadem vel eedem magis convenire dignoſcuntur, pro ipſis quinquaginta marcis redi-

in agreement with our royal mother Elizabeth [daughter of Vladislav I of Poland and sister of Casimir the Great, who secured to the house of Anjou their short possession of Poland] and with our barons.

Hereto we also confirm the following privileges:

1. Churchmen shall not exercise their ecclesiastical powers against nobles during the continuance of any lawsuit in which the latter are involved.

2. Archdeacons shall not, as hitherto, demand a fee of one mark for interments.

3. The seals of small ecclesiastical corporations are not valid as evidence in questions of territorial ownership.

4. To provide for the new coinage every holding shall pay three groschen (of six pfennigs) to the court, as in the time of our royal father Charles.

5. Local judges, king's vassals who till their own land, and their subordinates shall be exempt from this tax.

6. Apart from this, we have also to require from our landed vassals a tax of the ninth part of the income derived from agriculture, and the barons may require the same from their vassals. The clergy may collect this tax from their subjects over and above the tithe.

7. For documents issued from our chancery concerning grants of land of any great extent a fee is to be paid according to the productivity of the lands in question.

8. Illegal and oppressive taxation is abolished.

9. Nobles shall be kept in ward three days by the judge when under a criminal charge, in order that the case may be settled by compromise with the prosecuting party. If settlement be impossible, the noble shall be delivered to the prosecution for punishment in accordance with the custom of the kingdom: no amercement is payable in such cases.

10. The relatives of the condemned shall suffer no loss or damage by reason of their relationship. If the defendant compromises with the prosecution, the judge shall receive not more than fifty marks up to a definitely settled date; if no payment is made up to that date, distraint may be exercised.

mantur. ad eorundem etiam nobilium peticionem annuimus, ut univerſi veri nobiles intra terminos regni noſtri conſtituti tam in tenutis ducalibus ſub incluſione terminorum ipſius Regni noſtri exiſtentes ſub una et eadem libertate gratulentur. Lucrum etiam Camare noſtre nobiles inter fluvios Drawe et Zave ac de Poſoga necnon de Walbo cum alijs veris nobilibus Regni noſtri unaniniter ſolvere teneantur, nec ratione collecte marturinarum Banzuluſmaya vocatarum a modo et in poſterum moleſtentur, ſed ab omni exaccione aliarum quarumlibet collectarum hacteuus perſolvi conſuetarum exempti penitus tanquam ceteri Regni noſtri Nobiles aliarum partium immunes habeantur. Si vero alique minere auri vel argenti, cupri, ferri vel alie fodine in poſſeſſionibus nobilium inveni rentur, absque competenti concambio non auferantur, ſed pro talibus poſſeſſionibus mineras auri in ſe germinandis, ſi Regie placuerit voluntati, equales poſſeſſiones conferat nobilibus prenotatis; alioquin ſi ipſas poſſeſſiones minerofas regia majeſtas pro concambio habere nollet, extunc jus regale ſeu urburas juri regio pertinentes percipi ſuo nomine faciet easdem poſſeſſiones ipſis nobilibus cum ceteris quibuslibet ſuis utilitatibus, proventibus et juribus relinquendo, prout etiam idem dominus Karolus Rex, genitor noſter kariſſimus, ipſis regnicolis annuerat literarum ſuarum per vigorem. Si autem alicui poſſeſſionem vel poſſeſſiones contulerimus, ille poſſeſſionem vel poſſeſſiones eidem collatas pro ſe recapiat et non nomine noſtro, ſed nomine ipſorum proprio cum contradictoribus in ſtatucione dicte poſſeſſionis aparentibus trahat litem ita, quod nomen noſtrum ipſi litigionarie queſtioni non immiſceant nec procuratorias literas ad execucionem talium cauſarum a nobis recipere poſſint ſeu inpetrare. nobiles etiam ad loca tributorum ire non compellantur, ſed per portus, quos voluerint, libero tranſitu absque aliquali inpedimento pociantur. nec etiam Jobagiones aliquorum regnicolarum noſtrorum ad Regiam vel reginalem celſitudinem pertinentes vel ad eccleſiarum prelatos aut potentes regni noſtri attinentes absque voluntaria permiſſione dominorum eorundem Jobagionum potenter abducantur. denique iſtam conſuetudinem, quod, dum nobiles Regni noſtri ad conducendum uxores eorum accedunt et more ſolito cum eorum uxoribus ad propria redeuntes in pontibus et tributis una marca exhigitur, duximus caſſandam et anichilandam. Nichilominus etiam in Civitatibus et liberis villis Regalibus et Reginalibus Prelatorum et baronum ac aliorum nobilium tenutis et poſſeſſionibus Jobagiones Regnicolarum noſtrorum pro priſtinis factis non poſſint inpediri, prohiberi ſeu areſtari in rebus et perſonis, ſed ſi ijdem vulnera leſiones, mortem, incendia et alia conſimilia enormia perpetrarent manifeſte, extunc ex parte eorundem judicium et juſticia inpendatur, et quilibet querelantes in propriorum dominorum ſuorum preſencia judicium et juſticiam proſequantur congruentem. Porro pro exceſſibus patris filius nec in perſona nec in poſſeſſionibus nec in rebus condempnetur. Epiſcopi quoque, Capitula, Abbates, conventus, prepoſiti et cetere poſſeſſionate eccleſiaſtice perſone cum tribus literis Inquiſitorijs (niſi regia majeſtas deſtinatis probis viris, quos maluerit, experiatur et informetur inter Nobiles et eccleſias ſuper poſſeſſionibus acquirendis) poſſeſſionem nec requirere nec retinere poſſint niſi cum literis privilegialibus Regis vel Reginalibus aut Judicum vices gerentium Regie majeſtatis. homines autem Capitulorum ſeu Conventuum, qui ex mandato Regio pro teſtimonio ducuntur, non poſſint eſſe alij niſi hij, qui dignitates habent in eadem ecclesia. et ſi ipſius Capituli vel Conventus teſtimonium in equo ſuo proprio ductus fuerit, tunc per diem duos groſſos, ſi vero in equo ipſius Nobilis ducetur, tunc per diem unum groſſum ipſi idem nobilis dare teneatur. Homo autem regius, qui ducitur ad citandum vel ad Inquiſicionem faciendam, non poſſit eſſe aliunde niſi de eodem Comitatu vel diſtrictu, in quo eſt ille qui citatur vel contra quem fit inquiſicio; et Capitulorum teſtimonium de propinquioribus Capitulis adducatur ad citandum aut ad Inquirendum. et Inquiſiciones non poſſint fieri per alium modum niſi mediantibus literis Regalibus vel palatini aut Judicis Curie Regie, et congregentur nobiles illius Comitatus vel diſtrictus in unum, et ab eis inquiratur manifeſte. Cauſantes enim, in quacumque maxima et ardua cauſa concordare voluerint Judex prohibere non poſſit, et de judicio pacis ab ipſis non plus quam tres marcas exhigere valeat quoquomodo. univerſe etiam cauſe in facto poſſeſſionum mote et movende in tertio termino absque dilacione et prorogacione aliquali terminentur.

Et ut preſentis noſtre confirmacionis, innovacionis, conſtitutionis et libertatum largicionis ac conceſſionis ſeries robur optineat perpetue firmitatis nec ullo unquam tempore per nos et noſtros ſucceſſores in aliqua ſui parte quomodolibet valeant in irritum revocari, preſentes conceſſimus literas noſtras privilegiales pendentis et autentici Sigilli noſtri duplicis munimine roboratas. Datum per manus venerabilis in Chriſto patris domini Nicolai, eadem gratia et Apoſtolice ſedis Epiſcopi Zagrabienſis, Aule noſtre vicecancellarii dilecti et fidelis noſtri, Anno domini Milleſimo Trecenteſimo Quinquageſimo primo, tertio Ydus decembris, Regni autem noſtri anno decimo, venerabilibus in Chriſto patribus et dominis Nicolao Strigonienſe Locique eiusdem Comite perpetuo et Dominico Spalatenſe Archyepiſcopis, fratre Dyomiſio Archyelecto Colocenſe, Nicolao Agrienſe, Demetrio Waradienſe, Andrea Tranſilvano, Colomano Jaurienſe, Nicola Quinqueeccleſienſe, Mychaele Wachienſe, Johanne Wesprimienſe, Thoma Chanadienſe, fratribus Thoma Syrimienſe, Peregrino Boznenſe, Stephano Nitrienſe, Blaſio Tynienſe epiſcopis, eccleſias dei feliciter gubernantibus.

11. The nobles of our kingdom all enjoy the same privileges [including those in the duchy of Slavonia].
12. A payment for the new coinage shall be paid by all nobles between the Drave and Save and those of Požega and of Valpovo; they are, however, exempted from payment of the master tax and enjoy the same privileges as the rest of our nobles.
13. The estates of nobles which contain mineral wealth shall only become royal property in exchange for estates of equal value; otherwise they remain in the possession of the owners, and the king merely collects the mining duties.

14. The king's name is not to be dragged into lawsuits concerning land tenure.

15. Nobles are not bound to pass through the customs houses, but have free harbours (or free passage).
16. The serfs of the king, the queen, the church, and nobility are not to be removed without the permission of their overlords.
17. The customary tax of a mark, payable on the marriage of nobles, is abolished.

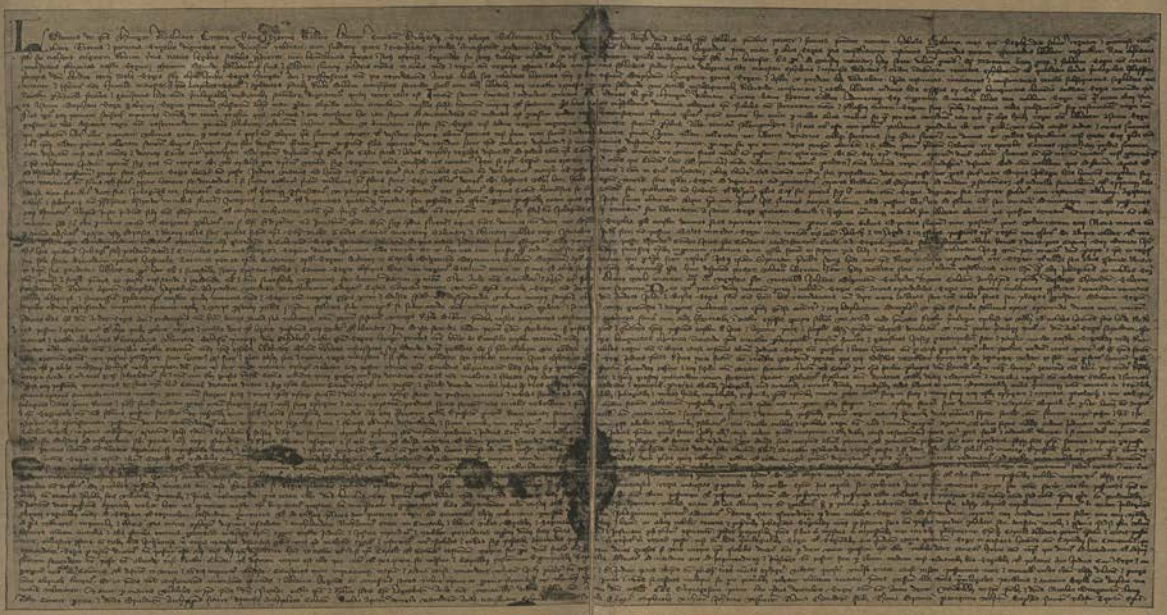
18. In the towns and markets of the crown, nobility, and church the vassals of our landed nobility cannot be apprehended for previous misdeeds.

19. The son is not responsible for his father's misdeeds. 20. Clergy can only recover or retain estates by letters patent from the king, the queen, or the acting court judge.

21. Representatives sent out by ecclesiastical bodies to give public evidence in lawsuits between nobles must be dignitaries of such bodies, and may then claim travelling expenses.
22. Crown vassals can only give evidence on behalf of inhabitants of their county.

23. Inquisitions can only take place before the assembled nobility of a county, and, when authorized by letters from the king, the palatine or the court judge.
24. No obstacles are to be placed in the way of compromises between contending parties; the judge may demand three marks as payment for his trouble. 25. All lawsuits on questions of proprietorship shall be settled within three terms.
Attestation and seal.

Given on December 11, 1351, before the following ecclesiastical [and temporal] dignitaries as witnesses.



KING LOUIS I. OF HUNGARY CONFIRMS, ON DECEMBER 11, 1351, THE GOLDEN BULL OF FREEDOM (NO LONGER EXISTING IN THE ORIGINAL) OF KING ANDREAS II. OF THE YEAR 1222, AND INTRODUCES THE RIGHT OF AVITICITAS, WHICH REMAINED IN FORCE UNTIL 1848

(From the original document of the House, Court, and State Archives in Vienna)

Eufemia, who had been divorced for adultery. Borics was supported by the Polish duke Boleslav III, who was put to flight by the German troops of the king. On the death of Béla II his son Géza II, who was a minor, came to the throne (1141 to May, 1161), and Borics then attempted to secure the help of the Crusaders, who were passing through Hungary. However, the emperor Conrad and King Louis VII declined to support this hazardous project. Borics now fled to the Byzantine emperor Manuel (p. 95). This ruler had inspired further life, about the middle of the twelfth century, into the decaying Byzantine Empire, and was attempting to make Greek influence once more preponderant in the Balkan Peninsula. As Hungary stood in the way of his plans, he attempted to undermine her independence by every means in his power. At the instigation of Borics he invaded the south of Hungary, but was driven back by Géza II and forced to make peace. Borics afterwards met his death at the head of Greek troops in a conflict with the Kumanians. The emperor Manuel now took the duke Stephan and Ladislaus under his protection; they had sought refuge with him after revolting against their brother Géza in 1158. Under this ruler took place the first great immigration of the Germans to Northern Hungary and Transylvania (see below, p. 403). On the death of Géza the Hungarian throne naturally fell by inheritance to his son Stephan III (1161–1172), but Manuel by means of bribery secured the election of his favourite Ladislaus II in 1162. After his early death (January, 1163 ?), the emperor Manuel brought forward Stephan IV, the other brother of Géza, as an opposition king; Stephan, however, was speedily abandoned by his supporters and overthrown by Stephan III in 1164, in alliance with the Přemyslid Vladislav II (p. 240). Manuel concluded peace with Stephan III and took his brother Béla to Constantinople to be educated. The danger which Byzantium threatened to the Hungarian Empire came to an end in 1180, with the death of the emperor Manuel; shortly before that date he had given Hungary a king in the person of Béla III (1172 to April 20, 1196), who used his Greek education solely for the benefit of the people. Béla III recovered the Dalmatian districts and Syrmia from the Venetians, and occupied Galicia (Halicz) for some time. By his marriage with Margaret, the sister of Philip II Augustus of France, French customs were introduced into Hungary.

Andreas II, the son of Béla III (1205–1235), overthrew his brother Emerich (died in the middle of September, 1204), and also his son Ladislaus III (died May 7, 1205, in Vienna), and undertook a crusade on his own account in 1217. On his return home he lived in a continual state of dissension with his nobles. After a long struggle, in which the malcontents, under the leadership of Benedict Bor, otherwise Bánk bán (Banus Bánk), had killed the queen Gertrude in 1213, Andreas II issued the "golden bull,"—a piece of legislation of the first importance to the Hungarian constitution. By this measure he broke the power of the counts and gave extensive privileges to the ecclesiastical and secular nobility of lower rank, securing to the latter a permanent influence upon government legislation and administration.[1]

Under the government of his son Béla IV (1235–1270) the Mongols of Batu invaded the country in March, 1241 (Vol. II, p. 175), and spread appalling devastation for a year. The Austrian duke Frederick II the Valiant, the last of the Babenbergs, meanwhile occupied the West and plundered the treasures of Queen

[1] See the plate facing this page, "King Louis I confirms the Golden Bull of Freedom of the Year 1222 on December 11, 1351," with its legend and explanatory translation.

Maria, who had taken refuge with him. After the departure of the invading hordes (spring of 1242) the king returned home from Dalmatia, and with the help of the Knights of St. John (cf. p. 349) soon restored prosperity (p. 300) and undertook a campaign against the Austrian duke, who fell, leaving no issue, in the battle of Vienna Neustadt (June 15, 1246). Béla IV now occupied his valuable heritage, but in July, 1260 (cf. above, p. 244), was forced to divide it with the Bohemian king Premsyl Ottokar II, and finally to renounce it entirely, since the power of Bohemia extended to the Adriatic Sea, and in Germany the "dreadful period without an emperor" of the interregnum had begun.

Ladislaus IV (1272–1290), the son of Stephan V (1270–1272) and a grandson of Béla IV, helped the Hapsburg ruler to win a victory for Ottokar at Dürnkrut on August 26, 1278, and then wasted his time in dissipation and feasting with the Kumanians, to whom he was related through his mother, the daughter of a Kumanian chief. He was hardly able to expel the Tartar invaders. On August 31, 1290, he was murdered by a company of his dearest friends, the Kumanians. Rudolf of Hapsburg made an unjustifiable attempt to hand over Hungary to his son Albrecht, as a vacant fief of the empire; his real object, however, was to secure concessions in that quarter.

The male line of the house of Árpád became extinct after Andreas III. He was recognised only by Dalmatia and Croatia (1290 to January 14, 1301), being opposed by Charles Martel of Anjou (died 1295), a step-son of Rudolf of Hapsburg and a protégé of Nicholas IV. Under the government of the Árpáds the Hungarian nation had imbibed the spirit of Christian civilization, though without sacrificing their natural interests on the altar of religion. The general policy of the Árpáds had been to connect the development of the Hungarian nationality with Western civilization, and to put down infidelity and barbarism with the sword. The country was covered with churches, monasteries, and schools, of which latter the high school at Vessprim soon became a scientific and artistic centre. No less obvious is the influence of Christianity in the most ancient remains of Hungarian literature. The first book written in the Hungarian language at the outset of the thirteenth century is the "Funeral Service with Proper Prayers" (Halotti beszéd); this service clearly reflects the spirit of the nation which had so long wandered upon the storm-lashed plains and only a short time before had buried its dead with their horses.

(*b*) *The Consolidation of the Permanent Kingdom by the House of Anjou.*— Upon the extinction of the male line of the Árpáds, several members of the female line came forward with claims to the vacant throne.[1] Charles Robert, the grandson of Maria, daughter of Stephan V, was a member of the Neapolitan Anjou family, and had secured a considerable following from 1295, even during the lifetime of Andreas III; however, the Hungarians, if we may believe the somewhat questionable traditions on the point, elected the king Wenzel II of Bohemia (p. 246), whose mother, Kunigunde (Kinga) of Halicz, was descended from the family of the Árpáds. He, however, did not accept the election, but handed over the Hungarian crown to his son Wenzel III, who assumed the name of Ladislaus V, as king in 1302. However, the party of Charles Robert caused Ladislaus so much trouble during his stay in the country that he returned to Bohemia in 1304. The

[1] Cf. genealogical tree facing page 384, "The Last Árpáds and the Neapolitan Members of the House of Anjou in Hungary."

party of Wenzel now elected Otto III, duke of Lower Bavaria (1305 to 1308), whose mother Elizabeth was also a descendant of the house of Árpád (see the genealogy facing page 384). While upon a visit to Transylvania, he fell into the hands of the Transylvanian Voivod Ladislaus Apor (1307); after spending a year in captivity he secured his freedom, abdicated the crown, and left the country (died 1312).

By means of the intervention of the Pope, Charles Robert[1] was chosen king; he was able to secure the predominance of the house of Anjou in Hungary for nearly a century. He proved an admirable ruler, who not only kept the oligarchy in check, but also improved the prosperity of Hungary by the introduction of a reformed system of defence and of agriculture; he also brought the nation into immediate contact with Italian civilization (cf. Vol. VII, pp. 149 ff.). He secured the crown of Poland to his son and successor Lewis, and the crown of Naples, by marriage, to his other son Andreas.

On the death of Charles Robert his son Lewis I came to the throne (1342 to September 11, 1382), and Hungary secured a highly educated and knightly ruler, to whom she gladly gave the title of "the Great." Lewis introduced a beneficial innovation by a regulation which obliged the territorial serfs to pay a ninth of the products of their fields and vineyards to the nobility, in order that these might the more easily be able to fulfil the heavy obligation of supplying troops for military service (cf. § 6 on page 3 of the explanation to the plate facing page 381); by prohibiting the alienation of noble lands from the families which owned them, this Angevin introduced the Hungarian custom of "*aviticitas*" (derived from the Latin *avitus* = hereditary, belonging to the race). To this reform Lewis the Great owed his brilliant military successes. His attention was soon claimed by the confusion in the kingdom of Naples, where his brother Andreas had been murdered by his own wife Joanna I on September 18, 1345. Lewis appeared in Naples with a large army at the close of 1347, conquered the town, and inflicted punishment upon the supporters of his sister-in-law, who fled to Provence in January, 1348. This victory of the Hungarian arms in Naples considerably raised the prestige of Lewis throughout Europe. Owing to the opposition of Pope Clement VI he was unable to take permanent possession of the conquered territory, but the long stay which he made in Italy (1347, 1348–1350) had a great influence upon the education of his nobles. In two campaigns (1356 and 1378) he humbled the Republic of Venice, and finally reconquered Dalmatia from Quarnero to Durazzo. For a short period he also occupied part of Bulgaria (1365–1369; cf. p. 347). It was under his government that Christian Europe was first threatened by the Turkish advance into the Balkan Peninsula; this advance he prevented in 1366 for some time. To secure his dynasty and extend it, he betrothed his daughter, the heiress Maria, to Sigismund of Luxemburg, a younger son by a fourth marriage of the German emperor Charles IV;[2] his other daughter, Hedwig, was betrothed to William, Duke of Austria. Both, however, died without children in 1395 and 1399. Lewis did not secure possession of the crown of Poland until 1370; his power now extended from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and for a time

[1] Or Carolobertus, as he is named in the "Res publica et status regni Hungariæ," a beautiful little book from the Elzevir press of 1634.

[2] Charles' daughter Margaret by his first marriage with Blanche of Valois, who died in 1349, had formerly been the wife of Lewis.

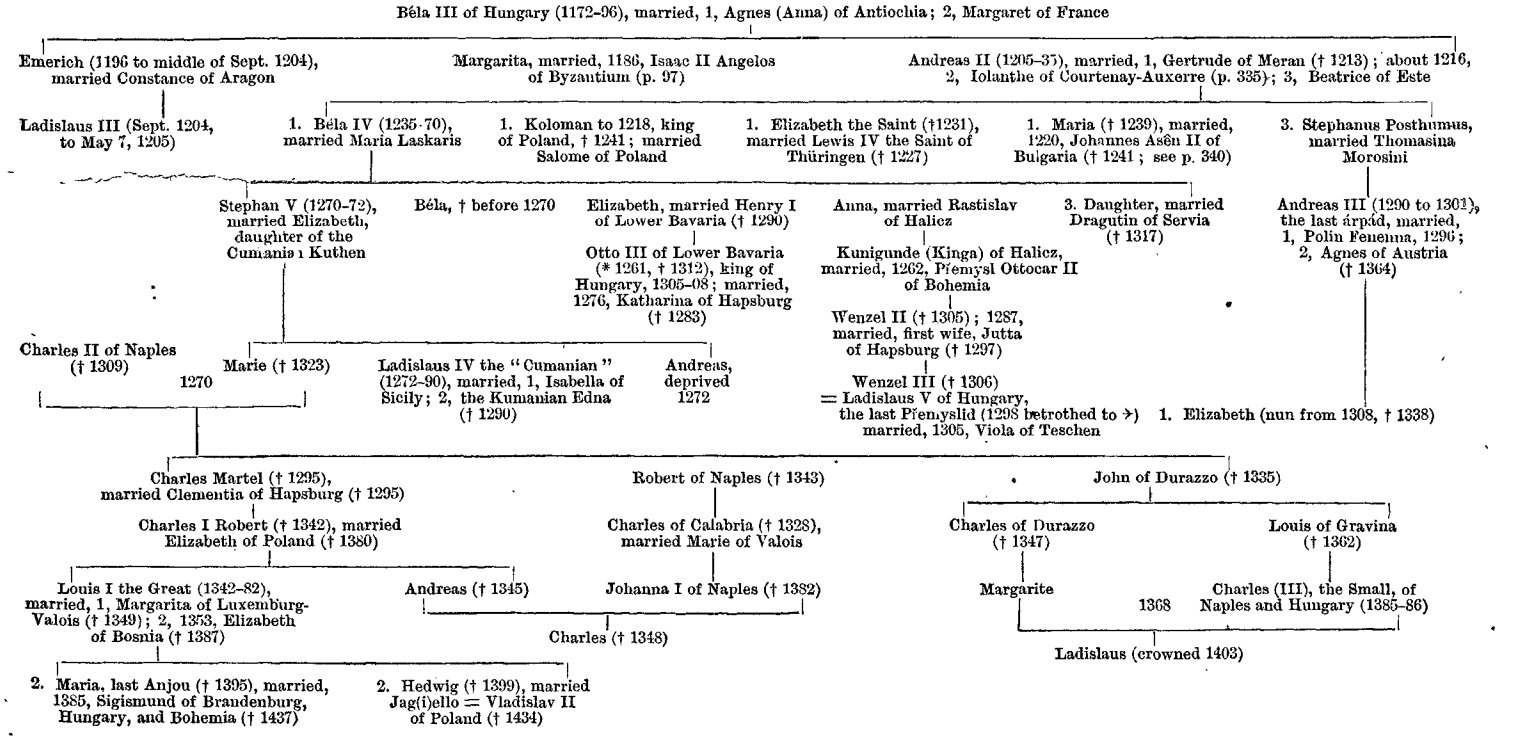
even to the Black Sea. These acquisitions of territory increased his prestige and his influence among the states of Europe, but contributed very little to the consolidation of the Hungarian kingdom in view of the undisciplined nature of the Polish nobility and the favouritism of his mother Elizabeth.

As Lewis I had no sons, his daughter Maria ascended the throne after his death (1382 to May 17, 1395), but was unable to maintain her position. Poland fell into the hands of her sister Hedwig, who had become the wife of Jagellon of Lithuania (Vol. VII, p. 182). However, in Hungary Maria was forced to deal at once with certain revolted noble families, who called to the throne in 1385 King Charles III, the younger of Durazzo, from Naples (cf. the genealogical table facing this page, "The Last Árpáds and the Neapolitan House of Anjou in Hungary"). This Angevin king was crowned as Charles II, and after a reign of thirty-six days was assassinated (February 24, 1386). The nobles took Maria prisoner, and her mother Elizabeth they strangled. Maria's husband, Sigismund of Luxemburg (cf. Vol. VII, pp. 182 and 190), appeared at the right moment in Hungary with a Bohemian army of Wenzel to free his consort from imprisonment, and the regency was intrusted to him at the close of March, 1387. While these disturbances undermined the power of Hungary from within, the Osmans were continuing their conquests in the Balkan Peninsula. In 1389 the fate of Servia was decided (p. 294). In 1393 the fortress of Widdin fell, the house of the Šišmanids of Trnovo was overthrown, and Bulgaria became an Osman province (p. 347). Sigismund then turned for help to the Christian states of Western Europe. However, his splendid army, half composed of Hungarians, was destroyed at Nikopoli by the Turks, with the loss of more than fifty thousand men (p. 131). South Hungary soon became a desert. Sigismund then found himself entangled in a long and fruitless war with Venice for the possession of Dalmatia. As German emperor, his attention was long occupied, after 1410 and 1411, by ecclesiastical difficulties (cf. above, pp. 256 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 191 ff.). By the burning of the reformer John Huss (cf. above, p. 256) the Hussite heresy was widely spread in Bohemia, and the devastating influence of the movement extended also to Northern Hungary.

(*c*) *The Age of the Families of Hunyadi and Corvinus.* — After a reign of fifty years Sigismund died and left the throne to the husband of his daughter Elizabeth, Albrecht (Albert) of Austria. Under his government (1437–1439) Hungary nearly fell into the hands of the Turks, and was only saved from destruction by John Hunyadi, Baron of Szolnok and Count of Temesvár;[1] he was one of the most capable generals and noblest figures in the Magyar nation. After the unexpected death of Albrecht (p. 262) disturbances broke out at home and abroad. One party of the nobles chose Vladislav III of Poland, while another offered the crown to Ladislaus (Posthumus), the son of Albrecht, born after his death on February 22, 1440. These quarrels about the succession only came to an end upon the death of the queen widow, Elizabeth (December 19, 1442). In the end Vladislav I secured recognition (1442–1444). The brilliant successes which Hunyadi had gained over the Turks on the occasion of their incursion into Transylvania and South Hungary in 1442 (pp. 134 and 358) inspired the king to attack the enemy in his own country in 1443; he was defeated, and forced

[1] His true name was Sibinjanin Janko or Jankul, a Roumanian of Transylvania; cf. also Jorgas, "History of the Roumanian People," Vol. I, pp. 312 ff.

The Last Árpáds and the Neapolitan Anjous in Hungary


Béla III of Hungary (1172–96), married, 1, Agnes (Anna) of Antiochia; 2, Margaret of France
Emerich (1196 to middle of Sept. 1204), married Constance of Aragon
Margarita, married, 1186, Isaac II Angelos of Byzantium (p. 97)
Andreas II (1205–35), married, 1, Gertrude of Meran († 1213); about 1216, 2, Iolanthe of Courtenay-Auxerre (p. 335); 3, Beatrice of Este
Ladislaus III (Sept. 1204, to May 7, 1205)
1. Béla IV (1235–70), married Maria Laskaris
1. Koloman to 1218, king of Poland, † 1241; married Salome of Poland
1. Elizabeth the Saint († 1231), married Lewis IV the Saint of Thüringen († 1227)
1. Maria († 1239), married, 1220, Johannes Asên II of Bulgaria († 1241; see p. 340)
3. Stephanus Posthumus, married Thomasina Morosini
Stephan V (1270–72), married Elizabeth, daughter of the Cumanian Kuthen
Béla, † before 1270
Elizabeth, married Henry I of Lower Bavaria († 1290)
Otto III of Lower Bavaria (* 1261, † 1312), king of Hungary, 1305–08; married, 1276, Katharina of Hapsburg († 1283)
Anna, married Rastislav of Halicz
Kunigunde (Kinga) of Halicz, married, 1262, Přemysl Ottocar II of Bohemia
Wenzel II († 1305); 1287, married, first wife, Jutta of Hapsburg († 1297)
Wenzel III († 1306) = Ladislaus V of Hungary, the last Přemyslid (1298 betrothed to ✕) married, 1305, Viola of Teschen
3. Daughter, married Dragutin of Servia († 1317)
Andreas III (1290 to 1301), the last árpád, married, 1, Polin Fenenna, 1296; 2, Agnes of Austria († 1364)
Charles II of Naples († 1309)
1270
Marie († 1323)
Ladislaus IV the "Cumanian" (1272–90), married, 1, Isabella of Sicily; 2, the Kumanian Edna († 1290)
Andreas, deprived 1272
1. Elizabeth (nun from 1308, † 1338)
Charles Martel († 1295), married Clementia of Hapsburg († 1295)
Charles I Robert († 1342), married Elizabeth of Poland († 1380)
Robert of Naples († 1343)
Charles of Calabria († 1328), married Marie of Valois
Johanna I of Naples († 1382)
Charles († 1348)
John of Durazzo († 1335)
Charles of Durazzo († 1347)
Margarite
Louis of Gravina († 1362)
Charles (III), the Small, of Naples and Hungary (1385–86)
1368
Ladislaus (crowned 1403)
Louis I the Great (1342–82), married, 1, Margarita of Luxemburg-Valois († 1349); 2, 1353, Elizabeth of Bosnia († 1387)
Andreas († 1345)
2. Maria, last Anjou († 1395), married, 1385, Sigismund of Brandenburg, Hungary, and Bohemia († 1437)
2. Hedwig († 1399), married Jag(i)ello = Vladislav II of Poland († 1434)

to conclude the peace of Szegedin in the middle of 1444 (p. 134). A few days afterwards Vladislav, deceived by the optimism of the papacy, broke the treaty. The result of this rashness was his total defeat at the battle of Varna on November 10, 1444, where Vladislav and Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini lost their lives. The relations of the country with Moldavia at this time have been discussed above (p. 365).

During the minority of King Ladislaus V Posthumus, Hunyadi was chosen regent of the empire (June 5, 1446, to Christmas, 1452), and devoted superhuman efforts to checking the aggrandisement of the nobility and the advance of the Turks. After the capture of Constantinople bands of Turks appeared before Belgrade. Owing to the enthusiastic preaching of the Minorite, John of Capistrano (p. 141), the people joined the army of Hunyadi in such numbers that he was able to relieve Belgrade with great rapidity (July 21, 1456). The whole of Europe was delighted with this brilliant feat of arms. However, on August 11 John Hunyadi ended his heroic life. The memory of this great man was but little honoured by King Ladislaus. Persuaded by the calumnies of the dead man's enemies, he executed his son Ladislaus, who had murdered the influential Count Ulrich of Cilli in Belgrade; the other son, Matthias, he took with him into captivity in Prague. After the sudden death of King Ladislaus V (November 23, 1457, shortly before the arrival of his consort, Isabella of France; cf. p. 263) Matthias returned home, and was placed upon the throne by the nobility on January 24, 1458. Thus the short connection between Hungary and Bohemia again terminated for the moment.

The thirty-two years of the reign of King Matthias Hunyadi (1458–1490), known as Corvinus, from his coat of arms, is the second period of prosperity and the last effort at independence on the part of Old Hungary. With an iron hand Matthias secured peace at home by the stern punishment of the rebellious nobles, and by making the grant of offices and dignities conditional upon good service. His government is a series of military and political successes, accompanied by a steady advance in intellectual and economic progress. The Hussite, John Giskra, who had occupied almost all the fortified possessions in Upper Hungary, recognised the power of the young king and came over to his service (1462). Matthias became entangled in the changing vicissitudes of a long war with the emperor Frederick III, who had been joined by the dissatisfied nobles; the struggle was brought to an end between 1485 and 1487 by the permanent conquest of Vienna, of Austria below the Enns, and some parts of Styria. The troubles in Bohemia were satisfactorily terminated by the conventions of Ofen and Olmütz (p. 265) on the 30th of September, 1478, and on July 21, 1479; these secured to Corvinus the title of King of Bohemia, and gave him possession of Moravia and the duchies of Silesia and Lausitz. He undertook a great expedition against the Turks, who marched triumphantly into Breslau and Vienna. When they invaded Transylvania he sent Count Paul Kinizsi of Temesvár to help the Voivod Stephan Báthori; they defeated the enemy on the Brotfeld at Broos (October 13, 1479). Under the government of Corvinus the Turkish danger lost its threatening character for some time; by the organisation of a standing army, the "Black Squadron," which maintained good discipline, he created a military power, the admirable organisation of which acted as a strong barrier against the storm advancing from the south.

At that period the new spirit of humanism was potent at the king's palace at Ofen, in the castles of the bishops, and in the high schools. Matthias was entirely under its influence. The movement of the renaissance found an enthusiastic reception and a ready support, not only in the seats of Dionys Szécchy and John Vitéz, the ecclesiastical princes of Gran and Grosswardein, but also at the king's court. Italian masters, including Benedetto da Majano (1442–1497), built and decorated a royal palace in which historians, poets, and rhetoricians assembled. The prothonotary, John of Thurócz, continued his "Chronicum pictum Vindobonense" to the year 1464, while Antonio Bonfini, the "Hungarian Livy" (died 1502), wrote the king's history, and Martino Galeotti (died 1478) collected his decrees. Among the circle of scholars who gathered round Corvinus, a European reputation was won by Marsilio Ficino (Vol. VII, p. 143) and by the later bishop of Fünfkirchen, Janus Pannonius, with his Latin epics, elegies, and epigrams. King Matthias had one of the most famous libraries of his time, the "Corvina," containing about three thousand manuscripts and sixty thousand volumes; it was carried off by the Turks, and the few scanty remnants of it now existing were sent back from Stamboul in 1869 and 1877. The period which ended with the death of this second Hunyadi was indeed a brilliant age. Its influence was transmitted to the minds of the coming generation, and facilitated the transition to the Reformation, which in Hungary found minds prepared to receive it by the intellectual culture of that age.

(*d*) *The Jagellons.* — On April 6, 1490, King Matthias died at Venice at the age of fifty. The creation of a powerful Danube kingdom, which the genius of the great Corvinus had brought to pass, proved to be of a transitory nature. He had married twice, but there were no children either by his first wife Katharina Podiebrad (p. 264) nor by the second, Beatrice of Aragon, whose praises are sung by Bonfini. With the consent of the nobles he therefore designated his natural son, the Duke John Corvinus, as his successor. Seduced from their promises by the intrigues of Queen Beatrice, the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries elected to the throne the Bohemian king Vladislav, a member of the family of the Jagellons (p. 266); his younger brother, John Albert, who had been brought forward during his minority, gave up his claim on February 20, 1491, in return for compensation in Silesia. Beatrice had supported the election of Vladislav in the hope that she would marry the king, who was still a bachelor, but in this she was entirely deceived. The great nobles were tired of the iron rule of Matthias, and longed for a weak king under whom the power of their families could be extended as they pleased. From this point of view Vladislav II (1490–1516) fully realized their hopes; he lived at Ofen, a mere figure-head, who with his nobles carried on the government and bought peace from foreign enemies at the price of disgraceful conditions. The Roman emperor Maximilian reconquered Vienna and the Austrian territories. The great nobles laid heavy burdens upon the towns and serfs, and made them feel inexorably the weight of their recovered power. At the same time John Zápolya, Count of Zips, one of the richest territorial owners, was secretly aiming at the throne; in 1505 he induced the Estates to decree that they would not again elect a foreigner in case Vladislav should die leaving no male heir. To secure his family interests Vladislav now made a convention with the emperor Maximilian regarding the succession (July, 1515),

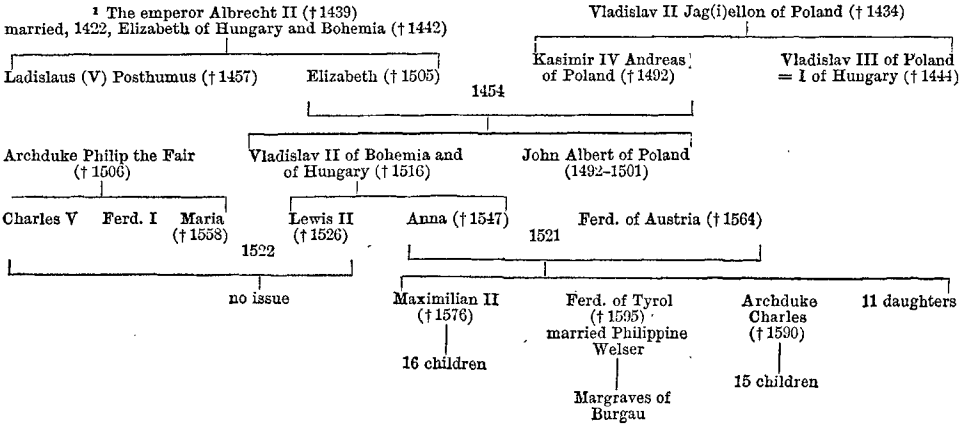
and betrothed his son Lewis to the archduchess Maria, the emperor's granddaughter, and his daughter Anna to the archduke Ferdinand.[1]

A short time before (1514) a terrible revolt of the peasants had broken out under the leadership of Georg Dozsas. Zápolya caused the "belliger cruciferorum" (leader of the crusaders) to be burnt upon a red-hot iron throne, and reduced the country to a state of apparent peace; but the misery and distress of the common people had risen to a high pitch.

After the death of King Vladislav, the throne was occupied by his son Lewis II, then ten years of age (1516–1526); during his minority the affairs of state were conducted by a regency of three. In the midst of the disastrous party struggles which were continually fostered by Zápolya, the ambassador of Suleimân appeared in Ofen and offered peace on condition that Hungary should pay the yearly tribute to the Sultan. The demand was refused and the emissary imprisoned, though no measures were taken to protect the frontier. The Turkish ruler seized Belgrade, the gate of Hungary, on August 29, 1521, but did not continue his career of conquest, as he was then occupied with the capture of the island of Rhodes. Meanwhile Lewis had begun his independent government and had married the archduchess Maria. Nothing, however, was done to ward off the approaching attack, notwithstanding the fact that the Palatine Stephan Verböczi, the first legal writer of Hungary (author of the "Tripartitum"), did his utmost to compose all differences and to induce the population to rise. The incapable nobles declined to second his efforts. When Suleimân invaded the country in 1526, Louis II was able to bring only a small army against him. The disaster of Mohács (August 29) cost the childless king his life and put an end to the unity of the Hungarian state. Suleimân captured Ofen, devastating the country far and wide, and marched home in October, retaining only Syrmia, to secure his possession of Belgrade.

D. Hungary during the Personal Union with the House of Hapsburg (since 1526)

(*a*) *From Ferdinand I to Joseph I. — The Turkish Supremacy.* Hardly had the Turks retired when disputes about the succession broke out. One portion of


[1] The emperor Albrecht II († 1439) married, 1422, Elizabeth of Hungary and Bohemia († 1442)
Vladislav II Jag(i)ellon of Poland († 1434)
Ladislaus (V) Posthumus († 1457)
Elizabeth († 1505)
Kasimir IV Andreas of Poland († 1492)
Vladislav III of Poland = I of Hungary († 1444)
1454
Archduke Philip the Fair († 1506)
Vladislav II of Bohemia and of Hungary († 1516)
John Albert of Poland (1492–1501)
Charles V
Ferd. I
Maria († 1558)
Lewis II († 1526)
Anna († 1547)
Ferd. of Austria († 1564)
1522
1521
no issue
Maximilian II († 1576)
16 children
Ferd. of Tyrol († 1595) married Philippine Welser
Margraves of Burgau
Archduke Charles († 1590)
15 children
11 daughters

the nobility chose John Zápolya as king on November 10, 1526; the remainder, on the ground of the compact concerning the succession which they had concluded with Vladislav, raised the archduke Ferdinand, a brother of Charles V and king of Bohemia (p. 270), to the throne on the 16th and 17th of December. Ferdinand appeared with an army in the summer of 1527, captured Ofen on August 20, and drove the opposition king Zápolya to Poland. However, after the retirement of Ferdinand, Zápolya returned with the help of Suleimân, conquered Ofen, and accompanied the Sultan's advance to the walls of Vienna (September 21, 1529; p. 150). The attempt of the Turk to conquer Vienna was unsuccessful. However, Zápolya was able to secure the Hungarian throne with his help, while Ferdinand retained his hold only of the counties bordering on Austria. Henceforward, for nearly two centuries Hungary became a battlefield and the scene of bloody conflicts between armies advancing from east and west respectively. French policy, which was working in Germany, Italy, and Constantinople to undermine the growing power of the house of Hapsburg, induced the Sultan to undertake a second campaign (June, 1532) against Vienna; on the march, however, his quarter of a million soldiers were stopped by the seven hundred men of Nicholas Jurischitz (Jurisics), who held out for three weeks before the little fortress of Güns (Köszeg), so that the Turk was obliged to give up his project; he returned home, devastating the country as he went. This movement eventually induced both kings to come to a reconciliation on February 24, 1538, at Grosswardein (Várad). Each ruler was to retain the district which he had in possession, and after the death of John Zápolya the whole country, including that beyond the Theiss and Transylvania, was to be inherited by Ferdinand; any future son born to the Magyar was to receive only Zips as a duchy.

This peace was, however, dissolved in 1539 by the marriage of John Zápolya with the Polish duchess Isabella, who bore him a son, John Sigismund (1540). By the help of the Croatian Georg Utissenich, known as Martinuzzi, bishop of Grosswardein, the queen Isabella, who became a widow on the 22d or 23d of July, 1540, was able to secure the recognition of her son as king. The Porte promised protection. However, on September 2, 1541, the Sultan treacherously occupied Ofen and incorporated it with his own kingdom. The little John Sigismund was left by the Turks in possession only of Transylvania and of some districts on the Theiss, while the northern and western counties remained in the hands of Ferdinand. The latter afterwards secured the help of Martinuzzi in December, 1541, under the convention of Gyula (at Klausenburg). The elector Joachim II of Brandenberg and the duke Moritzen of Saxony made an attempt to recover Ofen (at the end of September, 1542), but were hindered by insufficiency of means. In view of the threatening aspect of the Turks (August 10, 1543, came the fall of Gran, which was followed in September, 1541, by the invasion of Mohammed Sokolli) Martinuzzi persuaded the queen (1548) to surrender her territory in return for an indemnity. Isabella and John Sigismund came to an agreement in 1551 with the Silesian duchies of Oppeln and Ratibor, while John Castaldo, Ferdinand's field-marshal, occupied Transylvania, and "Frater Georgius" was rewarded with a cardinal's hat. As Ferdinand's army was not strong enough to dispel the attack, Martinuzzi attempted to gain time by negotiating with the Porte. This, however, aroused the suspicion of Castaldo; on December 17, 1551, he caused Martinuzzi to be treacherously murdered in the castle of Alvincz by the marchese

Alphonso Sforza-Pallavicini and the private secretary Marcantonio Ferrari. In view of repeated attempts to accentuate the devotion of the Austrian hereditary territories and the value of the contingents offered by the German Empire, it is worth pointing out that the very dexterous policy of "brother George" was dangerous to Hungary, inasmuch as it served to clear the way for the inevitable supremacy of the Turks.

Isabella and John Sigismund soon returned to Transylvania, which now became a permanent vassal state of Turkey, though it received full religious freedom in 1557. Ferdinand, one of the best princes of his age, could not oppose the victorious advance of the Osmans, for at that time the interests of the Hapsburgs extended over half Europe, and he could not use his power against the Porte alone. Temesvár fell in 1552, notwithstanding the heroic defence of Stephan Losonczi; in Dregély Georg Szondy died a hero's death, with the whole of the garrison. Castaldo was forced to retire from Transylvania in 1556, and peace secured the Sultan in the receipt of a yearly tribute from Ferdinand.

After Ferdinand's death, his son and successor Maximilian (1564–1576) became entangled in war with John Sigismund in the very first year of his reign. The result was a fresh campaign of the Turks, in the course of which Nikolaus Zrinyi met his death, with the whole of his garrison, in the fortress of Szigetvár (September 7, 1566; p. 153). John Sigismund Zápolya now founded a principality of Transylvania under Turkish supremacy, but on the condition that the Estates should on every occasion have free choice of their prince. After his death, in 1571, Stephan Báthori (1571–1575), a far-seeing and important man, was placed upon the new throne; however, in December, 1575, he exchanged this throne for the more ancient kingdom of Poland, as the husband of the Jagellon princess Anna. As regards the services of the Hungarian nobility, who did their best to break away from the Hapsburgs and lived in constant effort to secure this end, a sufficient proof of their selfishness is their oppression of the lower classes, who had revolted against the Osmans, in 1572, from pure patriotism. Stephan's brother Christopher was succeeded in 1586 by his son Sigismund Báthori.

Meanwhile Maximilian had died, and the inheritance fell to his son Rudolf (1576–1608). Hungary was devastated under his rule by a Turkish war which lasted fifteen years (1591–1606), while Transylvania was ravaged both by the Turks and by the armies of Rudolf. Sigismund Báthori, who had married Marie Christine of Styria in 1595, soon divorced her, and exchanged his land for Oppeln and Ratibor in 1597. In 1598, however, he regretted his action. He returned home, abdicated in 1599 in favour of his nephew Andreas, and retired to Poland. Rudolf, who would have been glad to get Transylvania under his own power, incited Michael, the Voivod of Wallachia (p. 359), to make war against Andreas Báthori, who fell in that campaign. The nobles then recalled Sigismund Báthori in 1601; but he was driven out in 1602 by Georg Basta, the field-marshal of Rudolf, with the help of the Turks. With the object of definitely getting the country into the possession of Rudolf, Basta had secured the murder of the Wallachian Voivod in Thorenburg (Torda) on the 19th of August, 1601, and exercised so inhuman a despotism as governor, that Transylvania was brought to the lowest point of distress.

In exasperation and despair the nobles, after the suppression of a revolt began by Moses Székely (1603), appointed the Calvinist Stephan Bocskay as prince in

1605, and soon occupied almost the whole country with the help of the Turks. Although the Sultan recognised him as king, Bocskay brought about a reconciliation with Rudolf, and concluded the peace of Vienna (June, 1606) with Rudolf's brother Matthias, who had been appointed governor in Hungary; in accordance with this agreement the constitution was to be restored in its old form, and the Protestants were to retain their religious freedom undisturbed by the untenable edicts which Rudolf had issued on this subject in 1604. After November of the same year the intervention of Bocskay brought about the peace of Zsitva-Torok with the Turks (p. 158). The Turks retained the districts which they possessed at that time, but Hungary was no longer to pay tribute after one final instalment of two hundred thousand florins. Bocskay survived the conclusion of the peace of Vienna only for a very short time; he died on the 29th of December, 1606. This arrangement, "without prejudice to the Catholics," far from bringing the wars of religion to an end, rather tended to exasperate partisan feeling.

In these difficult times of degeneration, Protestantism, which had made an entry into Hungary immediately after the appearance of Luther, performed a valuable service in fostering the spirit of union. During the piteous strife of contrary interests it spread so rapidly in the course of a century that it overran almost the whole nation. In the rather destructive and fatalist theology of Calvin, which the nation called the "Hungarian Faith," the people found the support which saved them from collapse. "From the time of the introduction of Christianity," says the Hungarian writer on æsthetics, Zoltán Beöthy, "the Protestant movement was the first great enlightening influence which passed over the whole nation. The apostles of the new faith appeared in hundreds, the messengers of a more penetrating and more national culture." The Protestants founded numerous schools and printing-presses, which published the first Magyar grammars, dictionaries, and histories. To this period belong the whole series of translations of the Bible, among which that by Kaspar Károlyi obtained a reputation which has remained undiminished to the present day. In the course of this intellectual movement, there appeared in 1565, a year after the birth of Shakespeare, the first dramatic production of Hungarian literature, under the title of "The Treachery of Melchior Balassa," probably composed by Paul Karádi, which with biting satire and poetic vigour described the life of a noble given over to the sins of that age. Literature was circulated through the country not only by the clergy, but also by wandering minstrels, who passed from castle to castle, and from place to place, and sang their songs to the accompaniment of the lute or violin. Of them, the most highly educated was, perhaps, Sebastian Tinódi (about 1510–1557), whose historical songs and rhymed chronicle recount the whole history of those years of warfare and distress. The heroic and careless-minded knight, Valentin Balassy (Balassa; 1551–1594), was the first great Hungarian lyric poet whose "Blumenlieder" were to be revived two centuries later (discovered 1876). Romantic poetry at that time entered upon a peculiar period of prosperity in Hungary.

Under Rudolf's successor, Matthias (1608–1619), began the Catholic Counter Reformation. A Protestant who had been converted by the Jesuits, Peter Pázmány (1570–1637), archbishop of Gran from 1616 and cardinal from 1629, was a zealot in the cause of conversion, and was specially successful among the high nobility. By his sermons and pamphlets, which he collected in his "Kalauz" or "Hodegeus" ("guide"), as his great work was called, he converted many nobles to the Roman

Catholic faith. In 1635 he refounded the Jesuit University at Tyrnau (burnt down in the sixteenth century); this was afterwards changed into the High School of Budapesth. The Reformation in Hungary seemed doomed to collapse.

Only in Transylvania was Protestantism strong enough at this period to check the progress of the Counter Reformation and to protect the Protestants who were persecuted in Hungary. When the Thirty Years' War broke out under Ferdinand II (1619–1637), the successor of Matthias, the throne of Transylvania was occupied by Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629), the successor to Gabriel Báthori (1608–1613); to him Protestantism in Hungary and Transylvania is indebted for its preservation. When the Bohemians revolted against Ferdinand II in 1619 (Vol. VII, p. 291) Bethlen espoused their cause, and brought the greater part of Hungary, including the crown, into his power. On January 8, 1620, he was appointed king in Neusohl, and was also recognised by the Porte at the price of the sacrifice of Waitzen (November 5, 1621); however, on January 6, 1622, he concluded peace with Ferdinand II at Nikolsburg, for the power of the Hapsburgs had increased considerably since the battle of the White Mountain. Soon, however, he again took up arms against Ferdinand, as the ally of the German Protestant princes. He was induced by the victory of Tilly over the allies of the Winter King to renew the peace on the 8th of May, 1624, and was even desirous of marrying a daughter of Ferdinand, in order to unite his power with that of the Hapsburgs against the Turks. Catholic influence prevented this project, and Bethlen married Katharina, a sister of the elector George William of Brandenburg. In the year 1626 he advanced for the third time against the brave Mansfeld; as, however, King Christian IV of Denmark was also defeated by Tilly (Vol. VII, p. 292), he finally concluded peace with Ferdinand on December 28, at Pressburg. After a reign of fifteen years, he died without children on November 15, 1629; he was the greatest prince of Transylvania, and largely forwarded the progress of culture, science, and education (for his Academy of Weissenburg, cf. above, p. 361).

After Stephan Bethlen had made an unsuccessful attempt at the regency, the Transylvanians chose as their prince Georg Rákóczy I (1631–1648), a son of that Sigismund Rákóczy who had been prince of Transylvania from February, 1607, to March 3, 1608. After a series of difficulties at home and abroad (cf. p. 160) he was forced to take up arms against King Ferdinand III (1637–1657), in the interest of Hungarian Protestantism. In September, 1645, the contending parties concluded peace at Linz, and a full measure of religious toleration was secured to the Protestants; this agreement was an advance upon that of Nikolsburg, in so far as the concessions formerly made to the nobility were now extended to the citizens and serfs. Rákóczy ruled for three years longer. He died on the day of the proclamation of the peace of Westphalia, and was succeeded by his son Georg Rákóczy II (1648–1658). In 1753 he secured the supremacy of Moldavia (cf. p. 370), and that of Wallachia in 1654, after the death of Matthias Basarab, as Constantine Basarab then submitted to him. On the other hand he wasted his strength in 1657 in a fruitless war against Poland as the ally of Charles X Gustavus of Sweden (Vol. VII, p. 481). He was consequently deposed by the Turks, and died on June 6, 1660, of the wounds he had received at Szamosfalva on the 22d of May. The Grand Vizier placed Franz Rhédey on the throne in November, 1657, and upon his speedy abdication installed Achatius Bárcsay (November, 1658). The latter, however, was expelled by John Kemény (p. 369). Against him the

Vizier Ali set up an opposition prince on the 14th of September, 1661, in the person of Michael Apafi (1661–1690). After a rule of one year Kemény fell, on January 24, 1662, at Nagy-Szöllös near Schässburg.

As Transylvania grew weaker, Hungarian Protestantism was hard beset from day to day, and at the same time the Turks were extending their conquests and occupying the most important fortresses in Upper Hungary and in the Austrian territories. Under the son and successor of Ferdinand III, the strict Catholic, Leopold I (1658–1705), the distress of the country began to reach its zenith. In those troubled times the greatest figure of Hungarian Protestantism was Albert Szsnczi Mólnár, who wrote his Hungarian Grammar and Dictionary at German universities, and translated psalms, which he set to French tunes, a setting used at the present day at the Calvinistic churches of Hungary. In the battles of that year a conspicuous figure is Nikolaus Zrinyi (1616–1664), a great-grandson of the hero of Szigetvár; he composed an epic poem, "The Peril of Sziget," in which he sang the exploits of his great ancestor, whose military capacity had long hindered the progress of the Osmans. Leopold's field-marshal, Raimondo Montecuccoli, won a victory over the Turks on August 1, 1664, at St. Gothard on the Raab (p. 162); but, in consequence of the danger threatened to his rear by the Magyars, concluded a peace at Eisenburg (Vasvár), by the terms of which the Turks retained possession of all their previous conquests.

This disgraceful retreat stirred up exasperation in Hungary, and a conspiracy was set on foot in 1667; the leaders, however, who reckoned on French and Turkish support, the counts Peter Zrinyi, Franz Nádasdy, and Franz Christopher Frangepan(i), were executed on April 30, 1671. Franz Rákóczy, the son-in-law of Zrinyi, was spared (died July, 1676), while Franz of Wesselényi died a natural death on March 28, 1667, before the discovery of the conspiracy. The Vienna government took advantage of this occasion to overthrow the constitution and to extirpate Protestantism. The property of Protestant nobles was confiscated, priests and teachers were transported in bands and served in the galleys of Naples, while executions and condemnations were of daily occurrence. Thousands fled to Transylvania and to the Turkish frontier districts, from whence, under the name of Kurutzen (Crusaders), they continually made incursions into the royal domains. These struggles, however, with the mercenaries of the foreign government did not become important until 1678, when Emerich T(h)köly (Tökely; 1656–1705) placed himself at the head of the movement. With the exception of some few castles the whole of the royal district fell into the hands of Tököly, who was appointed prince of Hungary by the Sultan and chosen king in 1682 by the diet of Kaschau, an election confirmed by the Porte on August 10, 1683. The defeat of Vienna brought his rule to a speedy end, and Leopold now sent his armies into Hungary in conjunction with his German allies (cf. p. 163). On September 2, 1686, the citadel of Ofen again fell into the hands of the Christians after one hundred and forty-five years of Turkish rule. The grateful nobles abolished the elective monarchy in 1687, and recognised the hereditary rights of the house of Hapsburg by primogeniture in the male line.

The Turks lost one district after the other, and when Prince Eugene of Savoy had inflicted a fearful defeat upon them at Zenta on September 11, 1697, the peace of Karlovitz (Karlovicz; see the map facing page 166 on the upper right-hand corner) was then concluded, by the terms of which Hungary was freed from

the Turkish yoke with the exception of the valley of the Temes and part of Syrmia. Transylvania had been so closely conjoined with Hungary on May 10, 1688, that Apafi now possessed only a shadow of his former power. However, the persecution of the Protestants and the oppression of the people still continued. Leopold's generals, including Antonio Caraffa, who had secured Transylvania for the Hapsburgs, after the death of the prince Apafi (April 10, 1690; after January 10, 1692, Michael Apafi II, who had obtained nominal recognition, renounced all his claims on April 19, 1697), exercised so inhuman a despotism that the general exasperation broke out again in 1703. Franz Rákóczy II (1676–1736), a son of the above-mentioned Franz I, took the lead of the malcontents. At that time Leopold was occupied with the wars of the Spanish succession (Vol. VII, p. 495); and almost the whole country fell into the hands of the nobles, and was declared independent on the 7th of June.

After the death of Leopold, his son Joseph I (1705–1711) undertook the government, and the nobles then declared, at the diet of Onod (1707), that the throne had passed from the Hapsburgs. An appeal to arms resulted in Joseph's favour in 1708. Rákóczy fled, and his field-marshal Károlyi concluded peace with the king at Szatmár (May 1, 1711). With this peace the momentous period of internal struggle, for which the high nobility were chiefly to blame, came to an end.

(*b*) *The State of Affairs in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries.* — The fact that the Hungarian nation was not destroyed in the severe struggles of those years, but was able to preserve its national independence, was owing primarily to Protestantism (cf. above, p. 390), which preserved the old native conceptions derived from ancient and in part from heathen times, and indeed almost justifying their right to exist side by side with new trains of thought. As the Roman Church at the introduction of Christianity interfered but little in family life and popular custom, so also Protestantism, as being in close sympathy with the idea of nationality, did its best to preserve traditional use and custom. In the midst of religious and political dissension at home and abroad, Protestantism placed national unity above religious uniformity. It was rather a conservative than a destructive force in its influence upon ancient family customs, of which many fragments have survived from that day to the present. A case in point is the survival of the old custom of buying and carrying off women in the modern Hungarian ceremonies of wooing and marriage; on the other hand, the peculiar funeral customs of Hungary have been considerably modified by Christian beliefs.

Tenaciously clinging to these traditions, the nation watched the One Hundred Years' War, which was carried on by those of their number who had been exasperated beyond bounds by the arbitrary rule and the religious persecution which their king had directed from Vienna. The war is, as it were, an epitome of the national history; the splendour and the sorrow of this period is reflected in a rich and brilliant ballad poetry, which was inspired in particular by the revolts of Tököly and Rákóczy. From the events of his own time Stephan Gyöngyösi (1640–1704) found material for those narrative poems which remained popular among the nation for over a century. Shortly after Descartes (Vol. VIII, p. 459), John Apáczai Cseri, who had been educated in the Netherlands, came forward between 1654 and 1655 as the representative of rationalism, with his "Hungarian Ency-

clopedia"; by this work he created a Magyar vocabulary for philosophy some fifty years before Chr. Thomasius had done the same for German. At the same time there were a number of historians and chroniclers, such as John Szalárdi, Prince John Kemény (cf. above, p. 391), Nikolaus Bethlen (1642–1716), Michael Cserei (1668–1756), and also the narrator of ancient customs, Peter Apor (1676–1752). The most distinguished work in the literature of that time is certainly the "Letters from Turkey" of Klemens (Zágoni) Mikes (1690–1762), who shared the banishment to Turkey of Franz Rákóczy II, and clung with moving fidelity to his defeated master and to the country he had lost.

(*c*) *From Charles III to Francis I.* — Under the government of Charles III (1711–1740) peace slowly began to gain ground, although the Turkish war broke out twice during his reign. After the first campaign the king not only recovered in 1718 by the peace of Poscharewatz (Passarowitz; p. 167), the Turkish portion of Hungary, but also made acquisitions in Wallachia and Servia. These, however, were lost, as a result of the second campaign, by the peace of Belgrade (1739; see map facing page 166, on the left-hand, below; cf. also page 168). The confidence of the nation in the king was none the less strengthened by the beneficial reforms which he introduced into the military and judicial organisation of the country. In consequence, the diet of 1722 and 1723 readily agreed to the king's desire to secure the succession by law to the female line of the house of Hapsburg (Pragmatic Sanction for Hungary).

After the death of Charles III, his daughter Maria Theresa (1740–1780) ascended the throne, but her right to the succession was immediately and vigorously disputed. The Prussian king, Frederick II, invaded Silesia; the elector Karl Albrecht of Bavaria occupied Upper Austria and Bohemia with French help; and the Spaniards attacked the Italian possessions. At the diet of Pressburg, on September 11, 1741, the nobles enthusiastically placed their lives and property at the disposal of the young queen ("Damus vitam et sanguinem"). In a short time the Hungarian and Austrian troops drove the French and Bavarians out of Bohemia and occupied Bavaria. Only Frederick II was able to deprive the queen of some comparatively small amount of territory, as she was thrice obliged to cede to him a part of Silesia. During the years of peace the queen devoted her attention to improving the material and intellectual prosperity of her subjects, and introduced beneficial reforms into ecclesiastical and educational organisations.

While the national spirit was thus stirred to new life, literature also entered upon a remarkably flourishing period. Full of gratitude, Maria Theresa summoned the chief nobility to her court, and formed a Hungarian body-guard of their sons in 1760 at Vienna, who became the pioneers of a new culture through their close connection with the intellectual movements in the West. In the year 1772 there appeared from the pen of the life-guardsman Georg Bessenyei (1752–1811) "The Tragedy of Agis"; in this, as in his other dramas and in his epic poem of King Matthias, the poet showed a masterly power of imitating the French, and especially Voltaire. He thus became the founder of the "French School," among whom the life-guardsman Alexander Báróczi (1737–1809) and Joseph Péczeli became conspicuous as translators of French works.

With the accession of the son of Maria Theresa, the humanitarian Joseph II

(1780–1790), the kings of the house of Lorraine and Tuscany came to the Hungarian throne. Joseph continued the work of reform, but without displaying his mother's tact. In 1784 he made German instead of Latin the official language of the state and of the schools; in 1785 divided the country into ten new districts, and placed foreigners at the head of these. At that period (1794) the Wallachians, Servians, and Transylvanians revolted against their feudal lords. However, their revolt was crushed, and the leaders, Juon Horja (Nicolai Ursz) and Juon Klocska, paid for their rebellion with their lives (February 28, 1785). The inconsiderate abolition of serfdom in Transylvania (August 16, 1783) was followed by a similar regulation for Hungary (August 22, 1785). However, these imperialist and somewhat selfish reforms failed to meet with general approval, as they were connected with the suppression of national traditions. A dangerous ferment arose; in 1789 Karl August of Saxe-Weimar was nearly set up as an opposition king with Prussian support; and Joseph II shortly before his death (January 30, 1790) was forced to repeal all his innovations.

The considerate moderation of his successor Leopold II (1790–1792), who was a more constitutional ruler, soon healed the breach between king and nation. The legislation of the diet of 1790–1791 secured the independence of Hungary, and granted religious toleration to the Protestants and to the members of the Eastern Greek Church. Meanwhile a revolution broke out in France. French nihilist theories found some supporters in Hungary. When the absolutist Francis I (1792–1835) ascended the throne, and became forthwith entangled in a war with France (Vol. VIII), the Franciscan Ignaz Jos. Martinovics founded a secret society with the object of transforming Hungary *into* a republic. The conspiracy was nipped in the bud, and the chiefs were beheaded on May 20, 1795. The influence of French literature was considerably diminished by this movement, but simultaneously Hungarian literature gave proof of vigorous vitality. Almost at the same time as the French school (p. 394) there arose "Latin" or "classical" schools, the members of which were solely ecclesiastics, and imitated especially Vergil in their works. After Nikolaus Révai, the famous linguist, the most remarkable figure is Benedikt Virág, who composed Sapphic odes and a history of the "Hungarian Centuries" after the pattern of the Latin classics.

(*d*) *The Nationalist Movement of the Nineteenth Century.* — The Hungarian nobles supported King Francis in his war against Napoleon; when the latter summoned them on May 15, 1809, to resume their constitutional independence and to choose a new king in the Rákos, the proposal was rejected. However, in 1815 the unity between the king and the nobility gradually disappeared, for the latter saw that their old privileges guaranteed no protection against the arbitrary spirit in which the court of Vienna postponed the meeting of the diet, exhausted the land by the imposition of heavy taxes, overthrew every institution making for freedom, and did its best to transform Hungary into an Austrian province. The liberal movement, which had long been slowly fermenting, came to open expression when the count Stephan Széchényi (1792–1860) placed at the disposal of the diet of 1825 an annual income of sixty thousand florins for the foundation of a Hungarian learned society (academy). By his benevolence and his words he inspired his nation with the firm conviction that the Hungarian nationality might not only look back upon a brilliant past, but also look forward to a no less bril-

liant future, provided it could keep pace with the advancing culture of the West, could develop its intellectual powers and increase its material wealth.

In the course of this new movement literature also developed an unexpected vitality. Such poets as Franz Kölesey (1790–1838), Franz Kazinczy (1759–1831), Michael of Esokonai (1773–1805), Alexander and Karl Kisfaludy (Vol. VIII), and Mich. Vörösmarty were the forerunners of Al. Petöfi, M. Jókai, Baron Jos. Eötoös, Em. Madách, János Arany, Paul Gyulai (born 1827), Karl Száss (born 1829), and Johann Vajda (born 1827). The revival of the national spirit caused especial attention to be paid to Magyar philology. This study was continued by later scholars, such as Gabriel Szarvas, Paul Hunfalvy (1810–1891), Jos. Budenz (1836–1892), and Bernhard Munkácsi; of these the two latter have published works invaluable to the study of the philology of the Ugrian languages.

The reform movement of Széchényi soon met with opposition in government circles, where every attempt at progress was zealously crushed. The tension between the nation and the court of Vienna grew ever more strained. Széchényi supported the government upon certain occasions, but was too conservative a personality for the multitude; he gradually lost the public favour, which turned to Ludwig Kossuth (1802–1894), whose persuasive eloquence and diligent authorship, the fruits of which saw the light in his widely spread "Landtagszeitung," made him a leader of the strongest of the opposition party. When Ferdinand V (1835–1848) came to the throne the movement had gone so far that Széchényi was forced to resign the leadership to Kossuth. The March rebellion of the year 1848 in Vienna and Pesth (Vol. VIII) made Kossuth and his adherents masters of the situation at one blow. The diet forthwith promulgated a series of decrees which overthrew the ancient aristocracy, introduced parliamentary government and a responsible ministry, united Transylvania with Hungary, abolished serfdom, and proclaimed the freedom of the press and the equality of the recognized religions. On the 23d of March the king appointed Count Louis Batthyány as president of the ministry; in conjunction with Kossuth, Francis of Deák, who was long conspicuous for his political wisdom, Széchényi, Eötvös and Paul Anton, Prince Esterházy of Galántha, made Hungary a constitutional state.

This national movement towards freedom was very speedily checked by disturbances among the Hungarian nationalities (cf. pp. 310 and 313). Croatians, Serbs, and Wallachians flew to arms, partly at the instigation of Vienna, where the court began to regret the concessions which had been made to the Magyars. The relations between the court of Vienna and the Hungarian government, which was now entirely under the influence of Kossuth (Vol. VIII), became strained as a result of these questions of nationality, the more so as the Hungarian ministry proceeded to crush the revolt of the frontier nations by force of arms. The Austrian army occupied Ofen; the government and the diet then fled to Debreczin, which now became a centre of the national movement. The smaller nationalities were quickly crushed by Görgey, Klapka, John Damjanich, and Bem; they drove out the Austrian armies, who were left by the middle of April, 1849, in possession only of Ofen, Arad, and Temesvár. On the 14th of April the diet proclaimed the deposition of the house of Hapsburg.

Austria was helpless to deal with the conditions which she had herself created, and applied to Russia for help. The united troops of the two powers subdued Hungary within a few months. Kossuth and many of his adherents fled into

foreign countries, and Görgey laid down his arms on August 13, 1849, at Világos. The Austrian field-marshal, J. J. von Haynau, a son of the Elector William I of Hesse and of Rosa Ritter, now began the bloody work of revenge. Thirteen Hungarian generals were executed at Arad on October 6; on the same day, at Pest, Bátthyány only escaped the disgrace of the gallows by committing suicide. The prisons were overflowing with captives, the members of the Hungarian army (the Honvéd) were incorporated in the Austrian army. The Viennese government ruled the country at its will and pleasure, and Hungary became little more than a crown land of the empire.

It was not until the shock of the Italian war of 1859 that this despotism became less rigid. Under the influence of the Prussian war of 1866, the negotiations for a compromise took a favourable turn owing to the politic behaviour of the diplomatist Deák. The final result was the dual system (February 18, 1867), which was created by restoring the constitution of the spring of 1848. The weary struggle was brought to a close by the legislation carried out in 1867 and 1868. King Francis Joseph I, together with his consort Queen Elizabeth, was crowned in Buda Pest on June 8, 1867, by which act the reconciliation was finally sealed, to the benefit and the honour of the joint monarchy.

Under the government of Francis Joseph the country has made considerable progress (cf. Vol. VIII), but at the outset of 1905, the compromise of 1867, the apparently immortal creation of Francis Deák, was shaken to its foundations by the last elections, at which for the first time the predominance of the liberal party was broken down in a surprising manner. This unexpected victory of the independent party obliged the aged emperor and king to receive in the Hofburg at Vienna, on February 12, 1905, Francis Kossuth, the son of the inexorable revolutionary of 1848 and 1849.

E. The Germans in Hungary

After the overthrow of the rule of the Avars, the frontiers of the great Frankish kingdom were occupied by German colonists; Frankish and Bavarian nobles obtained extensive possessions, especially in the mountainous country which borders the frontiers of Styria, and even then bore some traces of Roman civilization. When the Hungarians occupied the country at the end of the ninth century, they left the German settlements for the most part undisturbed, but prevented their increase, with the result that they were easily overthrown during the continual wars of the period. Many of the fortified frontier strongholds may have been overthrown in the course of the Magyar attacks; at the same time these German settlements did not disappear entirely. In the repeated defeats which the Hungarians suffered in the course of their marauding expeditions they were threatened with the danger of suffering the fate of their predecessors; and it was Christianity, preached to them primarily by German priests, and their adhesion to such Christian powers as Germany, which made their future safe.

These friendly relations with Germany received a strong guarantee of support in 995 by the marriage of Stephan (Wajks) with Gisela, the daughter of the Bavarian duke, Henry II (above, p. 379), for the reason that this lady brought with her many clergy and nobles (Wezelin, Hermann, and others) and their

squires, who helped to bring about the rapid extension of Christianity and culture. The immigration of German knights, monks, and other people became more rapid after the husband of Gisela had ascended the throne of Hungary; however, among the German colonies proper we have certain information concerning only one as originating from that early period, that is, Deutsch-Szatmár on the Szamos, which was founded by Gisela herself. The apostle-king organised his court upon German models, and throughout his reign displayed a consistent tendency to favour the noble immigrants. In his advice to his son Emerich, who died prematurely, he wrote that the introduction of foreigners was to be regarded as a necessary means to the support of the throne and to the increase of the imperial power; "treat these guests well and hold them in honour." Upon the whole, this was the attitude adopted by his successors of the Árpád family (for the period between 1074 and 1114 we have no account of further immigrations); the chief favourite of King Salomon was the Veit (Vid) of Suabia or Neissen, who bore the unintelligible surname of Guth-Keled. However, it should not be forgotten that all the real agricultural work of ploughing and sowing was originally carried on by Slavonic serfs. Some remnant of the old Slav nobility (a case in point is that of the Counts of Osl, who flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) may have survived the Magyar conquest and have been eventually absorbed by the Hungarians. It is certain that, together with these, representatives of the Romance nationalities also found a welcome in Hungary under Peter the Venetian (p. 380) and then under the Angevins.

(*a*) *West Hungary.* — The counties of Eisenburg and Ödenburg on the slopes of the Leitha mountain range, at the base of which lies the Lake of Neusiedler, and also the valleys formed by the spurs of the Eastern Alps of Styria and Austria, are inhabited by the German people of the Hienzes, also known as Heanzes, Henzes, or Heinzes. Upon an area of some 400 square miles are to be found 30,000 Slavs ("water Croatians"), 10,000 Jews, about 5,000 Magyars, and about 300,000 Germans, who belong for the most part to the Catholic Church. The name Hienz or Heanz points to their German origin, for their neighbours would not have given this little people any name of German form. Probably the name is derived from Heinz, Henz, or Aenz (Heinrich or Henry), and consequently has the meaning "Henry's people." The emperor Henry III indeed undertook repeated expeditions to Hungary (cf. p. 380), and occupied the west for some time. Another tradition tells of a castle owner named Henzo, after whom the whole district was known as Henzonia; under Ladislaus IV (1272–1290) there was indeed a royal chamberlain named Hencz. It is, however, possible that this little people may have inherited their name from Count Henry of Güssing (Kuscyn, Kussen, Kyssin; 1228 to the end of 1274); he founded one of the most powerful families, was for a time palatine of the empire, and is often mentioned in the frontier wars against Styria and the Austrians. He founded numerous fortresses in these districts, including the castle of Ternstein and the town of Güns. His sons, Ivan (John), Peter, Nicholas, and Henry, all occupied high positions, and are named in the documents "Henry's sons"; they all worked to secure the prestige of their family. Almost all the fortresses on the western frontier were in their possession. The garrisons of these fortresses were exclusively German, recruited for the most part from the surrounding inhabitants, and may therefore have taken

the name Hienzes or Haenzes, or have received it from their master. It must be said that, according to J. W. Nagl, the name simply means "poultry-merchant."

The remnants of that Bavarian settlement founded here by Charles the Great to oppose the Avars (though we need not assume that the colonial activity of Charles extended beyond the east frontier into Pannonian territory) developed into flourishing Bavarian communities under the Frankish margraves; like these, the settlements of the Hienzes suffered no doubt considerable damage by the occupation of the country by the Hungarians, but soon received important reinforcements in the numerous German prisoners brought by the Hungarians from German countries in the course of their raids. This German group of communities was especially strengthened in the first place by the neighbourhood of Austria and Styria, and further by the incorporation of German nobles, such as the Counts of Güssing and their near relatives the lords of Hedervár (Hedrichsburg), the Counts of St. Georgen and Bösing, the Staufen or Meissen Count Guth-Keled, the knight of Lindan (Lendva), from one branch of whose family proceeded that of Bánffy (sons of the Banus), the nobles of Buzad, the Count of Mattersdorf (*i. e.* Gross-Martinsdorf), and especially the Counts of Cilli, who were powerful between 1341 and 1356 (cf. above, p. 385). The wooded frontier district, which even at the time of the emperor Henry III was so inhospitable that he was only able to penetrate into Hungary by following the long windings of the Raab, was transformed by the industry, the native vigour, the common sense, and the God-fearing work of the Hienzes into a rich agricultural, timber-growing, and vine-bearing district; here these people clung tenaciously in the midst of their progress to the manners and customs of their forefathers, and preserved their nationality amongst a Finno-Ugrian population.

Political circumstances were almost invariably favourable to the progress of the Germans, notwithstanding the many disturbances which constantly burst over the West. In 1440, when Eisenstadt was mortgaged by Queen Elizabeth to the Austrian duke Albrecht, the German nationality received a strong reinforcement. With the consent of the Hungarian nobility King Matthias Corvinus ceded to the emperor Frederick III Forchtenstein (or Fraknó, formerly a castle of Mattersdorf under a count), Güns, Kobersdorf, Rechnitz, Bernstein, and Hornstein, with their surrounding districts. Eisenstadt and Forchtenstein were incorporated with Hungary in 1622, when the emperor Ferdinand II mortgaged these towns at a high rate to Count Nicholas of Esterházy (palatine in 1625, died 1645); it was here that Joseph Haydn lived from 1761 to 1769 (cf. Vol. VIII). The towns and villages of the Hienzes enjoyed especial privileges. In 1328 King Charles Robert confirmed all the old privileges of the town of Güns, which were also recognised by King Louis I, Sigismund, Ferdinand I, and the following Hapsburgs. In 1373 Eisenstadt received a charter written in German from the bishop of Agram, Stephan of Kaniza; this was confirmed in 1447 by Duke Albrecht VI of Austria. Ödenburg, the capital of the Hienzes, built upon the ruins of the Roman town Scarabanta, received a charter in 1260; its terms were considerably extended by Ladislaus III to the "German citizens and strangers" dwelling there, in consequence of their special services in the war against the Bohemian king Ottokar. Andreas III, and almost all later rulers, down to Leopold I and Joseph I, equally confirmed the privileges of this town, within the walls of which four diets were held and two queens were crowned.

The neighbours of the Hienzes are the "Heidebauern" (heath-peasants), who lived upon the "heath" on the shores of the Lake of Neusiedel, on the Schütt and near Pressburg. This people is of Suabian origin; they migrated from the district on the Bodensee to Hungary during the Reformation, to escape the persecution of the neighbouring Austrian nobles, and were protected by Maria, the consort of Lewis II, about 1626. When, however, the Counter Reformation in Hungary prepared to suppress Protestantism by more vigorous measures after 1640, some of the heath-peasants returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church. The two chief settlements of the heath-peasants, the towns of Wieselburg (properly Moosburg, in Latin Musunium, and in Magyar Mosony) and Altenburg, belonged for a time to Austria. Wieselburg was under the German imperial government from 1063 to 1074, and Germans were received among the noble vassals (*Iobagiones castri;* cf. the explanation to the plate facing page 384, paragraph 19). The religious house of Freising, connected with Wieselburg, received a gift of property from the emperor Henry III as early as the year 1053. When Anna, a sister of King Lewis II, married the Hapsburg Ferdinand I, she received Altenburg as a dowry.

The neighbourhood of the Austrian territories brought with it the consequence that the settlements of the Hienzes and of the heath-peasants took but little share in the internal disturbances or the foreign wars of the Hungarian kingdom; for that reason they were able to preserve their German nationality. The heath-peasant has indeed been named the representative of the cosmopolitan spirit among the West Hungarian Germans; he accommodates himself most easily to circumstances, adapts himself to the neighbouring Magyars and Slavs and adopts their language, with the result that his own German dialect often becomes unrecognisable. In other respects the manners and customs of the heath-peasant and the Hienzes do not diverge, but plainly bear signs of pure Germanic origin. Their discipline, their sense of honour, and their deep religious feeling mark the serious character of these peoples, notwithstanding their apparent carelessness and easiness of life.

After the expulsion of the Turks, the ecclesiastical and secular nobles attempted, by bringing in German colonists, to restore the depopulated and devastated districts in the neighbourhood of the capital, on the heights of the Vértesgebirge and of the Bakonyer Wald, on the Central Danube and in the corner between the Danube and the Drave. At the end of the seventeenth century the archbishops of Gran settled Suabians and Franks upon their property. In 1690 in the comitate of Pesth, Suabian immigrants founded the town of Izsaszeg, and six years later restored the ruins of Duna-Haraszti. The Duke Charles of Lorraine and Prince Eugene also settled Germans on their property at Ofen; their example was followed by the Counts Zichy, Ráday, and Grassalkovich. In the year 1718 Germans from the Rhine districts were settled on the property of the lords in the comitates of Tolna and Baranya. The Austrian field-marshals, who had been rewarded with extensive lands in Hungary after the expulsion of the Turks, attempted to attract German colonists thither. In the majority of such settlements the German nationality has survived to the present day, though weakened in many respects. These German settlements never played an independent part in the political history of Hungary.

(*b*) *Northern Hungary.* (*a*) *The Mining Towns; the Northwest.*— Of much greater political importance, and sometimes of decisive importance, have been the Germans in Northern Hungary. Belonging for the most part to the population of Lower Saxony and Central Germany (Thuringen and Silesia), they reached their present home, between the last third of the twelfth century and the middle of the thirteenth, in the course of several advances to the slopes of the Carpathians; the best mode of understanding this colonising process is to study the historical work of Franz Krones.[1] Their main calling was mining, but they owed much of their prosperity to their commercial activity and their manufacturing industry; and they received grants of municipal privilege through which they were enabled to produce a prosperous burgher class. Beginning with the district of the heath-peasants, whose representatives in Germany sent a few offshoots over the Danube, their central point was Pressburg, which the Hapsburgs made from 1642 the town for the coronation of the Hungarian kings and the seat of the assembly. Most of these advance posts have been absorbed, with a few scanty exceptions, by the surrounding Slovack-Ruthenian population.

The most northern points of the German nationality were formerly the mining towns of "Lower Hungary," Kremnitz, Schemnitz, Neusohl, Königsberg, Libethen Dilln, Pukkanz, and Bries; in the neighbourhood of these, mining was apparently carried on from an early period. The first Germans may have settled here at the same date when others occupied Zips in the second half of the twelfth century. The oldest mining colony, Schemnitz, received corporate privileges from Béla IV as early as 1244. The "municipal and mining code of Schemnitz," composed in two sections on the basis of that royal document in the thirteenth century by the "sworn representatives of the town," detailed in forty sections the "town rights" and in twenty the "mining rights," and was, in the course of the fourteenth century, extended to include most of the remaining mining towns, so far as they had not already charters of their own. In 1255 the men of Neusohl acquired the right to carry on mining free of taxation; their only obligation was to pay a tenth part of the gold and an eighth of the silver to the royal treasury, and to serve under the king's flag in campaigns. They, too, were allowed the ordeal of battle (after the old Saxon custom), with swords and round shields. It was, however, King Stephan V who first gave Neusohl its charter of freedom in the year 1271. Kremnitz, which had been the seat of the imperial chamberlain from 1323, was given rights hitherto enjoyed only by the rich Kuttenburg in Bohemia, by King Charles Robert, with the consent of the secular and ecclesiastical nobles. Thus the people of Kremnitz were able to live under judges of their own choice, and could be prosecuted for debt by none in the whole country.

In 1424, when King Sigismund handed over the mountain towns to his second wife, Barbara of Cilli (died 1451), the result was that they remained a coherent group in the possession of the Hungarian queen, and received extensive privileges enabling them to attain a prosperity which aroused the envy and the avarice of the lords of neighbouring castles. The castles which surrounded that district in a circle were partly in possession of the Hussite leader Giskra (p. 385) and partly in that of the family of Dóczy and of other nobles. In 1497 the quarrel broke out, but soon ended in a compromise. Meanwhile the mining towns enjoyed the favour of the powerful families of Thurzó and Fugger, with whose support they were able to

[1] "Zur Geschichte des deutschen Volkstuns im Karpathenlande," Graz, 1878.

emerge victoriously from the struggle. Towards the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the mining towns attained the zenith of their prosperity, notwithstanding the attacks of the Turks and the devastations of hostile armies. Their export copper trade extended beyond Cracow to Dantzig and the Hansa towns, even to Antwerp and Venice. The lessee of the mines of Neusohl, Alexius Thurzó, chancellor of the imperial exchequer, was regarded in 1523 as "the richest man in Hungary," while his relations in Augsburg, the Fuggers (Vol. VII, p. 77), were for a long time bankers of the Hungarian kings; in 1523 this house lent sixty-five thousand ducats to King Lewis II.

The disturbances of the seventeenth century brought a grievous consequence upon the mining towns. In 1620 Gabriel Bethlen caused himself to be proclaimed king of Hungary in Neusohl, and from 1619 the mining towns were forced to pay him heavy taxes. During the disturbances in the time of Rákóczy and Tököly, these towns were not only the scene of warfare, but also lost their prosperity in consequence of extortions and devastation. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the mines became less productive, for natural reasons. As an additional calamity came the persecutions of the Counter Reformation, to which members of the Lutheran doctrine were exposed. The impoverished mining towns were now occupied by Slovacks and here and there by Magyars. The nobility seized the greater part of the mines. A century, however, was needed to reduce the German nationality in this place to its present low ebb; to-day only family names and place names are German, the population is Slovack.

The same fate was suffered by the Germans in the neighbouring counties of Bars, Neutra, and Thurócz, where remnants of the formerly thick population remain only in three groups in the midst of Slovacks. The main group is in the district of Kremnitz, and includes the borough of Kri(c)kerhäu (Kriegerhai, Handlova) and the villages of Honeschhäu, Koneschhäu, Neu-Häu, Drexelhäu, Treselhäu, Perk, Schwabenhof, and Bleifuss. The second is composed of the borough of Deutsch-Proben and the villages of Beneschhäu, Klein-Proben, Geidel (Gajdel), Schmiedshaiss, Fundstollen, Beltelsdorf, and Zeche. The third group, finally, in which the German nationality is now on the point of disappearance, consists of the villages of Old and New Stuben, Upper and Lower Turz, Glaserhäu, Böshäu, Münichwies, Lorenzen and Deutsch-Pilsen in the Honter comitate, Hochwiesen and Litten in the Bars comitate, Brestenhäu, Hedwig, and Käserhäu in the Thurócz comitate. As these names show, most of these places were "clearings" (Häue), that is to say, clearings in the uninhabited forest. The earliest settlement may have been Proben in the comitate of Neutra, which obtained its rights about 1280 from King Ladislaus the Cumanian; these were renewed by Andreas III in 1293. The Germans of this district are known as Kriker Häuer, after their settlement of Krikerhäu. The Slovacks called them mockingly "Handerburzen," a name naturally derived from the trade in roots and medicinal herbs which the people of Münichwiesen carried on; these, like the Silesian Aberranten ("laboranten"), travelled far into the interior of foreign countries as wandering physicians. The Hungarian "Haudörfler" is devoted to this house-to-house trade; his country is unfruitful and poor. The "town" of Krikerhäu consists only of log huts, one storey high, scattered profusely in the forest. On this model also the remaining "häu" villages are built. Cultivated land, chiefly upon the heights, is somewhat unproductive and extraordinarily difficult to plough. The earth in

parts has to be carried up in baskets; a heavy downpour of rain comes and the earth, with the potatoes and the rest of the harvest, slips down hill. The men travel abroad in the summer as pedlers and leave the task of agriculture to the women. The priest goes about among them and prays and preaches only in Slavonic. Honourable and good-tempered, industrious, sensible, and reliable as is their character at the present day, they give the general impression of a backward and retrograde race. Their low level of intellectual power has contributed to the loss of their consciousness of German nationality and has facilitated the general denationalisation of the Häu villagers.

They are advancing towards the same fate that has come upon the German settlements, in Northwest Hungary, of Sillein, Skalitz, Privitz (Privigye), Rosenburg, and Karpfen, all of which were at one time inhabited by Germans. The little town of Sillein used the privileges of Teschen towards the end of the fourteenth century; Lewis I had refused them to the inhabitants in 1370, but his permission was granted in 1382. At a later period they lived according to the privileges of Karpfen; this place, which is mentioned as a "Saxon colony" in 1238, received, after the devastations of the Mongols in the year 1243, that important charter which places it on the same footing as Stuhlweissenburg and Ofen. The process of denationalisation began in the seventeenth century, and at the present day the past is only preserved in a few German names of plain and mountain.

(β) *Zips.* — Passing over the ruins of German nationality in the northwest, we come to the extreme north of Hungary to the southern slopes of the Carpathians, where we find the vigorous German tribe of the people of Zips, who since the seventh century have had a settled home amid the romantic surroundings of the high mountain range, and by their steady industry have secured prosperity and reputation among the neighbouring peoples. The wealth of timber, the number of mountain streams, and the nature of the natural products of the "Silva zepus" (in Magyar Szepes) limited the agricultural possibilities of the place and naturally turned the inhabitants to industrial occupations. Thus the inhabitant of Zips became a workman; "his log huts, originally scattered about, gradually drew closer together, and from this uncouth nucleus developed the towering town." Centres of German nationality were the capital of Leutschau (Hungarian Löcse), which was built in 1245, the towns of Göllnitz, Käsmark (Késmárk), Gniesen (Kniesen), Béla, Neudorf (Igló, a town from 1271 and a free mining town from 1358), Leibitz, Lublau, Deutschendorf (Poprád), Pudlein, Kirchdrauf (Szepes-Váralja), Georgenburg, and Wallendorf, which in 1224 concluded an alliance and began to play their part in the same century as an independent whole; moreover, the northern localities of Lublau, Gniesen, Pudlein, founded by settlers from Little Poland, and Wallendorf, were largely populated by Italians. There is evidence to prove the connection of the last named of these towns with Strassburg in Alsace at a remarkably early period.

The first definite occupation of Zips by the Germans probably falls in the stormy period of Géza II (p. 378), who was in alliance with the Welf duke, Henry the Lion. Tradition speaks of the Count Reinold (Renaldus), who was the king's chief justice, and led his brother compatriots into this district about 1150. A contemporary Byzantine writer, Johannes Kinnamos, speaks of an army of Czechs and Saxons which was gathered by Géza in 1156, for a war against Constantinople.

It was not until the end of the twelfth century, under Béla III, that the main reinforcement reached Zips; this was drawn chiefly from Central Germany, especially from Silesia. The modern dialect of Zips is allied to that of Silesia. At the beginning of the thirteenth century individual stragglers followed, after Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, the first wife of Andreas II, had conferred property in Zips on several Tyrolese noble families; from their leader, Rüdiger of Deutsch-Matrei, the Berzeviczy derived their descent. The oppressive rule of the nobility of German extraction seems even then to have become so highly unpopular that in 1213 the national Magyar party began a bloody revolt against the queen regent, who favoured the Germans (cf. p. 381, above). After the invasion of the Mongols, which divides the history of Zips, like that of so many other districts, into two stages, a large influx of immigrants appeared in the fourteenth century, chiefly from Silesia and Thüringia. In a short time the German places in this remote mountain district became so prosperous that the society of the clergy of Zips, founded about 1232 under their provost,[1] and known after 1248 as a "sodalitate" or "confraternity," arranged the secular or ecclesiastical affairs of the country. In 1274 Ladislaus IV confirmed the rights of this society; in 1297 Andreas III also gave it the right to collect tithes. Before 1271 Stephan V had given his "faithful Saxons of Zips" a "privilegium" as a guarantee of their "independence." Thereafter these "royal places" had to pay three hundred marks of silver every year, in return for which they were free of all other contributions, and in time of war had to place fifty armed men beneath the king's banner. They were allowed to choose their own count, who governed them according to their rights, and also their clergy. Hunting, fishing, and mining rights were also recognised in their charters. After the death of the last Árpád (1301), under the leadership of the soldier Matthäus of Esák, of the mountain fortress of Trentschin, the nobility of the Waag district attempted a revolt. The people of Zips, who had formerly done homage to Wenzel and Otto (p. 383), now joined the Angevin Charles Robert, who with their help decisively defeated the west Hungarian nobility (the Güssinger, etc.; cf. above, p. 398) at Rozgony in the valley of the T(h)arcza (1312). In recognition of the services which they had "willingly done him since his youth," and for their "manly and faithful struggle against Matthias of Trentschin, in which they spared neither person nor purse," Charles Robert in 1318 confirmed the privileges of the twenty-four royal towns. On the basis of this charter the chiefs, representatives, and elders in 1370 drew up an important legal code, the "*arbitrium*" (that is, free choice or convention) of the Saxons in Zips; this was recognised in the same year by King Lewis, and thus became law. Ecclesiasticism, a love of discipline, a strong sense of honesty, are the most striking features of this code. Manufactures at this flourishing period were controlled by guilds and associations. Trade and industry began to develop in the towns and plains. Numerous foreigners lived here all the year round, for the reason that a vigorous commercial intercourse went on between this place and Poland and Silesia.

Exactly one hundred years after the confirmation of the privileges by Charles Robert the first heavy blow fell upon Zips. On November 8, 1412, the emperor-king Sigismund I, who was in a constant state of financial embarassment, mortgaged the thirteen settlements of Zips, together with the royal fiefs of Lublau,

[1] A dignitary of this nature is already known to us from the year 1209 in the person of the diplomatic Adolf, a brother-in-law of the above-named Rüdiger.

Pudlein, and Gniesen, to Vladislav of Poland. The alliance of the towns of Zips was continued for a time even after their alienation. But they were handed over to Polish officials, who soon began to exercise an arbitrary authority in the mortgaged districts and made it an hereditary starosty. At the instance of the Hungarian Diet, Vladislav III promised to give back the country in 1440, but in the agreement of Altenburg between Hungary and Poland the mortgage was renewed (1474). This agreement sealed the doom of the German nationality in the northern districts and in part of the southern.

Further damage was inflicted by the intrusion of the Hussites and the supremacy of Bohemian mercenaries under Giskra (p. 385). Political independence disappeared; towns that remained Hungarian were deserted, and were handed over by the king to the noble families. Thus King Matthias conferred upon his faithful Emerich Zápolya the hereditary county of Zips, and also in 1380 the possession of the town of Käsmark, which had been made a royal free town, together with the nine parishes attached to it. After John Zápolya, the nephew of Emerich (1530), Käsmark came into the hands of the Pole Hieronymus Laski, while Alexius Thurzó acquired possession of Eisdorf (the Isaci of the deed of gift of 1209), Eulenbach, Donnersmark(t), Müllenbach and Kirn (both, no doubt, of "Flemish" origin), Odorin, Rissdorf, (Gross-)Schlagendorf, and Sperndorf. After the extinction of the family of Thurzó of Bettelsdorf (Bethlenfalva), the nine places came into the possession of the Count Csáky in 1637, and soon sank to the position of small villages under a territorial master; Käsmark alone was able to resist the intrusion of the Magyar nobility and of the Slavs, and to secure recognition as a free town in 1655.

In the course of these distresses the Germans of Zips would in no long time have suffered an invasion of foreign nationalities had not the German element in Upper Hungary been strengthened precisely at that moment by the Reformation with its German preaching and its German hymns. The close connection with Germany, in the high schools of which several pupils from Zips studied the sciences every year, brought with it the consequence that men like Martin Cziriak a pupil of Melanchthon, Thomas Preisner, and Georg Leutscher boldly and successfully fought against the Catholic clergy. The Reformation was carried out therefore in 1546 throughout the country of Zips notwithstanding the decrees of 1523 and 1525, in which it was declared that "all Lutherans with their supporters and adherents would be regarded as open heretics and enemies of the sacred Virgin Mary, and would be punished by execution and confiscation of their property." On the 26th of October of this year the entire clergy of Zips publicly acknowledged the Evangelical creed. The intellectual revival brought with it fresh devolopment of trade and manufacture. The linen and cloth fabrics of Zips and the leather and metal work of the country were famous far and wide on the North Sea and the Baltic, in the midst of Russia and in Constantinople. At Whitsuntide, Greeks, Russians, and Serbs, even North Germans, were in the habit of visiting the country to make their purchases. The inhabitants were an enterprising and energetic little people who kept in touch with the mother country in their new mountain home and created a civilization which raised the citizens and the peasants of the time to a height of prosperity and intelligence unusual in Hungary.

Soon, however, this revival of German science and art was exposed to severe attacks. In 1588 opposition to the new faith began at the instigation of Martin

Pethe, the provost of Zips, and in 1604 the opposition developed into a vigorous counter reformation. The government Catholic commissioners appeared in Zips and attempted to force the inhabitants to surrender their churches to the Catholics; but the people rose in revolt and drove out the commissioners. The disturbances under Stephan Bocskay and the peace of Vienna of 1606 (p. 390) put an end for some time to the persecution of the Protestants in Zips. But in 1632 the Jesuits, in conjunction with the Magyar Catholic nobles and with the military and civil authorities, recommenced the work of forcible conversion. The Protestant clergy lost their property and were driven out of the country; their churches were taken from them by the soldiers and handed over to the Catholics. This work was continued by a process of forcibly denationalising the towns and parishes and by electing Magyar nobles as councillors and judges. Notwithstanding the vigorous support which they gave to all those political risings which took place in the interests of the new creed, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under Bocskay, Bethlen, Tököly, and Franz Rákóczy the Germans of Zips had to suffer the hardest treatment from their own allies. Devastation, persecution, and oppression of every kind produced the result that the Germans grew steadily weaker through the advance of the Hungarians and of the productive adaptable and capable Slovacks. About 1724 the town judge Laczkó (or Spinner) of Gniesen wrote in his chronicle "years ago thou wast like a fair and well-dressed maiden, now thou art like a poor beggar-woman asking an alms." In many of the German free towns of Upper Hungary the overthrow of trade and manufacture created a proletariat which speedily effaced the achievements of former prosperity. Notwithstanding the depth of this overthrow, wherever a hand's-breadth of favourable soil was to be found, the irrepressible vigour of the inhabitants brought forth new results. German industry and economy survived the worst disasters, and eventually succeeded in producing a feeble similitude of former prosperity. Among the free towns, industrial and commercial life continued to flourish. The German language was predominant notwithstanding the prevalence of Magyar, Slav, and Low Latin, and was the medium of constant communication with foreign countries. The feeling of German nationality was, however, terribly shattered (Franz Krones).

In 1772 thirteen places mortgaged to Poland were reunited with Hungary, and "the sixteen towns of Zips" were placed under a special Count, as judge and supreme administrative official; the empress-queen Maria Theresa not only confirmed the previous privileges, but added new rights in 1775. During the next century the German nationality of Zips exerted itself to recover the intellectual and economic prosperity of the former age, when, on October 1, 1876, its position as a crown district came to an end and the towns were incorporated in the county of Zips; this was a blow to the further development of the German nationality there settled. Since the building of the railway through the mountainous district trade and commerce have again revived. A new spirit of enterprise, new confidence, and energy has inspired the Germans, who have been able to maintain their nationality in the course of centuries in the face of many a storm, only by their industry, honesty, domestic economy, and serious view of life. It must be said that old habits in the meantime had almost entirely disappeared. Oppression from without and humiliation within were chiefly to blame, and there can be no prospect of a revival of the old German way of life after all the levelling work of time.

The same fate came upon the people of the Gründe, the inhabitants of the lowlands of Zips. The "Gründe" extend along the Hernád River and include the places of Schmöl(l)nitz, Sto(o)ss, Schwedler, Einsiedl, Göllnitz, Krompach, and Wagendrüssel. From early times they formed a group independent of Zips; to it belonged the Germans who were scattered in isolation throughout Topschau (Dobschau), and Upper and Lower Metzenseifen. The German of the Gründe is distinguished from that of Zips only by a stronger infusion of the Austrian dialect. This little strip of territory was colonised for the most part in the course of the fourteenth century, probably by immigrants from Thüringia and Upper Germany. Schmölnitz, founded in 1332 by Charles Robert, received from him special privileges as a mining town; these were considerably extended by King Lewis I (1353) and Sigismund (1399). Wagendrüssel and Mühlbach had already received the rights of Zips from Ladislaus IV, about 1290. The earliest mining town in Upper Hungary appears to be Göllnitz, to which Béla IV granted privileges and extensive territory, for the purpose of gold, silver, and iron mining; this territory extended to the Hattert or Mark of Kaschau and to the frontiers of the county of Gömör. Ladislaus IV, Andreas III, and Charles Robert recognised the earlier rights and considerably extended the already wide possessions of the town by fresh grants. After 1276 the town appears as "a royal free town." Notwithstanding considerable opposition from the Magyar nobility, and in particular from John Zápolya, the town rose to great prosperity, until Ferdinand II in 1627 confiscated its possessions without reason, and conferred them upon the Count Stephan Czáky. This position of territorial subjection ruined the prosperity of the mining industry; the impoverished Germans immigrated and made room for Slav settlers. The same fate was suffered by Upper and Lower Metzenseifen, established in the fourteenth century on the possessions of a Præmonstratensian abbey which Jaszo had founded (1255). The people of the Gründe had also built several settlements in the interior of the county of Gömör. The settlement of Topschau was founded about 1326 by the noble family of Bubek (Bebek), while Rosenau obtained town privileges in 1382 and remained a pure German mining town until the middle of the eighteenth century, though the German element has now absolutely disappeared.

A gloomy supplement to the history of German nationality in Hungary is provided by the neighbouring counties of Albanja and Sáros, and more particularly by the free town of Kaschau; this was originally a Hungarian place (Cassa), and about 1200 under Emerich received from Upper Germany a number of settlers, who were considerably reinforced in 1261 by further immigration. The new arrivals founded Oberkaschau, and in 1347 effected a union with the mother town of Kaschau, which as early as 1290 had begun the construction, under the French architect Billard de Honnecourt, of the proud Gothic church, the most beautiful cathedral in Upper Hungary, subsequently named after Queen Elizabeth of Poland. The town was surrounded by walls and afterwards fortified; it soon attained a prosperity which aroused the avarice of the Aba, the most powerful family of Upper Hungary. The head of the family, the Palatine Amadeus (Omodeus), attempted to make himself feudal lord of the town, but in 1310 was defeated by the citizens. In 1346 the town received the privilege of judging criminal cases, and in the following year the town rights of Ofen were conferred upon it (it then became a "royal free town"); in 1361 it received market rights, as being a centre

of Polish and Russian merchandise. The towns of Leutschau, Eperges, Bartfeld, and Zeben, the inhabitants of which were also of German origin, united with Kaschau for protection against the aggressions of the avaricious nobility. The union of these four towns with Kaschau, the "Pentapolis" of East Hungary, may be regarded, and indeed should be regarded, in the fourteenth and fifteen centuries, according to Krones, as the reflection of the close racial union which united their inhabitants. But in the first half of the sixteenth century the Germans were forced to migrate in consequence of their zealous support of the Lutheran doctrine. Their place was taken by the Magyars and Slavs. Misgovernment during the civil wars under Stephan Bocskay, Gabriel Bethlen, and Georg Rákóczy I extinguished the last spark of German nationality among the inhabitants of Kaschau; at the beginning of the eighteenth century the town was purely Magyar. The same fate befell the originally German towns of Sáros (= Patak), Eperjes, Bartfeld, Zeben, and Siebenlinden (Héthárs); these had from the outset enjoyed the privileges of Zips which were confirmed to them in 1347. Bartfeld was founded in 1312 by a certain Laurentius; it soon rose to importance, but in 1450 it came into the possession of Giskra, the Hussite leader, together with the other German towns of the comitate of Sáros. The Slav element gained an entry, and the Germans disappeared in a comparatively short time. Eperjes (Eperies), said to have been founded by Béla II about 1140, was distinguished by its zeal in the cause of ecclesiastical politics and education. In its Latin school, which existed from 1534, famous teachers from Germany worked; and in the seventeenth century it attained high reputation. Zealous adherents of the Lutheran faith, the people of Eperjes joined Tököly, the leader of the political opposition, in the interests of religious toleration. After his defeat the prosperity of the inhabitants was destroyed by Austrian troops under Antonio Caraffa (p. 393), who executed thirty nobles and patricians in the "bloody assize of Eperjes" in 1687. Following the example of the other German towns in Upper Hungary, Eperjes supported Franz Rákóczy II, the stepson of Tököly, and after the hardships of an eight years' rebellion (1703–1711) fell into the power of the Austrian troops on December 10, 1710; the Jesuits then began the task of forcible conversion to Catholicism. This process resulted in the complete destruction of the German nationality in these districts.

It is an indisputable fact that wherever the German nationality in Hungary has devoted itself to trade and manufacture the lapse of time has brought annihilation, in spite of the prosperity and culture acquired; whereas the communities more especially devoted to agriculture and cattle-breeding have been able to maintain their position to the present day. Apart from Transylvanian agriculture, the best examples are furnished by the German villages in the manor of Schönborn, near Munkács; these are Upper Schönborn, Lower Schönborn, Palánka, Pausching, Birkendorf, Mädchendorf, and Kutschova, which were founded after 1728; an eighth, Sofiendorf, was begun at the outset of the nineteenth century. Fr. von Löher said very appositely of these Germans in 1874: "Industry, good order, and religious feeling consecrated their lives. The German-Hungarian peasants of Munkács form a close corporation; hence they have been able year by year to drive a wedge deeper into the Ruthenian villages which surround them; they acquire one piece of peasant property after another. They admit no foreigners to their community, and tolerate no Jews except the keepers of beer-houses."

Disputes arising in the vineyards are settled by specially elected judges, and all others by their local judges.

(*c*) *Transylvania.* — The home of the Transylvanian Saxons is encircled and traversed by the Carpathians, with their snow-clad summits white under the mid-summer sun, with their wooded valleys full of flowers, birds, and animals, with their rushing brooks and streams. Here, more than seven centuries ago, the Germans found the counterpart of their former home and here they settled. Many a storm burst over this peaceful centre of German civilization; but intervals of rest continually recurred during which this offshoot of the parent stock put forth new growth. The earliest German settlements in the Transylvania highlands were Karako (Krakkó, near Karlsburg), Crapundorph (Igen), and Rams (Romosz, near Broos); upon these Andreas II conferred privileges in 1206, in which he appealed to the precedents given by his ancestors. Another document refers to the German colony which was sent out from the Hungarian town of Szatmár to the citadel of Deés on the Szamos, received special rights from Béla IV in 1236 and carried on mining. Thirdly, the chaplain Roger of Apulia (archbishop of Spalato 1249, died 1266), relating the story of the Mongol invasions in his "Miserabile Carmen" of 1242, a threnody in a somewhat barbarous style, refers to the capture of Rodnas (near Bistritz), which "was a great Teutonic town in the mountains and the king's silver mine." From these places the German nationality has long since disappeared.

The chief settlements of the Germans in Transylvania were made under Géza II (p. 381) for the protection of the southeast frontier of the empire against the Cumanians, who had established themselves in Moldavia and Wallachia after the subjugation of the Petchenegs, and made constant incursions into the neighbouring provinces (cf. p. 355). These immigrants came partly from the Lower Rhine, partly from Flanders, and are designated in documents (of 1204, 1224, 1234, 1247, 1309) as "Teutons from beyond the forest;" they are also known as "Flemings" (1192–1196, 1199). The title "Saxons" (Saxones), which afterwards became universal, does not appear before 1206. Their settlements extended along the banks of the Alt to its confluence with the Homorod, and from the Maros to the valley of the Kokel River. Their first foundations seem to have been Hermannstadt (Villa Hermanni), Leschkirch (Újegyház), and Gross Schenk (near Fogaras). The proximity of savage tribes forced the settlers to build fortified churches and castles where the inhabitants of the plain could take refuge in time of need. In course of time these strongholds developed into towns and places of greater size. A favourite point of entrance for marauding bands was upon the extreme south of the Burzen district; for this reason Andreas II allowed the Teutonic Order to build stockades and towns here in 1211; Kronstadt then became the capital. The order was, however, forbidden to populate the district of Burzen with Saxons from the neighbouring provinces, and new settlers were brought in. After the expulsion of the German knights, which took place in 1225, in spite of the vigorous support accorded to them by Pope Honorius III, Kronstadt soon became prosperous and exercised a kind of hegemony over the other colonies; the town is first mentioned in a document of 1252. The German colonies in the district of Nösen seem to be of earlier date; in 1264 Bistritz seems to have been in existence for some time. These Northeastern Transylvanians, like those of Deés, probably

came from other parts of Hungary, and settled here to carry on the mining industry. The chief places, which were under their own counts in 1300, together with their surrounding districts, formed the private property of the Hungarian queens from an early date; thus on July 16, 1264, Pope Urban IV orders the king's son Stephan (V) to restore the towns of Bistritz, Rodna, Senndorf, and Baierdorf which he had unjustly taken from his mother, Maria. On December 29, 1330 (not January 1, 1334), the "citizens and colonists of Bistritz and those belonging to that jurisdiction" received a charter from Queen Elizabeth, with the consent of her husband Charles, by the terms of which they were placed exclusively under the jurisdiction of judges elected by themselves.

In a short time the German settlements rose to a prosperity and political importance which secured them the favour of the Hungarian kings. Thus, about 1185, Béla II was able to report to Paris, upon the occasion of his betrothal, the receipt of fifteen thousand marks from the foreign settlers of the king in Transylvania. The rapidity with which the prestige of the Germans increased and the height to which it rose is evidenced by the "Andreanum" of the close of 1224; in this edict Andreas II confirmed and increased all the privileges granted to the Germans from Broos to Draas (near Neps) upon their immigration; he united the independent districts of the settlers brought in by Géza II into one province (*unus sit populus*) governed by an elected "count" as supreme judge (*sub uno judice censeantur*) who resided in Hermannstadt (Cibinium). Thus the originally insignificant citadel on the Czibin (Sibin, Zibin, Czeben) gave its name to the later country of Transylvania (Siebenbürgen).

The progress of prosperity was, however, soon checked by the Mongol invasions of 1240–1242 (Vol. II, p. 175). The fortified towns and strongholds of the country could provide refuge for comparatively few. The majority fled to the mountains, where they perished. Under the fostering care of the kings the German settlements recovered comparatively quickly after the retreat of the Mongols. Such new settlements were also founded as Klausenburg (Clūsvar), by Stephan V before 1270 as duke of Transylvania; for the benefit of his soul he conferred this fief upon the Church of Weissenburg. As Hungarian nobles were not allowed to settle upon Saxon soil, and as the Germans of that district "*more nobilium se gerentes*" enjoyed the rights of nobles, the last of the Árpáds Andreas III summoned them to participation in the Hungarian diet in July, 1292, and in August, 1298. In one hundred and fifty years the "Saxons" had cleared and completely transformed the former wilderness. About three hundred strongholds, forts, and fortified churches protected the goods and chattels of freemen, and guaranteed the security of this once doubtful Hungarian possession. The swamps were drained and became fruitful arable land. Upon the mountains and in the lonely valleys, in the fertile lowlands of the Kokel River and where the stony slopes of the Carpathians bring forth a scanty harvest, dwelt a people whose industrial and agricultural labours and peaceful devotion to the arts had created a flourishing country, while their representatives sat in the diet side by side with the barons and prelates of the empire.

When the house of Árpád became extinct (1301), hard times began for the Saxons of Transylvania. Like all the Germans in Hungary, they had joined Otto, the duke of Lower Bavaria; he accepted their well-meant invitation, fell into the hands of the treacherous Voivod Ladislaus (Apor), and was soon forced to leave the country (p. 383). The Saxons were then exposed to the oppression of the

bishop of Weissenburg, and the powerful Voivode deprived them of the rich silver mines of Rodna. In 1324 they were forced to take up arms in defence of their rights of 1224, which had been again secured to them on May 25, 1317, by Charles I Robert, who had become sole ruler in the meantime.

This period of oppression was followed by a time of prosperity under the government of Lewis I. The extent of the favour shown by this king to the Saxons is manifested by documentary evidence. On September 2, 1370, he writes that they were citizens of his empire, whose zeal and loyalty had brilliantly stood the test of time. The construction of the fortress of Landskrone (near Talmesch), which was being undertaken solely for the protection of their frontier, would not involve the performance of any duties on their part other than those in accordance with law. In a document of May 1, 1379, we read: "Should you find anything unfavourable (in your old charters) we are willing, so far as is possible, to alter and improve it to your advantage. Far from desiring any infringement of your general privileges, we wish to abolish all that may be harmful or dangerous to you, and to make your position unexceptionable." Lewis I favoured Saxon trade in every possible way From December 18, 1369, Kronstadt possessed staple privileges against Polish German, and other foreign merchants, especially cloth merchants. The fairs in Germany and Poland were visited by bands of Saxons. The trade route led to Germany through Prague, and passed to the southwest through the Danube territories to Dalmatia and Venice. Numerous schools and churches, monasteries and hospitals, were founded, and the citizen guilds, brotherhoods, and train bands were admirably organised.

After the death of Lewis the Great troubles again began. Under Sigismund (1387–1437) internal disturbances broke out, in the course of which the neighbourhood of Klausenburg was devastated by the king's opponents. But the greatest danger menacing Transylvania was the advance of the Turks. In 1420 they destroyed the old "Saxon town" of Broos, and carried the inhabitants away to slavery; in the next year they overwhelmed Kronstadt. Previous to and during their invasions the first gipsies entered the country (cf. below, p. 422). In Hungary the struggles of the Magyar nobles with the German citizens were beginning, and at this time the three hard-pressed "peoples" of Transylvania, the Hungarians, the old Magyar Széklers, and the Saxons, concluded the "Union" at (Felsö-)Kápolna on September 28, 1427, and swore "to protect one another against all and sundry who should attack them; only, if the king should infringe the rights of one of the contracting peoples, the other two should appear before him on bended knees and ask his favour. For the rest, upon the second day following an appeal for help, the parties should start with all their forces to give aid as quickly as possible and should march at least twelve miles daily." In the year 1438 the Osmans destroyed the town of Mühlbach and captured some seventy-five thousand slaves, after fruitlessly besieging Hermannstadt for forty-five days. On November 10, 1444, the banner of the Saxons waved over the battlefield of Varna (p. 135), and in October, 1448, they fought against the hereditary enemy on the Anselfeld under John Hunyadi (p. 135). But the domestic life of the German settlers was shattered by these military disturbances. Klausenburg and Winz (Alvincz) soon received a Magyar influx of population, which speedily became predominant and broke off connection with the other Saxon districts. On the accession of Matthias Hunyadi, the Hungarians, Széklers, and Saxons renewed the alliance of Kápolna

at Mediasch in 1459, with a view to resisting any possible attacks of the king. The revolt was stifled by the rapidity of his appearances. To these internal disturbances were added the invasions of the Turks, who continually renewed their harassing incursions, even after their defeat on the Brotfeld (p. 385) in October 13, 1479. King Matthias recognised the services of the Saxons and increased their territory.

Notwithstanding the troubles of the age, their close and profitable intercourse with the mother country had enabled the Saxons to surpass every other nationality within the empire in respect of culture. Every year several Saxon youths went as students to the German high schools (Wittenberg, Jena, Tübingen), and brought back a knowledge of science and art for the benefit of their own country. By these channels of intercourse the great ecclesiastical Reformation of the sixteenth century reached the Saxon colonies and rapidly secured the general support. In 1519 Saxon merchants brought Luther's writings from the fair of Leipsic; in 1521–1522 the first evangelical preachers, the Silesian Ambrosius and Conrad Weich, appeared in Hermannstadt. The energy of a pupil of Melanchthon, the Saxon preacher Johannes Honter (1498–1549), who brought a printing-press with him, secured the success of the Reformation in Transylvania in 1547.

The struggle for the throne between Zápolya and Ferdinand I (p. 387) cost the Saxons heavily in life and property. After the death of Zápolya (July 21 or 22, 1540) Suleimân II, who claimed the suzerainty of Transylvania, conferred the country upon Johann Sigismund Zápolya, who was then in his minority. His authority was limited to the district on the further side of the Theiss, and the period of the separation of Transylvania from Hungary then begins, to last for one hundred and fifty years. For a short time Transylvania came into the power of King Ferdinand, but after the death of Johann Sigismund in 1571 the Sultan transferred it to Stephan Báthori, who brought in the Jesuits. In December, 1575, he was elected king of Poland, and then handed over Transylvania to his brother Christopher, who also seconded the efforts of the Jesuits to bring the country back to Roman Catholicism. At that time the Saxons were exposed to extortion of every kind. They found a supporter in Stephan Bocskay, who was chosen prince by the nobles and Széklers on February 22, 1605, but he died on September 29, 1606. Siegmund Rákóczy occupied the country from February, 1607, but abdicated on March 3, 1608. Gabriel Báthory now ascended the throne. He captured Hermannstadt and attempted to get possession of Kronstadt. But on October 16, 1612, the people of Kronstadt inflicted a severe defeat upon him, under the leadership of their burgomaster Michael Weiss, who lost his life in the battle. Shortly afterwards the population of Transylvania rose in a body against this crazy tyrant; he was deposed and murdered at Grosswardein, while in the act of flight, on October 27, 1613. Gabriel Isethlen, the leader of the revolt, restored the old privileges of the Saxons. After his early death (November 15, 1629) a Saxon chronicler justly wrote, "God grant this famous hero peaceful rest and a joyous resurrection hereafter, for he left the country securer than he found it." In the age of the two George Rákóczys (1631–1660) Transylvania suffered from wars with Moldavia, Wallachia, and Poland.

Recognising the situation as impossible, Michael Apasi broke away from the Turkish supremacy and placed Transylvania under the protection of Leopold I, by the *Tractatus Hallerianus* of 1686, the terms of which he was compelled to repeat

with greater emphasis in the convention of Blasendorf of October 27, 1687. The country was occupied by the imperial troops, and at the diet of Fogaras the oath of fidelity was taken to the Hapsburgs as the hereditary kings of Hungary. Some resistance was offered only by the lower classes of Kronstadt; the town was forced to surrender to the general Veterani on May 16, 1688 (p. 165). By the "Diploma of Leopold" of December 4, 1691, the Saxons were secured in the possession of their rights. The government of the queen-empress Maria Theresa, who made Transylvania a principality in 1765, was followed by the ill-considered reforms of her son Joseph II, when the special constitution of the Saxons was in great measure sacrificed. Only after the bitter struggles in the diets of 1790 and 1791 did they recover their right of self-government in political and ecclesiastical affairs.

The pacification thus effected was of short duration. After 1835 the struggle of nationality became intense (p. 396). "The struggle which the Saxons underwent from 1837 to 1847 in order to secure their constitutional position and their municipal independence," says the Hungarian historian Joh. Heinr. Schwicker, "exercised an important influence upon the Saxon people as regarded both their national spirit and their culture. The people awoke as though from a long trance and prepared for fresh creative work. Upon every side an intellectual and economic revival was apparent. Manufactories were founded, savings banks were started, industrial energy increased, citizen and peasant began to take a keener interest in the common weal. In agriculture, manufacture, and trade, in the cause of common defence and of music, a thousand dormant forces arose. Scientific investigators came forth from their seclusion. In Church and State, in the assembly hall and in public, an earnest struggle began to secure freedom, rights, and nationality, and the patriot found to his joyful surprise that the age of national stagnation had yet preserved capable men, who, though too scanty in numbers to meet every requirement, were sufficiently numerous to carry on this struggle honourably and with perseverance." These aspirations were, however, unable to check the course of the struggle between the nationalities. In 1848–1849 civil war broke out with deadly consequence; the worst disturbances were caused by the wholly justifiable desire of the blacks to secure recognition as the fourth nationality in Transylvania. By the imperial constitution of March 4, 1849 (Vol. VIII), Transylvania recovered independence, and became a crown land, with full rights as such. But with the abolition of the constitution (December 31, 1851), the liberal forces which were awaiting the call to action were again condemned to inactivity, as the government withdrew the Saxon power of self-administration with their municipal and political rights.

A new era seemed to have begun for the free-spirited Germans in Transylvania with the conclusion of the compromise between Austria and Hungary in 1867. The change was, however, rather apparent than real. Since that date has occurred the union with Hungary (February 17, 1867), the abolition of the Transylvanian chancery at the Vienna court and of the supreme court of justice in Klausenburg (which had been solemnly renewed on October 20, 1860), the dissolution of the separate diet, and the abolition of independent administration in the Saxon royal territory; in short, Transylvania has been reduced to the position of a Hungarian province. This might have been endured. But the victors did not stop there; they are attempting to replace the German by the Magyar language in this old German colonial district. Their language is to be supreme, their rights

paramount, and on these principles the national wealth is to be expended. The Saxon element in Transylvania may be regarded as in all probability doomed to extinction. The fact that it has been able to preserve its German nationality to the present day is due to its industry, its creative ability, and its patriotism. However inhospitable the climate, however poor the soil, the Saxon peasant rarely leaves his village.

(*d*) *South Hungary.* — Far in the south, in the Banate of Temes and in the Bácska, are the last and most recent German settlements in Hungary. The Banate of Temes is bounded by the Danube, the Theiss, the Maros, and the mountains of Transylvania. After one hundred and sixty-six years of Turkish rule it was restored to Hungary by the peace of Poscharevatz (July 21, 1718), which followed the victories of Prince Eugene of Savoy. During the Turkish supremacy the wide lowlands and hill districts of the counties of Torontál and Temes were transformed into a desert. Consequently Count Claudius Florimond Mercy, the first governor of this waste, brought in colonists from Germany, Italy, and Spain after the year 1720. In 1728 there were ten villages occupied by Suabians, one village of Italians, and one of Spaniards. Under Mercy's government, between 1722 and 1730, the town and fortress of Temesvár were restored, and numerous villages were founded and occupied with colonists who came from Trèves, Cologne, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg, and the Black Forest. After the count's heroic death at Crocetta near Parma (June 29, 1734), the settlements entered upon a period of distress. The devastation of the Turkish wars between 1737–1739 (p. 168) and an outbreak of plague during these years sadly thinned their numbers.

Under Maria Theresa a special colonial commission was set on foot in Vienna on July 22, 1766, which brought in Catholic colonists from the districts of Havenstein, Trèves, Lorraine, and the Breisgau. At that time more than twenty-five thousand Germans are said to have found a home in the Banate. Moreover, the emperor Joseph II, who had made a personal visit to the Banate, issued an "immigration patent" on September 21, 1782, in which he gave a special invitation to "members of the German Empire in the Upper Rhine district" to take up settlements. By the terms of this patent the immigrants were to travel free of expense, to receive allotments of ground for building and cultivation, necessary implements, and a certain sum of money during the early days of their settlement. The Germans came in large numbers, built fourteen new settlements in 1784–1786, and increased thirteen others. Between 1784 and 1786 the state paid for this purpose nearly four million florins. The constant wars and the expense of living in Germany constantly drove emigrants into Hungary; for the most part they are called Suabians, although there were also Bavarians, Franconians, and people from the Middle Rhine. "In the course of a century," says Schwicker, "under the influence of similar political, social, and material conditions a similarity of life has been produced resulting in a certain uniformity of the German population of the Banate; at the same time a careful observer of physical characteristics and language, of proverbial expressions and songs, of clothes and use and customs, can still recognise the traces of differences originally much more considerable." In order to check this immigration, a decree was issued in 1829, to the effect that no German immigrant would be permitted to cross the Austrian frontier unless he could show a capital of five hundred florins in hard cash.

The neighbouring county of Bács, which had been wrested from the Osmans immediately after the victory of Mohács (1687; p. 164), received attention at a later period than the Banate. In accordance with the "colonisation patent" of 1763 full arrangements were made by a royal commission for the occupation of the district by Germans. The greatest influx of settlers took place between May 1, 1784, and November 30, 1785; during that period two thousand and fifty-seven families, amounting to nine thousand two hundred and one persons entered the county of Bács. Then by the decree of April 24, 1786, further immigration at the expense of the state was stopped. As most of the Germans were of the agricultural class, numerous large villages arose, which have preserved their German character to the present day. The number of Germans here amounts to about thirty per cent of the whole population. The chief places inhabited by Germans are Apatin, with nearly fourteen hundred inhabitants, Cservenka, Csonopla, Kula, Alt-Futak, Alt-Szivacz, Bajmok, Stanisics. In consequence of their common origin, their almost contemporary settlement, their similarity of occupation (especially agriculture, cattle-rearing, and small handicrafts), and the similarity of political and social conditions, the Germans of Bács correspond upon the whole to those of the Banate. Though of somewhat serious temperament, the Suabians both of Bács and of the Banate display much rough and hearty cheerfulness in the celebration of their parish and family festivals. In spite of the number of languages spoken upon this frontier district, German is at the present time predominant.

5. THE GIPSIES

A. Their Names and Origin

For more than five hundred years the gipsy people have traversed East and Central Europe, wandering restlessly from place to place. In general they live at the present day among nations which have long ago been definitely settled and become organised, following their nomadic customs and their peculiar manners and customs under individual tribal chiefs. Even at the date of their first appearance in Europe the gipsies were able to give no adequate account of their origin or of their first home. The names which they apply to themselves are not without importance from an historical and ethnographical point of view. They call themselves by the old Indian name of an unclean caste (cf. Vol. II, p. 413), *rom* (= man, *romni* = woman). Another self-bestowed title is *kalo* (black), the opposite term to which, *parno* (white), is applied to all non-gipsies. Finally, the gipsies also style themselves *manusch* (people), while foreigners are known as *gadsio* (strangers). Upon rare occasions, and generally only in the course of public debate, they address one another as Sinte (comrades). This word, which can bear the sense of "Indian" in general reminds us of the Sindoi nationality of the Indian peninsula,[1] and also of the "river and district Indos" (Indian Sindhu); the related language Sindhî remained that of an outcast tribe in the Punjab known as the "Changar" (Čangar), which still wanders over those districts at the present day, penetrating even to the interior of Persia.

[1] Hindu; cf. the little Aryan tribe of the Sindoi mentioned by Herodotus, who carried on trade on the Taman peninsula, and on the east frontier coast of Pontus to Anapa.

More numerous are the names applied to the gipsies by the peoples with whom they came in contact. The German word "Zigeuner" is probably derived from the Phrygian-Lycaonian sect of the "Athinganoi," mentioned at the outset of the ninth century by such Byzantine writers as Theophanes. On the other hand, M. J. de Goeje derived the name in 1875 from "tsjengī;" that is, musicians, dancers, etc. According to Dritten the name is connected with the above-mentioned "Čangar" in Nearer India. It is, however, certain that the Germans received the name from the Czechs (cigár, cingán, cikán), who took it from the Magyars (cigány); the latter got it from the Roumanians (cigan), who again borrowed it from the Bulgarians ([a] cigan or [a] čiganin). The root of the word is probably to be found in the mediæval Greek *ἀτσίγκανος*; *Τζιγαρᾶς* is another term usual in the same sense. L. Wiener in 1902 derived both words from a root čik or čink, meaning "hammer" and "metal-working" in Oriental languages, which he connects with the Byzantine *τζυκανιστόριον* (house for playing ball); the ball-play in this case consisted of hammer-throwing. The first gipsies, moreover, whose existence in Europe has been demonstrated were workers in metal and braziers (at Modon in the Peloponnese; at the beginning of the fifteenth century). The name "Zigeuner" became general only in Eastern Europe and Italy (zingaro); other names were used by the West Europeans. In Modern Greek the name is *Τύφτης* (a shortened form of *Αἰγύπτιος*, Egyptian), in Spanish and Portuguese Gitano, in Flemish Egyptenær. On their arrival in Central Europe the gipsies announced themselves to be Egyptians, whence their name *pharaó népe* (Pharaoh's people), still in use among the Magyars. In the Low-German speaking countries the gipsies were originally known as Suyginer, Zigöner, or even "Hungarians," and afterwards as "Tätern" or Tartars; in France they were called Bohémiens, as they came from Bohemia with letters of protection from King Sigismund of Hungary and Bohemia.

Since the time of the appearance of the gipsies in Europe, the flood of theories respecting their origin and descent has mounted high. After the interesting linguistic essay of Andrew Boorde in 1542, one of the earliest dissertations "de Cingaris" is to be found in the work of the Netherland Hellenist Bonaventura Vulcanius, "De literis et lingua Getarum" (Leyden, 1542); Job Ludolf also paid some attention to their vocabulary in the commentary to his "Ethiopian History" published in 1691. The majority of scholars agree with Miklosich that the name of the sect of the Athinganer (*ἀθιγγανοι* = the untouched or those of another faith; cf. *lāmasāsiyya*, the Arab name of the Samaritans) has been transferred to the gipsies (cingani). Others looked for their origin in Zeugitana (Carthage), a province formed under Diocletian and Constantine. Others again identified them with the Zygians, Canaanites, Saracens, Amorites, and Jews, or regarded them as the descendants of Chus, the son of Cham (Genesis x, 6). The Hungarian chronicler Pray made a nearer guess at the truth, in considering their first home to have been the former Seljuk kingdom of Rum, as the gipsies call themselves Rom (Ikonion; cf. Vol. III, p. 353). On their first appearance many assumed that they were pilgrims from Egypt, who were performing a seven years' penitential pilgrimage, in expiation of the refusal of their ancestors to receive the infant Christ in Egypt, when he was fleeing from Herod with his parents. These and similar legends are related at the present day by wandering gipsy tribes in Hungary and in the Balkan territories. Here we have an explanation of the tenacious adherence to the belief in their Egyptian origin. The gipsy leaders also contributed to the spread of this belief;

after 1400 they styled themselves "kings," "dukes," or "counts of Egypt Minor," and appeared as rulers of distinction in every district. In the little town of Fürstneau was a gravestone, erected on the vigil of St. Sebastian (= 19th January), 1445, to the deceased "noble lord Sir Panuel, duke of Egypt Minor and lord of the stag's horn in that country." The coat of arms upon the stone displayed a golden eagle crowned, and above the tilting helmet a crown with a stag. Another monument with a fantastic coat of arms existed in the neighbourhood of Backnang (Wurtemberg), dated 1453, to the "noble count Peter of Kleinschild."

There is no doubt that the gipsies had leaders, and that those who live in tents have leaders at the present day; these leaders have a distinctive sign, such as an embroidered cloak, cloth, or goblet. The several tribes of the nomadic gipsies are also social units in so far as they are under the government of one Voivod. In practice they are nowhere tolerated in large hordes, and have consequently broken up into smaller independent communities or societies (*mahlija*, from *mahlo* = friend), under individual chieftains, the *schaibidso*. In important cases these leaders appeal to the decision of the Voivod, who may be spending his time with one or another tribe. The *schaibidso* is elected by the tribe, and the Voivod confirms his appointment by eating bread and salt with him in public; he then commands the *mahlija* in question to regard the *schaibidso* as his plenipotentiary. Among the nomadic gipsies the position of Voivod is hereditary at the present day; if a minor should inherit, the position is occupied until his majority by one of his nearest relations. The installation of a Voivod is a very simple ceremony. The Voivod recites a form of oath, is lifted up by his tribesmen while the women throw crab-apple seeds upon him to keep away evil spirits. The Voivod, among the nomadic gipsies at the present day, occupies a position which is merely honourable; formerly every *mahlija* paid him a yearly tribute proportioned to the position and the number of its members.

In the case of a people like the gipsies, whose early traditions have practically disappeared, the only means of establishing their origin is the study of their language. This attempt was made in 1697 by Joh. Chr. Wagenseil (1633–1705); but what he considered in his preface to his "De libera civitate Norimbergensi commentatio" as a gipsy language was the German-Jew thieves' language or jargon. Similarly Laur. Hervas confused the Italian thieves' language with the gipsy language (1787). The investigations of Joh. Chr. Chr. Rüdiger (1751–1822) in 1782 were based upon inadequate material and weakened by inadequate linguistic knowledge; but both he and Heinr. Mor. Gottl. Grellmann (1756–1804), whose work, the "Zigeuner," is historic, arrived independently at the conclusion that the gipsy language is allied to the Indian. It is not generally known that this opinion was shared by Immanuel Kant.[1] Previously, however, in 1776 the Vienna "Anzeigen aus sämtlichen k. k. Erbländern" (6th series, No. 94) had published a letter by one Hauptmann Székely, of importance for its bearing upon the origin of the gipsies; it stated that Vályi, the priest at Almás (Hungary), had made the acquaintance of Malabar students while at the University of Leyden, had compiled a small Malabar glossary and read it aloud to the Hungarian gipsies of his district, who had understood almost every word. Investigation in this direction was continued by August Friedr. Pott in 1844, and the fact was scientifically proved that the original home of the gipsies was in the northwest of Nearer India. "Notwithstanding its unusu-

[1] "Berliner Monatschrift" of November, 1785.

ally debased and corrupted character," their language in some degree may still pride itself "on its relationship to the most perfectly constructed of all languages, the proud Sanskrit." Further investigations have definitely settled the fact that the gipsy language belongs to the same group as the Dardu languages spoken in Kafiristan, Dardistan, Kashmir, and Little Tibet.

B. Their Migrations and Settlements

The science of comparative philology has clearly proved the gipsies to be a branch of the Hindu nationality; it has also shown us by what route the gipsies left India, and in what countries their migrations have been interrupted for a longer or shorter period. This demonstration was the work of the Viennese philologist Franz Miklosich,[1] who collected the words of foreign origin in the gipsy language and examined their relative numerical proportion. The causes which drove the gipsies to migration and the date at which their wanderings began are shrouded for ever in obscurity. It is, however, tolerably certain that more than one migration took place. Possibly we have here the explanation of the fact that in many countries where they are now naturalised they are divided into two or more castes. Individual advances or disruptions may have taken place at an early date, though hardly in the age of Herodotus (cf. the remarks on the word "Sindoi," p. 415), while the first great movement or movements did not begin before the Christian era. The round number 1000 A. D. was given by Miklosich as the result of his philological investigations, but he has now withdrawn it (Dissertation of February 9, 1876). The Persian and Armenian elements in the European dialects clearly show that the gipsies must have made their way first through Armenia and Persia, and have remained a considerable time in those countries. They entered Persia under the Sassanid dynasty, and were given the marshy districts on the Lower Euphrates as a settlement. They readily made common cause with the Arab conquerors; but after the death of the Caliph Mamun (833) they left their setttlements, and disturbed the country by their plundering raids, until Ojeïf ibn Ambassa was obliged to bring them to reason by force of arms. Karsten Nieubhr in 1784 (in the "Teutschen Merkur," II,) and Ulr. Jasp. Seetzen in 1854 have treated of the gipsies in Diarbekr and about Haleb. The Armenian "Bosha" (that is, vagabonds), the gipsies of the Armenian faith (the Mohammedan gipsies of Asia Minor are known as "Chingene," or "Chinghiané"), who are chiefly to be found at Bujbat in the vilayet of Sivas (see the map facing p. 203), when not engaged in their favourite occupation of wandering, speak a language which possesses an unusually sparse vocabulary (about six hundred words in all; no songs!), but undoubtedly belongs to the Indian branch of the Aryan family of languages; their chief occupation is sieve-making. Neither in Turkish nor in Russian Armenia, whither part of them have migrated since 1828, do they bring their disputes before the state tribunals, but before the council of their elders, presided over by the Athopakal (expressly confirmed in office by the Porte, formerly called Jamadar); in Russian Armenia he is associated with an Ustadar or secular caste-chieftain.

From Armenia members of the gipsy nationality may have migrated to North

[1] "Über die Mundarten and die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas," III, 2; laid before the Academy of Vienna on February 21, 1872, and published in 1874.

AN ENCAMPMENT OF THE FIRST GIPSIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

(From an engraving by Jacques Callot of 1604, now in the Dresden Cabinet of Engravings)

Africa through Syria and thence, though not before the nineteenth century, to the centre and northwest of South America, where, following the convenient waterways, they infest one republic and town after another (thus they visit Guayaquil in Ecuador every two or three years). Another and stronger division entered Europe through Phrygia and Lycaonia and across the Hellespont. Greece is to be regarded as the first European home of all the gipsies who are dispersed throughout Europe, including the Spanish. There is tolerable evidence for the presence of gipsies in Byzantium at the outset of the ninth century; and in Crete in the year 1322 we hear of them from the Franciscan Simon Simeonis. About 1398 the Venetian governor of Nauplion, Ottaviano Burno, confirmed the privileges granted by his predecessors to John, chieftain of the Acingani. The Venetians allowed the gipsies to settle in the Peloponnese on payment of certain dues. Many ruins still known as *Τυφτόκαστρον*, that is, Egyptian or gipsy fortress, remain as evidence of their occupation. German travellers in the second half of the fifteenth century, such as Felix Fabri (von Schmid; 1442–1502), Bernhard of Breidenbach (died 1497), the Pfalzgraf Alexander of Veldenz, Arnold von Harff the Knight of Cologne (1471–1505), report the presence of these "Egyptian" settlers. In Corfu "Vageniti" were to be found before 1346;[1] about 1370–1373 there was a fully organised gipsy colony, the members of which are mentioned as being in the service of the barons Theodoros Kavasilas, Nicolò di Donato of Altavilla, and Bernard de Saint-Maurice. About 1386 a "feudum Acinganorum" was founded from this colony, first conferred upon the baron Gianuli di Abitabulo, then in 1540 upon the scholar Antonio Eparco, who carried on a correspondence with Melanchthon; in 1563 it passed into the hands of the Count Theodoro Trivoli. In the first half of the fourteenth century those migrations in the Balkan Peninsula took place in the course of which the Albanians occupied Attica and the Peloponnese (p. 223, below), while numerous Armenian families settled in Moldavia and many Roumanians migrated to the slopes of Mount Pindos; at that moment a large number of the gipsies began to advance into Wallachia. They must have been settled in the country by 1370, for in 1387 the Hospodar Mircea the Old (p. 356) confirmed a donation of forty Zalassi (tent) gipsies, made by the last of his predecessors, Layko (Vlad I), to the monastery of St. Maria in Tismana (Wallachia Minor) and to that of St. Antonius, "na Vodici" and others. When Wallachia afterwards became tributary to the Turks, the gipsies may have begun to migrate in large numbers to Transylvania and Hungary. Hence they spread over the whole of Europe (see the plate facing this page, "An Encampment of the First Gipsies in Central Europe"). It was not until 1820–1830 that Alexander Ghika (p. 363) relaxed the serfdom of the gipsies in Wallachia, which was finally abolished on March 3, 1856.

In the year 1417 the first gipsies appeared in the Hansa towns on the North Sea and the Baltic. They produced commendatory letters from the emperor Sigismund (on this point cf. below), and repeated the story of their Egyptian origin and their seven years' penitential pilgrimage, and thus gained the support both of Church and State as well as that of private individuals. In 1418 we find them also in Switzerland. However, this friendly reception was soon followed by persecution, in accordance with the somewhat barbarous spirit of the age. It was not so much the actual misdeeds or the annoying presence of the strangers

[1] Documents of the Latin Empress Katharina of Valois; cf. the genealogical tree on page 340.

as their unusual customs that attracted the attention of the authorities. It was also to the prejudice of this miserable and harmless race that they came from districts more or less in possession of the Osmans. They were regarded as the advance guard or as the spies of the "hereditary enemies of Christendom." Thus the recess of 1479 of the German imperial diet proclaimed, "with regard to those who are called gipsies and constantly traverse the land, seeing that we have evidence to show that the said gipsies are the spies and scouts of the enemy of Christianity, we command that they are not to be suffered to enter or to settle in the country, and every authority shall take due measures to prevent such settlement and at the next assembly shall bring forward such further measures as may seem advisable." In the following year the diet of Freiburg declared the gipsies outlaws; that is to say, the murderer of a gipsy went unpunished. However, the gipsies were steadily reinforced by new arrivals from Hungary, and these measures produced little effect. In any case it was found necessary to renew them in the recess of the diets of 1500, 1544, 1548, and 1577. On September 20, 1701, the emperor Leopold declared that on the reappearance of the gipsies "the most drastic measures would be taken against them." A worthy counterpart to this decree is the regulation of the Count of Reuss, published on July 13, 1711, and made more stringent on December 12, 1713, and May 9, 1722, to the effect that "all gipsies found in the territory of Reuss were to be shot down on the spot."

Every conceivable crime was laid to the charge of the gipsies: among other accusations it was said that they exhumed dead bodies to satisfy their craving for human flesh. In consequence of a charge of this nature forty-five gipsies were unjustly executed in 1782 in the county of Hont (northwest Hungary). The accusation is based upon a misunderstanding of their funeral customs, in which the strongest characteristic of gipsy religious sentiment, the feeling of fear, is vigorously emphasised. In a lonely corner of the village churchyard or at the edge of some secluded wood the corpse is interred, and the spot is marked with a curious post shaped like a wedge, the upper end of which is hardly visible above the surface of the ground, while the lower end almost touches the head of the corpse. This custom is connected with an older use, now disappearing, in accordance with which the relatives took away the head of the corpse after a certain time, buried it elsewhere and drove the post deep into the earth in its place — solely for the purpose of hastening the process of putrefaction. Only after complete putrefaction of the body, according to gipsy belief, can the soul enter the "kingdom of the dead," where it then lives a life analogous to that of earth. Gipsies may have been surprised in the performance of this custom and have been consequently accused of eating the corpse.

By degrees the gipsies advanced from Germany over the neighboring parts of east and northern Europe. They received Poland and Lithuania in the reign of Vladislav II Jag(i)ellon. In 1501 King Alexander I granted a charter to Vasil, the "woyt cygański." The diet of 1557 ordered the expulsion of the strangers, and this decree was repeated in 1565, 1578, 1607, and 1618. The gipsies, however, found life in this country very tolerable. They were governed by a leader of their own, whose position was confirmed by the king of Poland and by Prince Radizwill in Lithuania. The last of these gipsy "kings" was Jan Marcinkiewicz (died about 1790), who was recognised as such in 1778 by Karol

Stanislaw Radizwill. In 1791 they were given settlements in Poland. At the outset of the sixteenth century the gipsies entered Finland and also the north of Russia. Catharine II put an end to their nomadic existence by settling them on the crown lands, with a guaranteed immunity from taxation for four years. Many of them are living in Bessarabia (in 1834 they amounted to 18,738 out of the 48,247 in the whole of Russia not including Poland), at Bjelgorod, and in the neighbourhood of Taganrog; but these South Russian gipsies generally came into the country through Roumania and not by the circuitous route through Poland. They met with far worse treatment in Sweden; the first mention of them in that country belongs to 1572. In 1662 they were banished by a royal decree which ordered the execution of any gipsy who returned (a Moravian decree of 1599 is couched in similar terms). Christian III of Denmark (where the strangers had been known since 1420) issued a decree in 1536 ordering them to leave the country within three months. After Frederick II had reiterated this order in 1561, Denmark was soon freed from the intruders. More fortunate was the fate of those scattered bodies who reached England about 1450 and Scotland about 1492; in spite of their proscription by Henry VIII in 1531, and the decrees of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, their numbers increased considerably (see the conclusion for this point). They were subject to a "king" from the Lee family: the last of these, King Joseph Lee, died in 1884. In 1827 a society was formed in England to improve the position of the gipsies.

In most of the Romance countries the gipsies met with an unfriendly reception so soon as they arrived. In 1422 they entered Italy (Bologna), but abandoned the country in a few years, as the clergy opposed them both in word and deed. The band which appeared in France in 1447 was allowed only five years of peace. When the gipsies plundered the little town of la Cheppe (northeast of Châlons-sur-Marne) they were driven out by the peasants. In scattered bodies they travelled about the country until 1504. The first decree of banishment was then issued against them, and was repeated with greater stringency in 1539. Their extermination by fire and sword was decreed by the Parliament of Orléans in 1560, and actually carried out by Louis XIII and Louis XIV. Only a small proportion of the gipsies were able to find refuge among the Basques, who had been visited by individual gipsies as early as 1538. But in the night of December 6, 1802, the gipsies in that country were taken prisoners, with few exceptions, by the order of the prefect of the Basses Pyrenées and shipped to Africa. In Spain a band of gipsies appeared near Barcelona in 1447 and met with a favourable reception. They suffered little or no harm from the decree of banishment issued by Ferdinand the Catholic (1499; repeated in 1539, 1586, 1619) or from the prohibition of Philip IV of 1633 (extended in 1661 and 1663) against their use of their own language and their nomadic habits. Greater, from another point of view, was the influence of the regulations of Charles III of September 19, 1783; to those gipsies who renounced the use of their "gerigonza" (gipsy language), wandering habits, and dress, this decree granted toleration; it threw open all offices to them, and allowed them to practise any trade, thereby furthering the process of denationalisation. In southern Spain they continue a highly satisfactory existence at the present day.

C. Gipsy Life in the Danube District

Hungary and Transylvania formed the second resting-place and in a sense the new home of the gipsies in Europe. They must have reached these countries shortly after 1400, for as early as 1416, gipsies from Hungary are found in Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia, and in the rest of Germany in 1417. Those who wandered to Germany brought letters of commendation from the Hungarian Palatine Nicholas Gara to Constance, where the emperor Sigismund was staying at that time; he was thus induced to grant them the charter previously mentioned (its existence is confirmed by a letter of the Hungarian count Thurzó of the year 1616). The gipsies who were left in Hungary and Transylvania enjoyed certain privileges, like the Roumanians and Jews who possessed no land, as "serfs of the king," in so far as their settlement upon private property was conditional upon the royal consent. As armourers they also enjoyed the special favour of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities (cf. above, p. 416). Thus on September 23, 1476, King Matthias allowed the town of Hermannstadt to employ the gipsies upon necessary works; and on April 8, 1487, he ordered the Voivod to leave undisturbed those gipsies who had been conceded to the people of Hermannstadt. In 1496 Vladislav II granted a charter to the Voivod Thomas Polgar, whereby he and his people were to be left unmolested, as they were then preparing munitions of war for Sigismund, the then bishop of Fünfkirchen. As in Poland the dignity of gipsy king had been conferred upon nobles before 1731, so also in Transylvania and Hungary the ruler chose the chief Voivod of the gipsies from the ranks of the nobility. In Transylvania the position was usually occupied by one nobleman and at times by two. In Hungary, on the other hand, there were always four chief Voivods, whose seats were Raab, Léva, Szatmár, and Kaschau. The gipsies were under their jurisdiction, and were obliged to pay a poll-tax of one florin a year. Under Peter Vallou, who was made chief Voivod of Transylvania by Prince Georg Rákóczy (p. 391), and even allowed to take the oath, the position was abolished by law.

From the date of their first appearance in the Theiss and Carpathian districts, the gipsies were especially famous as musicians. In this capacity they found employment at the courts of the princes and magnates; in 1525 they were even "installed" at the national assembly of Hatvan as musicians. Their yearning, heartrending melodies, composed, as it were, of passionate sighs, are played with incomparable purity, certainty, and feeling. Soon this romantic people acquired a privileged position among the Hungarians: noble and citizen, peasant and student, alike delighted in the sound of the gipsy violin. These poetic nomads remain one of the most interesting features both of the Hungarian plains and of the Transylvanian forests. The fame of such gipsy musicians as Barna, Berkes, Bihari, Patikasus, Rácz, Salamon, or of the female violinist Zinka Panna, soon extended far beyond the frontiers.

Here, also, in Transylvania and Hungary are to be found the truest lyric poets among the gipsies, men living in joyful seclusion from the world, or considering the world only in the light of their own experience. The existence of a ballad poetry among the gipsies has long been denied, without due consideration of the

fact that a people of such high musical talent could not fail to possess a store of ballads. It is difficult to imagine anything more perfect than these lyrics, which are to be found among the wandering gipsies of Hungary and the Balkan territories by those who will take the pains to search. The authorship of these songs is unknown; they come forth from the people, and remain a national possession. One poetess only has left two hundred and fifty gipsy poems in writing, the Servian wandering gipsy Gima Ranjičič (died 1891). Beauty and education were the curse of her life. A reader of her poems published in a German translation can reconstruct a life of suffering, of desperate struggle, and unfulfilled hope. Beyond this, the intellectual achievements of the gipsies are few. Whether the Madonna painter Antonio de Solari[o], known as il Zingaro (about 1382–1455), or the English mystic, John Bunyan, are to be accounted gipsies, is a matter of doubt.

The gipsy women earn a fair amount of money by the practice of incantations, fortune-telling, card play, and the like, and enjoy a reputation among the villagers as leeches and magicians. In the belief of this outcast people there are women and sometimes men in possession of supernatural powers, either inherited or acquired. Most of the female magicians (chohalji; also known as "good women" = latche romni) have been trained by their mothers from early childhood and have inherited the necessary prestige. They play a considerable part in all the family festivals of the wandering gipsies.

In other countries these restless strangers have been forced to settle down; but most of the gipsies in Hungary, in the Balkans (the Mohammedan Zapóri), and in America continue their nomadic existence at the present day, almost invariably within the limits of the country or nationality in question, hence they are able to maintain their ancient customs more or less unchanged. But in these countries the governments have taken a truly benevolent interest in the gipsies, and have done their best to make them a settled and civilized race. Thus by a regulation of November 13, 1761, the queen-empress Maria Theresa ordered the name "gipsy" to be changed to that of "new Hungarian" (in Magyar, uj magyarok) and the gipsies to be settled in the Banate. The authorities built them huts, and gave them seed, and even cattle; but as soon as the supplies were consumed, the objects of this benevolence started again upon their wanderings. Only a small body remained and became a settled industrial community. On November 29, 1767, Maria Theresa issued another and more stringent edict, to the effect that the gipsy children were to be taken away and brought up by "Christian" people at the expense of the state, while the marriage of gipsies was absolutely prohibited. This edict produced little or no effect in comparison with the trouble involved. On October 9, 1783, Joseph II issued a "general regulation" containing the following severe conditions: gipsy children were not to run about naked in public places, and were to be taken early to school and to church. All children above four years of age must be redistributed every two years among the neighbouring communities in order to secure diversity of instruction. Adults were strictly prohibited from wandering; even the settled gipsies were only to visit the yearly market under special supervision. They were forbidden to trade as horse dealers. The use of their language was forbidden under a penalty of twenty strokes, and intermarriage was strictly prohibited. More indulgent were the instructions issued on April 15, 1784, *ad decanos Hunnobrodensem et Hradischtiensem*. The six hundred families living in the Bukovina, according to the official register of 1800, seem to have been all settled.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, political confusion and attempts to secure freedom so entirely occupied the attention of the state that it was impossible to deal further with the gipsy problem. Attempts to settle the gipsies were made by private individuals. Bishop John Hám opened a gipsy school at Szatmar in 1857, and the priest Ferdinand Farkas founded an educational institution at Neuhäusel; both experiments speedily came to an end. The efforts of the Servian government to put an end to the wanderings of the Mohammedan tent gipsies ("gurbeti") were more successful between 1860 and 1870. Little effect was produced by the decree of the Hungarian ministry of the interior prohibiting vagrancy, issued on July 9, 1867. The archduke Joseph, who was well acquainted with the nomadic gipsies, settled several families, but in less than ten years they had all deserted their new home. The gipsies have a kind of "residence" in Debreczin, formerly a pure Magyar town. A few years ago the Hungarian government announced their intention of taking the work of settlement in hand with greater seriousness.

Numbers of gipsies settle down every year under the pressure of circumstances. Thus not only in Hungary, but also in the other countries of Europe, with the possible exception of Roumania, the number of gipsies is decreasing every year. About 1800 there were one hundred thousand gipsies in Scotland alone, while in 1895 there were only twelve thousand in the whole of the British islands. In Prussia, where they were left in comparative peace until the ordinance of 1872, there are hardly eleven thousand; noteworthy are the small colonies which have survived in Lorraine from the French period in the parishes of Bárenthal, Wiesenthal, and Götzenbruck. At the present day there may be about nine hundred thousand gipsies in Europe, and at least as many again in the other continents of the world.

VII

EASTERN EUROPE

By PROFESSOR DR. VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ

1. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SURVEY

THERE is no boundary line in Europe more important, historically and geographically, than that which runs in a northwestern direction from the mouth of the Danube along the rampart of the Carpathians and the northern frontier of Bohemia, as far as the Riesengebirge and the Erzgebirge, then follows the Elbe (which here penetrates the angle formed by the two ranges), and finally diverging eastward of it, sometimes as far as the Vistula, reaches the Baltic Sea. Europe is thus divided into two distinct portions, or rather two distinct worlds (cf. Vol. VII, p. 1). All the countries and states which lie to the west of this line formed, and to some degree still form at the present day, a separate and distinct whole, which is differentiated from the eastern half.

The Romans had once advanced as far as this frontier; but although they crossed the Elbe and entertained hopes of reaching the Vistula, they never succeeded in gaining a firm footing on the other side. After the fall of the Roman Empire the Western states continued to develop on the foundation laid by the Romans. Politically they favoured the idea of the Roman World-Empire, adhered voluntarily or involuntarily to the German Empire as representing that idea, and in contrast to the eastern half appeared as a united whole, with the inclination and duty of advancing eastwards. At the same time the fabric reared by Charles the Great and Otto the Great had a religious side and character. All the threads of Western diplomacy converged upon Rome. Rome was the heart of Western Europe. One ideal, one religion, one language, and one civilization were the common property of Western Europe. The shores of the Mediterranean (cf. Vol. IV, p. 39) were the original home of the ancient civilization which in time conquered the whole continent. The eyes of the Western nations were always turned towards this cradle of all intellectual effort and movement.

Eastward of that great dividing line the case was different. The tribes who dwelt there were unknown to the civilized world of the Mediterranean for two thousand years; their part in history had been played to some extent behind the curtain. Now and again some tidings of their existence reached the Greeks, Romans, and Teutons, or a warlike nation from the East crossed the boundary wall and disturbed the order of the ancient world, but only to be absorbed in it. Eastern Europe had still to be discovered.

A. The Earliest Information: Herodotus

The Phœnicians and the Greeks were the first to collect information as to Eastern and Northern Europe. Greek merchants drove a flourishing trade in the fifth century before the Christian era, not only in the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor and Persia, but also on the shores of the Black Sea and further northwards. They owned factories everywhere in the basin of the Euxine at the mouths of the rivers; they sailed with their wares up the rivers, and reached the coast of the Baltic, whence they obtained the valuable amber. Herodotus applied to them when he took in hand his history. He collected information, fables, and legends; besides this, the apparently earliest and certainly the most extensive of his journeys of exploration had as its objective the countries on the shores of the Pontus. His work is the first important source of information as to Eastern Europe. The cultured Greek had reached a far higher plane of civilization than the nations of those regions whose history he took upon himself to write. Nevertheless we do not learn much from his work. A peculiar spirit finds utterance in it. At the present day its venerable antiquity is almost incomprehensible to us. Our deponent professes to lift the veil from this hoary past; but while we eagerly look to him for detail, we notice finally, to our regret, that we have learned very little. Rivers and mountains bear in Herodotus quite different names from those familiar to us to-day. The country is apparently inhabited by other races than those whose history we here wish to relate. In his Fourth Book he talks of Scythians, Agathyrsi, Sauromates, Alazones, and other races. And yet when we compare with this the later accounts, we have a strong suspicion from the whole narrative that we have to deal with the same nations which afterwards played a historical rôle there; only we cannot prove it. The Greeks, naturally enough, gave names of their own to the tribes which they met, the rivers which they navigated, and the mountains which they saw. But when Herodotus himself relates that many tribes in the North spoke a half-Greek, half-foreign language, we may certainly conclude that branches of the Indo-Germanic family were settled there, who still employed to express many ideas much the same words as the Greeks.

In the nine books of Herodotus' history everything blends together; there is a fantastic mixture of delight in a wild life with deep and noble thoughts, of sound criticism with childish naïveté, of truth with fables and legends. If we test one account and compare it with the others, we may censure the author; but if we have read the whole work, we can only be grateful to the learned Greek. His history is motley, because he has made use of miscellaneous authorities without testing them. He relates of the Scythians that they did not build either towns or fortresses, but were roaming tent-dwellers, a nation of mounted archers; that they did not live on the crops they sowed, but on cattle-breeding, and carried their homes on waggons, — that is to say, they were nomads. When he proceeds to tell us that the Scythians annually offered in sacrifice cattle, and horses especially, and that they slaughtered fifty horses on the death of the king, we shall be reminded that the horse was held sacred by the Northern Slavs and the Lithuanians, and was kept by them in temples; and also that in the year 1000 the son of a Polish prince offered in a monastery of the South as a present to the saint his sword and

a white horse. But Herodotus tells us how the sword was highly revered by the Scythians, and how sacrifices were made and oaths taken over it and other weapons. The sword stood in similarly high honour with the Poles; in the tenth century the Russians swore on their swords to keep their treaty with Byzantium. The old Arabs relate that the Russians laid a sword before every new-born child and said, "I leave thee no property to inherit; thou wilt only have what thou winnest with this sword." The Russian swords were famous among the Arabs, and the tribe of the Polanes exacted a tribute in swords (unless indeed it was money in the shape of swords, such as occasionally was used in Asia). Herodotus tells us of the funeral ceremonies among the Scythians, how they threw up a large mound over the king's grave, being eager to make it as large as possible — these were the *mogile* or *gomile* customary in all Slavonic countries. "The Scythian country is poor in timber," says Herodotus. "Hemp grows in this country both wild and sown, and from it they make cloths;" this is still so. "They never bathe their bodies in water;" "they keep no slaves;" this also has usually been the case among the Slavs.

Geography is the foundation of history. And if Herodotus knows little of those countries, the explanation lies in the fact that he had only travelled over an inconsiderable part of them, while he describes the rest merely from hearsay. Scythia for him lay at the foot of high mountains, where the largest rivers rose. No one could with certainty say what lay to the north of these impassable mountains. On the nearer side he placed the homes of the Argippeans (or Argimpæans, also Arimphæans), who were afterwards fancifully connected with the Rhipæan Mountains. The geographical position of the Caspian and the Baltic was equally unknown. The region between the Black Sea and that remote North could not be correctly delineated; consequently as late as the sixteenth century the aurochs of the North were depicted in the maps grazing in the immediate vicinity of the Black Sea. The name "Hyperboreans," which Herodotus gives to that people, shows the vagueness of the picture which the ancients drew of the Far North. Sophocles poetically calls this country "the sources of night." Since the Greeks designated the North generally by Boreas (the region of the North wind), they could not give to the region beyond any other name than "Hyperborean," — the land beyond the North; a proof that they considered it as lying outside the range of knowledge. But if the few facts that Herodotus relates still partly apply to the peoples living there to-day, we may certainly believe in the continuity of the population of Eastern Europe — taken as a whole, of course — from his times down to our own. Only we ought not to look, as is usually done, for the primitive Slavs of Eastern Europe in the Sarmatians (whom Herodotus transplanted to the Volga), but rather in the Scythians of Herodotus. The most recent investigation identifies the Sarmatians with the Alani of the barbarian migrations, the Iases of the old Russian chronicles, and the modern Ossetes in the Caucasus. We must certainly assume that different races were intended by "Sarmatians" and "Scythians." But even on the Scythian hypothesis we are confronted with difficulties. It is, however, in any case noteworthy that even then Greek customs began to spread among those peoples, whom Herodotus possibly designated by the generic name of Scythians. Not only did the princes marry Greek brides, but some of them undertook long journeys in order to become acquainted with the civilization of Greece.

B. The Geographical Limitations of the Separation of Eastern Europe from the West

Other historians after Herodotus have certainly undertaken to give an account of Eastern Europe, but we learn nothing more from them; at the best they only widen our geographical knowledge. It is not until the eighth and ninth centuries A. D. that more light is thrown upon those countries. We then find in those parts two properly constituted states, the Russian and Polish, together with others which were subsequently merged in them. But the most fantastic ideas still prevail as to the country and people. The stories which Herodotus told about Amazons, and bald one-eyed beings with the head of a dog or the feet of a goat, are almost all repeated by the learned pedagogue Adam of Bremen († c. 1076) and the Minorite John de Plano Carpini († 1252). Eastern Europe as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth century was so little known to the West that special embassies were sent to explore it. This seclusion was increased by the development in the Byzantine Empire of a system of politics, religion, and culture which soon produced a rival to Rome in the East. In the one empire Latin, in the other Greek, was the prevailing language.

It seemed indeed as if the paths of Poland and Russia would part; for while Poland, subjugated by Germany, joined the Roman Church and entered the world of Western culture, Russia remained true to Byzantium. Nevertheless the centre of gravity of Poland had, in consequence of a certain natural necessity, shifted to the East; the statesmen of this kingdom later turned their faces to the East as though drawn by some magnetic influence. The small Polish territory which was formed between the Oder and the Vistula soon stretched beyond the Dnieper. That geographical and hardly noticeable dividing line proved stronger than the efforts of the nations. The race which passed this line remained invariably inclined towards the centre of the circle into which it had once entered. It made little difference that a good part of the outer fringe of Western Europe was occupied by Slavs: the boundary line separated the Slavonic world into two divisions. If any one inquires where Eastern Europe begins, he must be referred to that boundary. The relation between these two spheres was usually such that the West attacked the East, because it felt the impulse to propagate Western ideas on the other side of the frontier. Latins, Germans, or Western Slavs, all were eager to spread themselves over the East; an overflowing civilization and energy may have urged them toward the East, where every effort seemed to be remunerative. The East, on the contrary, was mostly concerned with guarding its isolation. Once more we shall involuntarily be reminded of what Herodotus said about the Scythians: that they on no account allowed foreign usages to be introduced, but put to death all disseminators of Hellenic customs.

We see from this case how dependent man is on environment. The great expanse of continent which, stretching eastward from that dividing line, is bordered on the east by the Ural, on the south by the Black Sea, and on the north by the Baltic, has special characteristics. While Western Europe is traversed almost everywhere by long and occasionally gigantic mountain chains, nature would seem in the East to have been denied the power to rear such Alpine heights. As we leave the Carpathians, a boundless plain, gradually sinking, widens out northward

and eastward. It is a self-contained continent, nowhere encroached upon by the sea, extending from the rampart of the Carpathians to the Ural Mountains for a distance of almost two thousand miles, and in the other direction from the Crimean peninsula to the extreme north another two thousand miles or more. This immense level area is marked out into three great divisions by two slight elevations of the country, which stretch from west to east, and, like river banks, enclose the plain properly so called. The central plain rises only some three hundred to five hundred feet above sea level, and the two other plains are not much higher. The southern elevation, which begins among the Carpathians in the Vistula region, and stretching in a band of several miles' breadth over Podolia, Volhynia, Chelm, Kiev, and Saratov joins the Ural Mountains, has an average height of fifteen hundred feet: it only reaches a height of eighteen hundred and fifty feet in the Sandomir Erzgebirge on the Lysa Gora (Kahlenberg), where the Swiety Krzyz (Holy Cross), the oldest monastery of Poland, is situated. The northern ridge, which separates the plains of Poland and Lithuania from the coast of the Baltic, and stretches from the Elbe eastward to the sources of the Dnieper and the Volga, does not once reach a height of thirteen hundred feet. The Ural Mountains, which separate Europe from Asia, rise, except in some few peaks, only from six hundred to nine hundred feet; on the European side their slope is so gradual that the watershed can hardly be distinguished.

The whole plain of Europe was once the bottom of a sea, and was only drained when the water found an outlet partly northward, partly southward. The soil contains (apart from a broad band of archaic strata which here lies uppermost) mostly later marine deposits, such as clay, marl, chalk, or spongy sandstone, and is unique on account of the simplicity of its internal structure. The geological strata are indeed nowhere tilted but lie everywhere in horizontal layers, and for enormous distances produce a uniform soil adapted to uniform cultivation. The history of those nations who dwelt there is similar. Everything here bears the stamp of uniformity, of the want of variation, of a spirit immutable and persistent, of an intellect which is inherently conservative. While in the West one thought drove out another, old systems were replaced by new, and men expended their energy in different directions, the nations in the East lived for centuries on a few ideas, without noticing that these were liable to decay. If we wished to map out the intellectual movement of mankind in Western and Eastern Europe, in the case of the latter one or two lines would be sufficient; but it would be necessary to make these long, in order to represent the persistency of the development.

Where nature is uniform, the human mind finds little incentive. An endless ...rizon, completely timberless, where the eye of man has no point on which to rest, ...ches far and wide in the south. Man can move unhindered in every direction ...this luxuriantly grassy steppe without being seen, but also without seeing any-

Here was the arena of the nomads. Here arose the Ukraine with its free ...ck life, the life of deserters. When once a man had escaped to the steppe no ...of him could be discovered. Stretched out in the grass or cowering in the reeds, ...ossack lay in wait for the Tartars; he crawled with his face to the ground ...listened, to detect the tramp of a horse or the approach of a hostile troop. ... foes were often only a few paces apart from each other without suspecting it. ...cept for the boundless prairie, the man saw only the firmament of heaven above ...im. There was thus nothing left for him but to absorb himself into his own

individuality. No people in the world can compare with that of Little Russia in the number of its poets. The *Dumy*, those long melancholy, plaintive monologues and recitatives, could only be produced in this steppe. The poets lament and converse with the wind, the stars, or with the birds. Nature was the real poet, man merely her interpreter. But these interminable thoughts ended by lulling his intellect to sleep. No one could reflect here on the most weighty questions of mankind, and from want of stone and timber no civilization could arise of itself.

Sandy and salt steppes, where vegetable life almost ceases, stretch towards the southeast. Caravans came from distant parts to extract the valuable salt from the dried-up salt lakes and to trade in it. Their promoters (*czumaky*) travelled in companies the whole summer long as far as the Don and the Caspian Sea, always ready to fight and face any dangers. Their exploits were glorified in song.

This monotonous waste was only varied by the rivers, especially the Dnieper, which Herodotus had already declared to be the most useful stream in the world, next to the Nile. Popular poetry especially sang its praises. Orchards and small woods, a surprising sight in this dreary waste, were found in the deeply cut channels of these rivers; no wonder they were the theme of song!

Those interminable plains, extending into Asia, produced one peculiarity, which left its stamp on the history of the Eastern European as well as on the Western Asiatic nations; here, and here only, must have been the original home of the horse. So far as our information reaches, the horse here was always the most important domestic animal and the truest friend of man. If we read the accounts of the Scythians in Herodotus, those of the Sarmatians in Ovid, or the earliest descriptions of the Slavs and Lithuanians, we always find man accompanied by the horse. This was the true Paradise for nomad horsemen. Here the kumiss (mare's milk) was drunk and horseflesh eaten, as at the present day; and only recently the horse has been found here in its wild state. The horse was held sacred by these hordes; indeed we can detect, even within historical times, some traces of the worship of the horse. By the Southerners the horse was consecrated to the gods, and similarly it was worshipped in temples by the northern Slavs. The subject of every second or third song is the horse.

The south of Eastern Europe seems in earlier times to have been mainly occupied by Turkish tribes from Central Asia. These were the first who undertook expeditions to Europe in search of lands to conquer; who gave the first impulse to the barbarian migrations, and sometimes founded empires — only because they were, as horsemen, superior to others in the art of war. The use of cavalry in Europe is thus in the last resort to be traced to those Turks. The Slavs designate various objects connected with riding by expressions of Turkish origin. It is from these nations that the peoples of the West first learnt the use of stirrups.

Almost the whole steppe zone in the south of Eastern Europe lies to the [illegible] of the elevation which traverses the country from the Carpathians to the [illegible] North of that, where the real plains stretch out, the country is quite dif[illegible] Forests predominate there, and a fertile soil, covered with a layer thirt[illegible] sixteen feet thick, of black earth, extends over some five hundred thousand [illegible] miles. Here we have the cradle of the Russian State. The country was co[illegible] with immense forests of deciduous trees; the pines and firs do not begin b[illegible] the frontier of Siberia is reached. The forests were the homes of foxes, b[illegible] sables, and wolves, whose skins formed the most important article of trade. For

long period up to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and sometimes even later, the taxes were paid in skins. The life which the inhabitants led in these regions was harder and more hazardous. But the chase is the training school for the battlefield. The Russian of the forests conquered the Russian of the steppes.

Further to the north the country begins to be better watered. The rivers rise here; there are innumerable lakes, until in Finland, "the land of the thousand lakes," they influence the the plant growth, the climate, and the whole life of the people. The country retains this character further to the west, towards the Vistula and the Oder. No change could be greater from the treeless and waterless steppes of the south; all sorts of obstacles are thrown across the path of man in the north through the lakes and rivers. When King Sigismund I of Poland on one occasion marched with his army twenty-five leagues from Orsza to Smolenski, three hundred and forty bridges had to be built across swamps, lakes, and rivers. Here civilization had only with difficulty been able to take root: change and variety alone rouse the human intellect to action.

In the northeast the Tundra spreads over a surface of half a million square miles; this is a swampy moor, covered with a dense carpet of mosses and lichens and with ground-ice, which even in summer melts at most to the depth of a foot, so that it can even then be crossed in sledges. On the other hand the country in the west, in the well-watered district of the Bug and the Vistula, is remarkably fertile. Broad plains, covered with forests, take the place here of the hills. The Vistula flows there through a wide valley, whose borders are not always traceable, in a placid stream toward the north. At Modlin it first approaches the northern elevation. Here, in Great Poland, lies the cradle of the Polish State. West of the Vistula the fertile upland regions of the old Polish voivodships Rawa, Lenczyca, Kalisz, Posen, Gnesen, Kujavia stretch out as far as the Oder and the Elbe. Here are some lakes round which the oldest Polish folk-tales cluster. Since the Polish territory is not divided from Russia by any natural line, the history of these empires often blends. If the frontiers were not defined by nature, the two neighbours had often to fight about the boundary. After the tenth century, at one time the Russian prince took a piece of territory from the Polish monarch, at another he was deprived of some of his own. It seemed that the great plain could tolerate the existence of one state, but not of two, in contrast to the west and the south, where the strongly marked configuration of the country or the numerous peninsulas and islands favoured the development of several states close to each other. This is the characteristic difference between Western and Eastern Europe.

C. Points of Resemblance and Difference between Russia and Poland

The Russian Empire arose almost in the middle of the East European plain, somewhere in the region of the watershed. North of it stretched away the dreary waste, south of it lay the limitless steppe. Russia, thus enclosed by two barriers to all culture, remained for a long time separated from the Western civilization and unknown to it, a world apart. One waterway alone, that of the Dnieper, led across it. The centre of gravity of Russia sooner or later inevitably rested on this great waterway. "Kiev shall become the mother of all Russian towns," said the Russian prince who transferred his court to that place.

At that time certainly there were no practicable routes in the country except the rivers. The Russian roads had long since become impassable. It was not until the reign of Alexander I that highroads were constructed; but the work progressed so slowly that Russia, even in 1896, hardly possessed twelve thousand versts of them. Only in those countries where civilization reaches a high level, as, for example, in the Persian or Roman Empire, is attention given to the formation of a good network of roads, which in itself again promotes the spread of imperialistic ideas. Waterways were, therefore, the most important means of intercourse in Russia, especially since out of the entire length of the Russian rivers some one hundred thousand versts, more than a third, and in the earliest times certainly a half, was navigable. The farther we go back in history, the more dependent do we find the nations upon the rivers. They were called after the rivers; the stream bore them on its surface, and determined the constitution of their states. Hardly had the Russian Empire removed its centre to the Dnieper, when its fleet appeared in the Black Sea and before Byzantium. With this the second era of Russian history opened. It is called the Kievan or Byzantine era, after the results; we give it the name of the Dnieper age, after the cause of all the phenomena which then came to light. The Dnieper swept the Russians irresistibly southwards; it brought to them the Byzantine culture and the Christian faith, and so linked them with the Old World. Rightly, therefore, the song told of "Dnieper, most lordly of rivers." The Dnieper was a god to the Russians, as other rivers to other nations. Then the Dnieper route was barred by the Tartars. Russia became once more an inland state cut off from the rest of the world; it needed to be rediscovered. No course was left it for all that time except to expand over the boundless plain. This colonisation forms the chief chapters of Russian history, and it has lasted down to the present day. The Slavonic, unlike the Latin and Teutonic civilizations, has rarely been diffused by alien converts. Its own children have always been its pioneers. Thus the Russian Empire was self-developed, and became a world-empire before its period of colonisation was ended.

The historical development of Poland was not less influenced by nature. The Polish races occupied the districts watered by the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula. And here again the rivers determined the course of their history. The waterway of the Vistula impelled them to the Baltic Sea. But along the broad and barely accessible coast other tribes were already settled, who barred the way of the Poles to the sea. In the opening years of the eleventh century, therefore, the struggle for its possession began, and in the twelfth century Pomerania was finally conquered by Boleslav III. But Poland then expanded along the coast toward the east, and gained Lithuania and Livonia. Poland became a Baltic power. A brisk trade was soon developed on the Vistula. Dantsic became the first seaport of Poland. The necessity was then seen of shifting the capital nearer to the sea; Warsaw was chosen for it. The result of all this was that Poland entered into alliance with Lithuania, the second Baltic power, and then with Sweden. The royal houses of Lithuania and Sweden came to the throne of Poland.

It seemed then as if Poland would continue to expand northwards; but that was only a passing phase. Poland had, however, hardly taken possession of the Baltic when, being intensely attracted by the eastern plain, she tried to expand in the ports to which she had constantly directed her eyes since the eleventh century; only she had been hindered in this often by that other duty. Thus

Russia and Poland met in their objects. But Poland seemed to have come forward at the command of Western Europe; Poland shared the impulse to advance victoriously upon the East. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century Poland had distinctly the more favourable position.

Russia meanwhile fell behind in development. During the Tartar sovereignty it was obliged to surrender even Kiev, and its princes planted their home in Sus(z)dal, Vladimir, and afterwards in Moscow. A severer climate, a gloomy and partially impenetrable zone of forests, rendered it difficult for the Tartars to approach them or reside there. In reality the Tartars were defeated; the northern climate vanquished the southern. But Moscow lies near the sources of the Volga, and so soon as the Russian princes felt themselves at home there and acquired power, they were able to resume from thence the struggle against the Tartars. The first great step which Russia took on the path of conquest was the annihilation of the Tartar principalities of Kasan and Astrachan. The Volga now decided the fate of the State. The surpassing size of this river and its system helped to secure the superiority of Moscow over her neighbours, the lake region, the district of Novgorod, White Russia, and Little Russia. The Volga brought the Russians nearer the Asiatics, so that Russia began to be Orientalised. This is called the Moscow era; we propose to call it the Volga era. It is also the Asiatic era. Russia came into touch with the Caucasus and the Transcaspian regions. Even then it included the greater part of the East European plain; it was powerful, and courted by Western Europe for different political plans. But it was still a continental power, and, as such, it was unknown to the Western world in comparison with Poland, which, having long had access to the sea, shared in Western civilization. Then in Russia, too, there awoke an intense longing for the possession of a seaboard; the effort to reach the outside from the centre.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries deliberations were often held at the Russian court whether an advance should be made toward the North Sea or the Black Sea. In the latter case the Tartars and Turks, in the former Poland and Sweden, were the rivals to be ousted. Turkey was then at the zenith of her power; Russia could not yet measure forces with her, especially since the southern steppe presented no inconsiderable difficulties. The decision, therefore, fell on a movement northwards, and then followed long years of contest with Poland and Sweden for the Baltic. In the seventeenth century an advance was attempted against the south, but the forward movement was soon checked. The overthrow of Poland and the battle of Poltawa decided the contest in the north in favour of Russia, which after 1703 maintained a firm footing on the Baltic Sea. If the Russian Empire, corresponding to the direction of the Dnieper, had formerly faced southward, it now turned its face toward the north. The Baltic became a Russian lake. Russia was now compelled to shift her centre of gravity thither. Kiev and Moscow lay at too great a distance from the coast, and might in the future prove hindrances. Peter the Great himself solved the problem by the founding of St. Petersburg. Russia now rested her full weight on the Baltic Sea. The war with Poland and Sweden became a political necessity and ended in the destruction of both. Russia remained the only great power in Eastern Europe. It was now only a question of time and her hand would be stretched out over the Black Sea. The larger and better part of Russia inclined toward the south.

Its past history lay there also. Russia conquered the Black Sea in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries after long and bloody wars and many reverses. It then expanded without encountering opposition, from the Carpathians to the Ural range and the Caspian, from the North Cape to the Caucasus.

The East European plain is connected on the west with the Germanic lowlands by the Polish territory, and on the southeast with the plain of Turania and Siberia by a gap in the southern Ural. At that point the Russo-Polish world was forced into contact with the Germanic nations on the one side, and with the Asiatic on the other. Mongolian hordes came to Europe through the Asiatic door, and Russia was conquered by the Asiatics, while Poland was subjugated by the Germanic people. But when Russia was strong enough to crush the Tartars, nature laid no obstacles in the path of her advance toward Asia. Even in the sixteenth century the Russians crossed the Ural Mountains, and gradually poured over the northern Asiatic plain as far as the Pacific. Europe had begun to colonise Asia.

The main requisite for progress in civilization is tradition. But the suitable material for the creation as well as the continuance of a lasting civilization, the stone for buildings and for inscriptions, was wanting in the north. Ancient Babylonia had indeed contrived entirely to compensate for the deficiency of stone and timber by putting its clay to a use which is found throughout Nearer Asia; its brick buildings and clay cylinders have survived in quite considerable remains. In the countries bordering the Mediterranean the hardest granite, the finest marble, porphyry, and other rare stones were found in abundance. The creations of man's genius in that material lasted for centuries. That which had once been produced could be transmitted to the latest generations. On the broad plain of East Europe, however, but little stone is found, and that only on its extreme limits; nor is it easy to obtain, since the surface is level. One particular part of the country is destitute of wood; but on the whole the soil is wooded and well watered. Man, therefore, employed wood to satisfy his creative desires. He lived in hollow tree-trunks or in lakes and swamps. He created his objects of art out of wood: never very numerous, they decayed with the timber. The culture had therefore continually to be recreated, for there was no tradition. While in the north whole localities disappeared without a trace, in the south even solitary houses survived, since they were built of stone. The stone culture, to which any and every aspiration and generalisation was possible, conquered the wood culture. Culture only took real hold on the country later, when even in the north stone was used in preference to wood. It was still possible to have intellectual intercourse with the past, and progress with it.

The climatic conditions of Eastern Europe were not at this time favourable to any development of culture. The differences of climate which prevail there and far into Central Siberia are so great that only an organised agricultural system can be carried out. Eastern Europe suffers as a whole from drought. The Mediterranean and the Black Sea are of little importance in this matter; the only rain-bringing winds are the west, and they lose their moisture on the way and reach, in fact, only to the Ob. Russia therefore suffers not infrequently from bad harvests, and these bring typhus, plague, and other diseases in their train. But only in the past was man greatly dependent on nature; now, when he has learnt to rule nature, conditions often are reversed. That very illimitable plain, where man was solitary but for the wild beasts, will actually promote intercourse as his control of natural forces and

materials increases. In fact, from a more complete system of agriculture and carefully planned irrigation, the arid soil can be transformed into a paradise. In that boundless steppe, which men once entered with a shudder, medical establishments have been founded, since the air of the steppe is said to be as excellent as sea-air. Railways, telegraphic systems, wireless and others, and the telephone have greatly changed all the conditions of life, and made man more independent of nature. But even if the differences are still more equalised and the contrasts between people and people, country and country, are softened, they will never disappear. Only the stream of civilization will flow more evenly. The peoples of the world, never completely separated even under the simplest conditions, will no longer be able to stand aloof from each other. Intercourse is the parent of all culture.

In the age, indeed, when man was more or less a brute beast, he was entirely dependent on nature. Gradually he shook off her chains and learnt actually to rule her, until in the end he rises superior to any obstacles which she may put in his way. From the moment when he threw a skin over his body as a protection against the cold, he was no longer a mere animal; he counteracted the climatic differences, and thus was able to conquer and inhabit a wider expanse.

Many other influences besides the soil affect the development of man; and the special qualities of each nation play a very important part in this, although it is a difficult matter accurately to determine the racial peculiarities of past generations. Every nation has its own particular ideas and aims, and brings with it some fragment of civilization. How, then, has this dowry been enlarged under new conditions of life? This is an almost unanswerable question. Besides this, the development of one nation depends on its intercourse with another. Its history is, therefore, the product of many agencies.

2. THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE IN THE EARLY SLAVONIC AGE

A. The Earliest Indications of Russians and Poles

Numerous tribes have inhabited the regions where later the empires of Poland and Russia arose. The "Geographus Bawarus" (Bavarian Geographer) in the ninth century, the "Russian Chronicle" of the so-called Nestor († 1115) at the beginning of the twelfth century, and others cite the names of many tribes. The following are named: Nortabtrezi, Vilci, Bethenici, Morizani, Hehfeldi, Surbi, Talaminci, Marharii, Vulgarii, Osterabtrezi (= Abodrites in Braničewo; cf. p. 325), Miloxi, Phesnuzi, Thadesi, Glopeani, Zvireani, Busani, Sittici, Stadici, Sebbirozi, Unlizi (in the angle between the Dniester, the Danube, and the Pontus), Nerivani (on the Narev), Attorozi (on the Dniester), Willerozi, Zabrozi, Zuetalici, Aturezani, Chozirozi, Lendici, Thasnezi, Zerivani (Sěverane, between Desna and Sem), Prissani, Velunzani, Bruzi, Vizunbeire, Cazari, Ruzzi, Forsderes, Liudi, Fresiti, Seravici, Lucolanes, Ungares, Vislanes, Sleenzanes, Lunsici, Dadosesani, Milzani, Besunzani, Verizanes, Fraganso, Lupiglaa, Opolini, Golensizi. Partly these names, partly others, are mentioned by Nestor; for example, Dulĕbi (on the Bug), Sloveni (near Novgorod), Drĕvlani, Tiverci (on the Dniester), Dregowici (between Pripet and

Dwina), Radimiči, Vjatiči, Polani, Kriwiči (round Smolensk). At the present day we are not in a position either to give the homes of all these tribes, or to determine whether they were really Slavs. The names prove little. They are derived partly from the rivers on which these tribes dwelt, partly from their chief towns; and only a small number are formed after the names of tribal leaders or ancestors, as Radimiči, from Radim; the latter only can we confidently assert to have been Slavonic tribes.

Legends were later formed among the Slavs, which told of three brothers, Lech, Rus, and Čech, said to have been the founders of three great nations, the Russians, Lechs (Laches, Lechites = Poles), and Čechs. In reality, however, the matter stood otherwise. The Slavonic tribes lived independently of each other. In the course of time one tribe (as happened once in the case of the Romans) succeeded in extending its dominion over others, which then adopted its name. The tribe which gave its name to the others need not have been entirely Slavonic; thus the Bulgarians, although of Turkish stock, have become Slavonicised, and have now given their name to the subjugated Slavs (p. 329). The same thing may in the end have been the case with Rus, Lech, and Čech. P. J. šafařík (Shafarik) assumes from the name of the Čechs that it originally belonged only to a head tribe which had surpassed and eclipsed by its numbers and valour all the other tribes of Bohemia (thus the Sedličanians, Lučanians, Dasena, Lutomerici, and Pšov, the Dudlěbians and others). What, then, is the origin of the names Rus and Lach (Pole)? The point has been much discussed among Slavonic and German scholars. The "Russian Chronicle" relates that about the year 859 Varagians (in Old Russian Varjag, plural Varjazi; Byzantine Βάραγγοι) ruled the north Russian Slavs, but had been subsequently driven out. When quarrels broke out between the Russians, they sent an embassy over the sea to the Varagians and asked them to rule over them once more. Three brothers, R(j)urik, Sineus (Old Norse Signiutr), and Truvor, of the Varagian tribe of the Ruotsi (Rōtsi; Finnish name for Sweden), came to the Slavs, and took up their abode in Old Ladoga, Isborsk, and Bje(ě)losersk. From Rurik, the eldest, was descended the Russian princely house of the Rurikovitch, which is said to have ruled Russia until the end of the sixteenth century. The same chronicle also asserts that the whole of Novgorod was called Rosland, or Russia, from the family of those Rotses. This "Norman" or "Varagian" view has found ardent champions among modern writers (E. Kunik, W. Thomsen, among others). As a matter of fact the old Russian princes were allied with the Varagians, and Varagian soldiers served in the Russian Empire. More than a hundred Scandinavian names are found in very early records; in fact the names of the rapids in the Dnieper, the old Varagian way to Byzantium, have been declared to be Scandinavian. The opinion is, however, hardly tenable in all its points. It will be preferable, in answering this question, to treat some portions of it separately, such as, for instance, the rule of the Norman dynasty and the name Rus.

Some intimate relations between the Novgorodians, who formed the germ of the Russian State, and the Scandinavians (Sweden) — possibly also the summoning of Rurik — cannot be denied; but it is questionable whether also the name "Rus" is derived from them. The Slavonic tribes round Kiev and the south of Russia, where later the real centre of Russia lay, bore from time immemorial the name of "Russians." Finally, and this would be the best argument against the theory, the

kingdom, which admittedly must have existed there before the Northmen were summoned, must have also borne a name, and a kingdom, except through conquest, seldom changes its name. The south was known to the Arabs as "Russia," and the Black Sea was simply termed the Russian Sea (as, for instance, in Nestor and Mas'udi), at a time when the Varagian princes were hardly yet familiar with the people of Kiev. We ought at all events not to forget that "Rōs" may have been known in Byzantium as merchants even before 840, as is clear from a report of Bishop Prudentius of Troyes and from contemporary Arab accounts. The name probably had been transferred to the whole of Russia by Byzantines (Georgios Monachos, surnamed Hamartolos, among others), who called the tribes in the south of Russia "Rōs." J. Marquart recalls the Caucasian Hrōs, who appear in the "Ecclesiastical History" of Zacharias Rhetor, though certainly in a somewhat legendary setting, and connects these (Gautes from East Gotland?), with the Herulians, who were once settled on the northern coast of the Black Sea, that is to say, with the Rosomones, who were subjugated once by the East-Goth Ermanarik. As a matter of fact, after the defeat of 512 inflicted by the Lombards a part of the Herulians went back to Sweden and settled there near the Gautes, so that the otherwise astonishing familiarity of the northern Vikings with South Russia and the waterway of the Volga is no longer surprising. Marquart assumes, therefore, that the form "Rōs" (Pῶs, Syrian Hrōs) had been retained for centuries in the vicinity of the Mœotis, and at the opening of the ninth century was transferred to the Swedish merchants and pirates, who came from the north and were certainly closely akin to the Herulians.

The meaning of the names "Pole" and "Lach" is equally obscure. While the name "Polani" may be Slavonic, the name "Lach" or "Lech" seems to be of foreign origin. Some persons have, as in the case of the name "Rus," looked for a Scandinavian etymology and understood northern conquerors by the Lechs. But in this connection they have overlooked the fact that Great Poland, the real mother country, has never been called "Lachia" or "Lechia," but only the Cracow district, and from it North Poland. The name "Lach," "Lech," "Lechi" is connected with the names "Walch," "Wlach," "Walach," "Wälsch," and is indisputably of southern origin. Even at the present day the Slavs call the Italians Wlochy (Polish) or Lachy (Slavonic), and the Roumanians Walachy, Wolosza (cf. p. 353). To this group also belongs the name "Lach," which the Poles have received from the Russians. If we consider that Bulgarians and Croatians were equally called Wlachs, and that the southern races in the East Roman Empire were designated even by Teutons as Wlachs, Lachs, or Welsch, we may conclude that the Lachs brought the name "Lachy" with them from the south. The Polish are still at the present day called *lengyel* even by the Magyars. The Russian Chronicle also states that the Poles came thither from the Danube — of course only the people of Little Poland are to be understood by this. Blach (Middle High German) means black; according to this the fair northerners had given their southern neighbours the name of "black." The Russian tribes, which were close neighbours to the district of Southern or Little Poland (Cracow), called only the Little Poles "Lachy"; the designation was only gradually transferred to Northern or Great Poland. Even in official documents the "country of Cracow" right up to the fourteenth century never bears the name of Poland. On the other hand, Posen and Gnesen, the Polish mother-country, was always called Polonia, which title was then extended to South Poland, that is to

say, the subsequently conquered Cracow. Since this name was used officially, it superseded all others, and throughout Europe the kingdom was finally called Poland.

B. The Non-Slavs of Old Russia

While in Poland, with the possible exception of the Yatvings, there were nothing but Slavonic tribes, the territory of Russia was originally inhabited by several peoples of a different race; in the north close to the Baltic Sea the Lithuanians, and further to the northeast the Fins, on the Volga the Bulgarians, and in the south the Khazars, without taking into account the smaller tribes and the later immigrants. Of the above-mentioned the Lithuanians and the Fins alone have in some degree preserved their individuality.

(*a*) *The Lithuanians.* — History finds the Lithuanian tribes settled on the shore of the Baltic between the Vistula and Dwina, and southwards as far as the middle stream of the Bug. In one place only their frontier touches the Finnish Livonians, otherwise they are wedged between Slavonic peoples. They divided into the following tribes in the tenth century. The Wends were settled at the mouth of the Dwina, the Letts (Letigala) on the right bank of the Dwina, bordering on the Livonians; on the left bank of the Dwina were the tribes of the Semgala (Semgallans) and the Zelones (Selones); the Kurland peninsula was occupied by the Korses or Kur(on)es. The Smudinians (Smud) and the Lithuanians dwelt on the Niemen; west of these, between Niemen and Vistula, were settled the eleven Prussian tribes; in the southwest the Yatvings.[1] Since the duty of the Smudinians and Lithuanians who dwelt in the centre of the whole system was to fight for the national freedom, and first of all to found a larger kingdom ("Lithuania"), all these tribes were finally called Lithuanians. Here again was an instance of the name of a part being transferred to the whole.

These tribes, however, formed one nation only in the ethnographical sense; in other respects they lived as separate clans. As early as the thirteenth century Lithuanian leaders or tribal elders are mentioned; they exercised authority only over small districts, and were styled "Rikys" (*Rex*) by the Prussians, and "Kunigas" by the Lithuanians. It was not until the danger of foreign subjugation threatened them all that they united more or less voluntarily into one state.

The Lithuanians were the last of all the Europeans to adopt Christianity; temporarily converted in 1387, they relapsed, and were again converted in the fifteenth century. Owing to this we have full accounts of their pagan customs. We find among them three chief deities, similar to the Indian *Trimûrti* (Vol. II, p. 367) and the later Greek Tritheism. The place of Zeus was taken in their creed by Perkunas (Slavonic, *perun*, thunder; cf. p. 76), represented as a strong man holding a stone hammer or arrow in his hand; Atrimpos, who was conceived in the shape of a sea-serpent twined into a circle, corresponded to Poseidon, while Poklav (Slavonic, *peklo*), a grey-bearded, pale-faced old man, with his head swathed in linen, was regarded as the god of the Lower World. Besides these, the sun, moon, stars, animals, birds, snakes, and even frogs were worshipped. The sun-god had various names, for example, *Sotwarys* (Slavonic, *Swaroh*); the moon goddess

[1] Jadzwingi; see the small map in the left-hand top corner of "the maps illustrating the history of Poland."

was called Lajma; the rain-deity, Letuwanis. The whole realm of nature was animated by good and evil divine beings, on which the life of man was dependent at every turn and step. Among such we find the deities Lel and Lado, who were also known to the Slavs, then Ragutis, the deity of joy and marriage, Letuwa, the deity of happiness, also Andaj, Diweriks, Mjedjej, Nadjej, and Telawelda. Besides the sun, fire was held in great veneration. The eternal fire of *znicz* (snic), which was under the protection of the goddess Praurima, burnt in the temple of Perkunas in front of his image. There were sacred lakes and groves, as among the Greeks and the Romans. The affinity of the Lithuanian with the Slavonic and Germanic religion proves that these nations formerly lived together. But when we discover that the Lithuanians, like the Teutons, worshipped the god of thunder, whose sacred tree was the oak, and whose temples stood in oak groves, we realise how hard it is to single out the genuinely Lithuanian element. The chief shrine of Perkunas was situated somewhere near Romowo in Prussia. But when Prussia was conquered by the Poles it was removed into the interior, to the confluence of the Dubissa and Niemen, and further east to the Wilija, in the direction of Kernowo, and lastly to Wilna.

The sacerdotal system was highly developed. The high priest, who had his seat at the chief sanctuary, was called Krywe-Krywejto. Subordinate to him were all the priests, male and female (Wajdelotes), whose principal occupation was to offer sacrifices. A higher grade among them was formed by the Krewy, to whom were intrusted the superintendence and care of the temple; their badge was a stick of peculiar shape. A life of chastity was obligatory on them. The power of the head priest, Krywe-Krywejto extended over every tribe. High and low bowed before his sign, which he sent by his Wajdelotes. One-third part of the booty taken in war belonged to him. Ample sacrifices were made to the Lithuanian gods, mostly animals, occasionally prisoners of war. They were always burnt-offerings. The old Krywe-Krywejto himself, like other old men also, is said not infrequently to have mounted the pyre, — so strongly was the prevailing belief in the purifying power of fire. The priests also, in default of every sort of political government, disseminated public order and civilization, the Krywe-Krywejto being as it were, the head chieftain of all the tribe. Even among the above-mentioned Kunigas we must only imagine to ourselves priests. A proof that the same system obtained among the Slavs and Teutons is afforded by the word *kunigas* (kuning = king), which among the Slavs denotes both prince and priest; knjaz (prince), knez (czechish = priest), or in Polish ksiadz (priest), and ksiaze (prince). The priests were in possession of a method of writing. The chronicler of the Teutonic Order, Peter of Dusburg (c. 1326), asserts that writing was unknown to the Lithuanians; but this can only be true of the common people. Traces of a secret writing have been found. The Runic characters were probably familiar to all the northern peoples, — Slavs, Teutons, Lithuanians, and Fins.

If Lithuania had not encountered any obstacles in its expansion, a theocratic monarchy would probably have been formed there. External dangers led to the severance of the spiritual from the military power, and thus to the development of a secular government. The legend was current among the people that Widemut — perhaps connected with the lawgiver Odin, common to all Germanic tribes — had laid the foundation of a social and political organisation. Family life was dependent on the priests, who administered justice according to ancient custom.

Peter of Dusberg relates that the Lithuanians held meetings in sacred places. They occupied their time in agriculture and cattle-breeding, drank mares' milk, and were skilled in brewing beer (*alus*) and mead. Rich men drank from horns, poor men from wooden cups. Autumn was a season of mirth in the villages. Guests were treated with especial attention, hospitably entertained, and not dismissed until they were drunk. The Lithuanians learnt the art of war by necessity. They fought with bow and arrow, sword and lance, and also with battle-axe and sling. The oldest weapon was an oaken club. The gods were consulted before every campaign. Clad in the skins of aurochs and bears, with caps (*neromka*) on their heads, they marched to battle amid the flare of trumpets, sometimes on foot, sometimes mounted. On their military standards were depicted figures of deities, and men with bears' heads, or two wreaths, blue and yellow; the galloping horseman who first appears in the coat of arms of Lithuania proper was ultimately adopted by the whole race. They contrived to cross the rivers in boats made of the hides of aurochs, or by holding on to the tails of their horses, as we are told the Hungarians and Tartars did. The home-coming warriors, if victors, were received by the women and girls with dance and song, but were treated with contempt after a defeat, while fugitives were punished by death. The Lithuanians also believed in a life after death. They equipped the dead man with all that he had required on earth, — weapons, ornaments, and clothes, horses, hawks, slaves, and wives. They were then all burnt, and their ashes laid in the grave. A funeral feast was held in commemoration.

(*b*) *The Fins, Bulgarians, and Khazars.* — The Fins occupied originally the entire north of modern Russia. Their various tribes were settled as easterly neighbours of the Lithuanians between the White Sea, the Ural, and the Volga. The river Dwina can be roughly regarded as the boundary between Lithuanians and Fins, although some Lithuanians were to be found on the right bank of the Dwina. On the shores of the Ba[illegible] were settled the Livonians and the Esthonians, who still survive in Livonia and Esthonia. Besides these chief tribes, Wesses or Besses, Meren, Muromians, Tcheremisses, Jamen, Mordwinen, Tchuden, Permians, and others are mentioned in the Russian chronicles; they were settled more to the south, and were called Tchuden by the Slavs. Here once lay the Finnish kingdom of Biarmia, probably the modern Perm. We possess very scanty information, derived from the Scandinavian Vikings who made their way there, about this kingdom so famous in northern legends. At the time of Alfred the Great Ot(t)er was the first to come into these regions, then Wulstan. In the days of Olaf the Holy (1026) the Vikings Karli and Torer Hund followed. They professed to be merchants, brought furs, and then apparently withdrew, in order to lull the suspicions of the inhabitants. In reality, however, they were preparing for a raid, which Torer conducted, as an expert in Finnish magic. Their goal was the tombs of the Biarmians and the temple of their chief god Jumala. Marking their path by stripping the bark from the trees, they reached the meadow where the temple stood, surrounded by a high wooden paling; the guardians had gone away. The Vikings dug up the sepulchral mounds and found a quantity of gold. There stood in the temple an image of Jumala, on whose knees was placed a plate filled with gold; this Torer carried off. Karli, however, struck off the head of the idol, in order to seize its golden necklace. The guards rushed up at the noise, blew

their horns, and the Vikings escaped their pursuers with difficulty. This is almost the only account we have of Finnish Biarmia. Its history is then merged in that of Novgorod. The Finnish tribes could not resist the advance of the Slavs. The Esthonians alone were able to maintain their nationality. Mordvinnic princes are mentioned by the Russian chroniclers even in the fourteenth century. The Fins, especially the Permians, carried on a modest trade; they were glad to take sabres from Mohammedan countries in exchange for furs. They also engaged in agriculture. Their religion resembled the Lithuanian. The Fins also were widely famed as soothsayers and magicians. This ice-bound country was otherwise little known or explored. Kaswini († 1283) relates how the Bulgarians on the Kama and Volga traded with the Fins in dumb show. The Bulgarian brought his goods, pointed to them, and left them on the ground. He then came back and found on the same spot such commodities as were used in the country. If he was satisfied with them he exchanged his goods for those deposited by the strangers; if he was dissatisfied, he took his own wares away again.

We have almost as little information about the Bulgarians, that nation of horsemen on the Volga, and even that only after the tenth century, when their prince Almys went over to Islam shortly before 921. We are indebted to this circumstance for the wonderful report of Ahmad ben Fadlān (ibn Fadhlân or Foszlan), who entered the capital, Bulgār, on May 11, 922, as the envoy of the Kalif. The Spaniard Abū Hāmid (Muhammad ben ʿAbdar-Rahim al-Mazini) al-Andalusi (al-Garnāti = from Granada; † 1169), who visited Great Bulgaria in the twelfth century, reports "Every twenty years the old women of this country are suspected of witchcraft, and great excitement prevails among the people. The old women are then collected, their feet and hands are bound, and they are thrown into a great river that flows past. Those who swim are considered to be witches and are burnt; those who sink are regarded as innocent and are rescued." Human sacrifices were not infrequent in those days. We come upon instances among the Herulians (Procopius and Ennodius) and the Rōs (ibn Rusta), among the Winds or Sorbs (Bonifatius) and the pagan Poles (Thietmar), the Radimiči, Wjatiči, and Sěwerane (Nestor), and finally even among the eastern Slavs (Abu ʿAbdallāh Muhammad ben Ahmad al-Gaihāni [Samaniden-Wezir], and from Gaihāni's report in the works of ibn-Rusta, al-Bekri and Gardīzī). Most of the instances described here were cases of the burning of widows (cf. p. 329). Some Slavonic tribes paid the Bulgarians a tribute in horses, furs, and other articles, such as an ox-hide, from every house. The tenth part of the goods of trading vessels was taken as toll.

At this same era the West Turkish nation of the Khazars (Khasars; cf. pp. 84 and 327), of whom we have evidence after the second century A. D., was settled in the south of Russia between the Caspian and Black Seas. The most flourishing period of the Khazar Empire seems to have been in the seventh century, after the fall of the Hun Empire. Their most important towns were Saryg-sar on the west bank of the Volga (yellow town; later Itil, now Astrachan), and Khamlikh, or Khazarān, which lay opposite; also Samandar, or Směndr (now Tarchu, east of Temirchan-Schura, on the west shore of the Caspian Sea), and the fortress of Sarkel at the mouth of the Danube, built under the emperor Theophilus in 833–835 by the Greek Petronas (in Nestor: Bělawěža; destroyed by Sviatoslav); a second Khazar fortress of some temporary importance was Balangar, north of Darband in the Caucasus. The Khazars carried on an extensive trade with Bulgaria, Russia,

Persia, and Byzantium. The half-nomadic population still lived partly in those Wojlok-Jurtes which we find at the present day among the Kirghiz. Only the richer men built themselves mud huts and the Khagan (Khak'an) alone had high tiled houses. The Khagan was the supreme head in religion, while a Veg (Vezir) stood at the head of military affairs. Under the Khagan Bulan (traditionally c. 740; more correctly shortly after 860) the Khazars, after a temporary conversion to Christianity, partly adopted the Jewish faith. "There are seven judges," says Masudi, "two for Khazar Mohammedans, two for Khazar Jews, to whom law is dispensed according to the Mosaic code, two for Christians, to whom justice is administered according to the Gospel, and one for the Slavs, Russians, and other heathen, who are judged according to pagan laws." The Polani, Radimiči, Wjatiči, and Sěwerane (p. 435) paid tribute to the Khazars. The power of the Khazars was first broken by the Arabs, who conquered the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, and by the Pechéneges (Patzinaks), who appeared in South Russia, until in the end they were completely subjugated by Russia (c. 969). Remnants of the Khazars long remained in the Crimea and the Caucasus; some memories of them still survive in the names of a few towns.

C. The Life of the Ancient Slavs

All these empires, the Finnish, the Bulgarian, and the Khazar, have disappeared, yet not without having first exercised a more or less permanent influence on the customs and the life of the Slavs of ancient Russia. The Slavonic tribes, who occupied chiefly the centre of the East European plain, found themselves in the majority and unceasingly drove before them the heterogeneous nations, first by peaceful colonisation, and then by the sword. We may assume that all Slavs as a whole had the same customs, the same religion, the same tribal and national institutions. Differences will only be apparent where nature prescribed other conditions of life or where foreign influence made itself felt. Thus the Slavs on the seacoast lived in one way, those on the steppes or in the forests in another. Although they originally appeared in Europe as a united nation with similar customs, ideas, language, traditions, and government, yet the different natural surroundings soon impressed a distinctive stamp on the principal tribes and guided social, religious, and legal life into different paths. The nomads of the steppes can hardly have held the same faith as the dwellers on the seacoast. Again, while the forest-dwellers paid their tribute in furs and honey, the tribes of the lowlands discharged it in horses or cattle. If a numerous clan was the natural form of life among the dwellers on the fertile plains with its agriculture, in the forests the families were forced to separate one from another. Further differences were produced by the influence of neighbours; thus the northern Slavs, who lived near the Teutons, had a kindred religion and mythology. The change of language was closely connected with this, since to express new ideas new words had to be invented or borrowed from other tribes. An attempt has been made to draw a general picture of the life of all the Slavonic tribes, but in doing so the fact has been overlooked that such a picture can only be true of a time when the Slavs still formed a single united nation — the time, that is, before the Christian era. Our authorities, however, date from an era five

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hundred, or possibly a thousand years later and are extremely defective. It is not surprising that the results of such imperfect investigations are conflicting. As members of the Indo-Germanic family of nations they will have had much in common with other Aryans. The chief task of historical inquiry would be to sift out this common element, and to show the cross-roads, where the Slavs part company from the other nations, as well as to indicate the special paths into which the individual Slavonic races struck. It is universally asserted that all Slavs were agriculturists at the period when they came into the light of history. Can that assertion hold good of the forest-dwellers or the inhabitants of the lakes and swamps? Our authorities do not in any way corroborate it. A writer of the twelfth century relates in astonishment that he heard of a man in the Arctic regions who had lived all his life on fish. That would hardly be an isolated case. Forests, rivers, and swamps then covered at least a tenth of the surface. If the Slavs during their migrations kept to the river valleys we can hardly call this a peculiar characteristic of the race.

(*a*) *Religious and Social Conditions and the State of Culture.* — The Slavonic pagan religion, about which we know very little, resembles in its main ideas that of India and the other Aryans. The Slavs had the dualism between good and evil deities; they had also their family gods, like the Greeks and Romans. They, too, regarded nature as animated by various beings; and animals were held sacred by them, as in Greece and other places. Again, it was merely their natural environment which taught men in the northern forests to revere owls and other birds, the wolf (as were-wolf) and other animals, and on the plains the horse; while it urged the people of the Nile to worship the crocodile or the scarabæus (Vol. III, p. 600, and Vol. IV, p. 263), and those on the coast to worship other beasts and fishes. The Slavs, too, honored the sun, moon, and stars, thunder and lightning; they were also fire-worshippers. But inquiry has not told us in what the true Slavonic element, that is, the innovation, really consists. Some persons wish to recognise the Slavs by peculiarity of diet, for example, millet and honey, but are we not told the same of Huns and Bulgarians?

The same holds good of the legal and social conditions of the Slavs. The family was the foundation of their national and religious life (cf. p. 277). The eldest of the family was the supreme lawgiver, judge, and priest. Since the knowledge of the laws, customs, and ritual could only be transmitted orally, this naturally fluctuating tradition was all important. The Slavs, divided into separate independent tribes, could not but diverge more widely from each other in their methods of life. The separate districts were called Župas (p. 277), Opole, or Wolost. We cannot decide whether the Župa is genuinely Slavonic or is to be compared with (for example) the old Germanic Goba (*Gau*). The centre of a district was the Grad (*gorod* = borough), where the tribal sanctuary stood. The ancient places, where once a *gorod* stood, were called *gorodyšče*. But it cannot be settled whether *gorod* is peculiar to the Slavs only, or whether it is identical with the old Gothic words *garde* (watch) and *garder* (to watch). Everywhere in Slavonic countries a definite district was surrounded with a boundary fence, while the roads were watched and defended with palisades, which were called *preseka*. At suitable points guards were posted on watch-towers erected (*straža*, a genuine Slavonic word); similar boundary woods existed in ancient Germany down to the age of the Hohenstauffen,

in some places far longer, as is the case still in Central Africa. While the *gorod* was always a fortified place, surrounded by an earthen rampart, the *straže* seem merely to have been lookouts on high ground, where, in case of danger, beacons might be lighted. The wooden towns were distinct from the earthworks of the *gorod;* these were originally erected on roads frequented for trading purposes, and were subsequently enclosed and fenced, so that they might be employed as fortresses.

Before the ninth century a brisk trade passed through Russia from the Gulf of Finland past the Lake of Ilmen to the Dwina, and then down the Dnieper over the Black Sea into Greece. The oldest wooden towns, originally trading stations, lay on this celebrated route from the Varagian country to Byzantium. A frequented trade-route from the Black Sea to the Baltic led up the Dniester to the river San, then down that river and the Vistula. While the first became the main trade-route of Russia, the other became the chief highroad to Poland; both perhaps date from Phœnician times. The vessels and their cargoes were hauled up from one river-system to the other; for example, from the Dniester to the San; hence the name *wolok, wolocyska* (haulages). The trading stations grew into towns, since the country people flocked into them for greater security. The public affairs of the town and the surrounding district were organised in these markets at assemblies which were called *weče* (cf. p. 462). The meeting was summoned by the circulation of a token, or, as later, by the tolling of a bell.

Differences in the administration of law and justice must have been noticeable in the various districts, while the conditions in the same tribe would naturally alter during the course of centuries. Persons who speak in general terms about the Slavonic laws and customs of that age are only deluding themselves, as much as if they spoke of contemporary universal Germanic customs. Distinctions must inevitably have prevailed. A people does not develop its personality merely when it employs somewhat divergent terms to express the same objects, ideas, etc., but when it looks at things with other eyes and has formed new conceptions and new institutions. Language is the mirror in which the philosophic notions and intellectual activity of the nation are reflected. An instance may make this clearer. When the Slavs still formed one nation with the Teutons they must have had a name for the bear resembling the German word *bär;* for even at the present day a bee-keeper is called in Slavonic *bartnik* (bear-guard ?). But when, after their permanent settlement, they noticed that the bear eagerly eats honey they called it from this peculiarity the honey-eater (from *med*=honey: *medojid* or *medwid*, Polish niedzwiedž). It can be imagined what damage bears must have then caused when such a name was given them; according to our authorities large quantities of honey and mead were made in those times. By the use of this term the Slavonic nation showed that it had special ideas regarding the bear. In some such way as this we ought to investigate the personal and national differentiation in every domain of the life of the people. Hitherto it has been impossible to pronounce any deliberate opinion about the religion, mythology, laws, family life, or civilization of the ancient pagan Slavs. It is on this most slippery soil of national peculiarities, where the inquirer oscillates between self-glorification and unwarranted depreciation of his neighbour, that a fabric has been built up out of most untenable assertions.

(*b*) *Foreign Evidence concerning the Pagan Slavs.* — The occasional accounts given by old writers are noteworthy, especially since Slavonic paganism lingered

on for centuries after the Christian era. Jordanes in 550 A. D. says of the Slavs "morasses and forests are their towns;" Procopius tells us that they lived in dirty, scattered huts, and easily shifted their abode. The Emperor Maurice relates, in the year 600, that they lived in forests, near rivers, marshes, and lakes, which were difficult to approach. They made many exits from their houses, in order to escape any possible dangers. They buried all their property in the ground, and in order to frustrate any hostile attacks nothing but bare necessaries were left visible. Helmold of Bosau, in 1170, gives a similar account at the end of his Chronicle of the Slavs: "They take little trouble about building their houses; they quickly plait twigs together into huts which supply a bare shelter against storm and rain. So soon as the call to arms is heard, they collect their stores of corn, bury them together with their gold, silver, and other valuables, and conduct their wives and children into the fortresses or the forests. Nothing is left for the enemy but the hut, whose loss is easily repaired." "When they go into battle," says Procopius, "they attack the enemy on foot, holding shield and spear in their hands. They do not wear armour; they have neither cloaks nor shirts, but advance to the fight clad only in trousers." The wives, as among the Teutons, occupied an honourable position; they held property of their own, although, as in other countries, polygamy prevailed and wives were carried off by force. The Russian Chronicle relates of the Drewljans that they lived like cattle, knew nothing of marriage, but carried off the maidens on the rivers. It is recorded of the Radimices, Wjatices, Seweranes that no marriages took place but games in the middle of the village. The people assembled for the games, danced, and indulged in every sort of debauchery, and each man carried off the woman to whom he was betrothed. This was the case among other nations. Břetislav I Achilles (p. 237), so Cosmas of Prague († 1125) records, carried off his bride Judith from Schweinfurt. Until quite recently the *otmiza*, or capture of wives, was customary among the Serbs.

Many instances of the gentle disposition of the Slavs are mentioned by the old chroniclers. Procopius says "covetousness and deceit are unknown among them." Maurice extols their hospitality. Helmold records of the Ranes (Ruanians or Rügen): "Although they are more hostile to Christians and also more superstitious than the other Slavs, they possess many good qualities. They are extremely hospitable and show great respect to their parents. Neither beggars nor paupers are found among them. A man who is feeble through sickness or advanced age is intrusted to the care of his heir. The virtues most highly esteemed among the Slavs are hospitality and filial regard." The man who refused hospitality had his house burned down. It was permissible to steal in order to provide food for a traveller. Theophylactus Simocattes (in the first half of the seventh century) relates the following anecdote. As the emperor Maurice was on his way to Thrace to prepare for war against the Avars, the escort of the emperor seized three men who carried zithers. When asked to what race they belonged, they replied that they were Slavs and lived on the western ocean; the Khagan had sent envoys to the princes of their country with many presents to solicit help. When they heard that the Romans had reached the highest stage of power and culture, they escaped and reached Thrace. They carried zithers, because they were unfamiliar with arms, since no iron was found in their country. The Arabs also testify that music was practised by the Slavs.

A noteworthy account of the funeral customs of a Slavonic tribe is furnished

by a witness whom we have already mentioned, the ambassador of the Kalif al-Muqtadir, ibn Fadlan.[1] When a poor man died, they built a small boat for him, placed him in it, and burnt it. This was customary among the North Germanic tribes. On the death of a rich man they collected his possessions and divided them into three parts. The one part was reserved for his family; with the second they prepared an outfit for him, and with the remaining part they bought intoxicating drinks to be drunk on the day when the slave-girl consents to be a victim and is burnt with her master. When indeed a chief dies, the family ask his bondmen and bondwomen, "Which of you is willing to die with him?" Then one of them answers, "I will." If he has uttered this word he is bound. But mostly the slave girls did so. . . . Boat, wood, and maiden together with the dead man were soon reduced to ashes. They then raised above the place where the boat, which had been dragged up out of the river, had stood, a sort of round hillock, erected in the middle of it a large beech-trunk, and wrote on it the name of the dead man with the name of the king of the Rōs. If we compare this with the account given by Herodotus of the burial of a Scythian king (Vol. IV, p. 76) we shall find, in spite of many differences in detail, the same fundamental idea.

These are our materials for estimating the degree of culture which the Slavs of that age had attained. There was not wanting among them a belief in the life after death. They are said to have been acquainted with writing; and in connection with this statement the so-called Runic characters must be taken into account. Traces of music and architecture can be found among them, though in a crude form, and they were lovers of poetry and song. It can hardly be supposed that, as many Slavonic scholars assert, they possessed some astronomical knowledge, and had a civil year with twelve months. The names of the months which are found later among various Slavonic tribes were indubitably first formed by learned priests, on the model of the Greek and Roman names, at that point in the Christian era when the Julian Calendar with twelve instead of ten months was coming into general use in Europe. Charles the Great first proposed among the Franks the substituting of German names for the Latin names of the months.

The independent spirit of the Slavs is specially mentioned by German as well as Byzantine writers. Widukind, the historian of the first two Saxon emperors, says of them: "The Slavs are a dogged, laborious race, inured to the scantiest food, and they regard as a pleasure what is often a heavy burden to men of our time. They face any privations for their beloved liberty, and in spite of many reverses they are always ready to fight again. The Saxons fight for glory and the expansion of their frontiers, the Slavs for their freedom." Adam of Bremen records a century later: "I have heard the most truth-loving King Sven of Denmark say repeatedly that the Slavonic peoples could have been long ago converted to Christianity, if the greed of the Saxons had not interposed obstacles. These think more of exacting tribute than of converting pagans." There is a particular appropriateness in the words which the Polish historian, John Dlugosz, wrote about the Poles in 1480 or so, although he is describing his contemporaries. "The Polish nobles thirst for glory and are bent on booty; they despise dangers and death . . . they are devoted to agriculture and cattle-breeding; they are courteous and kind towards strangers and guests, and more hospitable than any other people. The

[1] Taken from Chr. M. J. Frähn, "Ibn Foszlans und andrer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit," St. Petersburg, 1823.

peasants shrink from no work or trouble, endure cold and hunger, and are superstitious . . . they care little about the maintenance of their houses, being content with few ornaments; they are spirited and brave to rashness, . . . of high stature, of strong and well proportioned build, with a sometimes fair, sometimes dark complexion."

The well known peaceful disposition of many Slavonic tribes, and above all the circumstance that they adhered to the old tribal constitution, which prevented any creation of a State on a large scale, were the causes why the Slavs in their pagan period played no important part, but were first aroused to a new life by their contact with the civilized nations. Christian Rome and Byzantium saw the development of Slavonic kingdoms in the north, after they had to some degree furnished the political germs for that growth.

3. THE FOUNDING OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (THE DNIEPER AGE)

A. The Beginnings until Igor

The rise of the Russian Empire falls in the period when the Scandinavian Vikings were at the zenith of their power. Just as these hardy rovers sailed over the Baltic, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean, until they reached Iceland and North America, and in their small forty-oared galleys went up from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, the Rhine, the Maas, and the Seine far into the interior, striking terror into the inhabitants, so too in the east of Europe they followed the course of the rivers and discovered the way to the Black Sea and Constantinople. The route which led up the Dwina and then down the Dnieper to Byzantium was called the Varagian way; even the rapids of the Dnieper bore, so it is said, Scandinavian names. The Norsemen, who had founded here and there independent empires in the west of Europe, could do so still more easily in the east.

At the outset of Russian history we find here six or seven independent districts, which stood perhaps under Norse rule: (old) Ladoga on the Wolchow, later Novgorod, Bjelosersk, Isborsk, Turow in the region of Minsk, Polock (Pólozk), and Kiev. The core of the later Russian Empire was at first (c. 840) in the north, in the Slavonic-Finnish region, but it soon spread toward the south and was then shifted to Kiev in the basin of the Dnieper. "Russia" absorbed the Slavonic, Finnish, Bulgarian, and Khazar empires. Rurik (Rjurik), in Norse Hroerekr (Hrurekr), an otherwise unknown semi-mythical hero of royal race, was regarded in the eleventh century as the ancestor of the Russian dynasty. The soil was so favourable here for the growth of a large empire that it was able, by the middle of the ninth century (860; cf. p. 76), to undertake a marauding expedition against Constantinople (Norse: Mikligardr or Miklagard, that is, great city). Besides Slavs, Lithuanians, Fins, and Khazars, the Varagians fought; usually it was Swedes from Upland, Södermanland, and Ostergotland who formed the picked troops and took the lead in every expedition. The mercenary bands had entered into a covenant with the prince, but were pledged to obey him; they were not, however, his subjects and could, therefore, leave him at any time; their pay consisted in the booty they won. The Slavs composed the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants; they gradually replaced the Norse warriors and ousted them

completely later, notwithstanding various reinforcements from their northern home. By the end of the eleventh century the Varagian element had almost disappeared. In less than two hundred and fifty years the same fate befell them which shortly before had befallen the Finno-Ugrian Bulgars in the Balkan Peninsula. Both races were merged in the Slavonic.

The first hero of the old Varagian style, and at the same time the first genuinely historical ruler, meets us in Oleg (Olag: Norse, Helgi) who in 880 became the head of the Russian State. He conquered (880–881) Smolensk, defeated the petty princes in Kiev in 882, and then transferred thither the centre of the empire. He inflicted on the Khazars and the Bulgarians defeats from which they never recovered. In 900 he forced part of the Chorvats on the Vistula to serve in his army. In this way he founded a Dnieper empire, which reached from the North Sea to the Black Sea, from the Bug to the Volga.

Not satisfied with this, Olav planned an expedition against Byzantium, which like Rome and Italy, was always the coveted goal of every Northman. In the year 907 he went with a mighty army of allies (Chorvats, Dulĕbi, Tiwerci, etc.) down the Dnieper; the Russian Chronicle states that he had two thousand boats with forty men on each. As the harbour in the Bosphorus was closed, he beached his ships, set them on wheels, bent his sails, and thus advanced against the town, to the horror of his enemies, with his vessels from the landside. A propitious moment had been chosen. The Greek fleet had fallen into decay, and the empire was hard pressed by the Bulgarians. The emperor Leo VI (the Philosopher) determined, therefore, to bribe the Russians to withdraw, after an ineffectual attempt had been made to get rid of them by poisoned food. The Greeks paid twelve *Grivnes* or six pounds of silver for every ship, and in addition gave presents for the Russian towns. Liberty of trading with Constantinople was then secured to the Russians. Their merchants, however, were to enter the city only by a certain gate and unarmed, under the escort of an imperial official; their station was near the church of St. Mammas. They received also the right to obtain for six months provisions in the city, to visit baths, and to demand provisions and ships' gear (anchor, cables, and sails) for their return voyage. This treaty, having been concluded by word of mouth, was sworn to by the Byzantines on the cross, and by Oleg and his vassals before their gods Peran and Wolas (Volos) and on their weapons. When the Russians left the city, Oleg fastened his shield to the city wall, as a token that he had taken possession of the city. This treaty was reduced to writing in the year 911,—a noteworthy document. Both parties first promise love and friendship to each other, and fix the penalties to be incurred by any who disturbed their concord through murder, theft, or indiscretion. Then follow agreements as to the ransom of prisoners of war and slaves, as to servants who had deserted or been enticed away, and as to the estates of the Russians (Βάραγγοι) who had died in the service of the emperor. The proviso as to shipwrecked men is important as a contribution to international law. "If the storm drives a Greek vessel on to a foreign coast, and any Russians inhabit such coast, the latter shall place in safety the ship with its cargo and help it on its voyage to the Christian country and pilot it through any dangerous places. But if such ship, either from storm or some other hinderance, cannot reach home again, then we Russians will help the sailors and recover the goods, if this occurs near the Greek territory. Should, however, such a calamity befall a Greek ship (far from Greece), we are willing to steer it to Russia and

the cargo may be sold. Any part of it that cannot be sold and the ship itself we Russians are willing to bring with us honestly, either when we go to Greece or are sent as ambassadors to your emperor, or when we come as traders to buy goods, and we will hand over untouched the money paid for the merchandise. Should a Russian have slain a man on this vessel or have plundered any goods, the above enacted penalty will be inflicted on him."

Oleg died in the year 912, from the bite of a snake, which, it was alleged, crept out of the skull of his favourite steed; hence arose the legend about the marvellous fulfilment of a wizard's prophecy that he should meet his death from that horse. Nine hundred years later Oleg became a favourite hero of Catherine II., who extolled him in a drama bearing his name.

His successor, Igor or Ingvar, a less capable ruler, carried the work of conquest a stage further. In the year 914 the Russians went with five hundred ships to the Caspian Sea and plundered the Persian coasts. The Arab Mas'ūdi has described this expedition, which appears to have been made during the minority of Igor, when his wife Olga (Helga) administered the affairs of the state. He himself took command of the army in 941 when he planned a new expedition against Constantinople; about the same time the Pecheneges, at his instigation, undertook to plunder Bulgaria, which had been allied with Byzantium since 924. But on this occasion the Russian fleet was annihilated by the Greek fire, with which the Russians now made their first acquaintance. In 944 Igor marched once more against Byzantium, — the fourth Russian campaign against the capital. Igor was now induced by presents to withdraw, and a new treaty was then concluded (945). The old trading privileges of the Russians were somewhat restricted. Certain goods, for example, might not be sold to them, and strict passports were demanded from them. The Russians, in addition to this, pledged themselves to protect the region of the Chersonnese against attacks of the Danubian Bulgars, and to come to the aid of the Greek emperor in time of need. The treaty was once more solemnly sworn. "And we," so it runs in the Russian version of the document, "so many of us as are baptised, have sworn in the cathedral of St. Elias (at Kiev), on the holy cross lying before us and this parchment, to hold and observe all that is written thereon, and not to transgress any part thereof. If any man transgress this, whether he be the prince himself or another, whether Christian or unbaptised, may he be deprived of all help from God; let him become a serf in this life and in the life to come, and let him die by his own sword. The unbaptised Russians shall lay their shields, their naked swords, their gorgets, and other arms on the ground and swear to everything contained in this parchment, to wit, that Igor, every Boyar, and all the Russians will uphold it for ever. But if any man, be he prince or Russian subject, baptised or unbaptised, act contrary to the tenor of this document, let him die deservedly by his own sword, and let him be accursed by God and by Perun, since he breaketh his oath. May the Great Prince Igor deign to preserve his sincere love for us, and not weaken it, so long as the sun shineth and the world remaineth in this and all future time." On his return home Igor was murdered by the Drevlanes, from whom he wished to exact tribute; according to Leo the Deacon (c. 980) he was bound to two saplings, which were bent to the ground, and was torn in two, after the manner of Sinnis in the Greek legend of Theseus.

B. The Old Russian Empire at its Zenith

(*a*) *Sviatoslav.* — Since Igor's son Sviatoslav was a minor, Olga held the reins of government. She first wreaked vengeance on the Drevlanes. While besieging their town, Korosten, she promised to make a peace with them in return for a tribute of three pigeons and three sparrows from every house. She then ordered balls of lighted tow to be fastened on the birds, which were let loose and set fire to the houses and outhouses of the Drevlanes. The Chronicle styles Olga the wisest of women. She was the first to accept Christianity; in 957 she went with a large retinue to Constantinople, and under the sponsorship of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus and the empress Helena, daughter of Romanus Lacapenus, received baptism and the name of Helena from the patriarch Theophylactus. She endeavoured to win her son over to the new doctrine; "my suite (*druzina*) would despise me," he is said to have replied.

In 964 Sviatoslav himself, the greatest hero of old Russia, took over the government, although his mother (who died in 970) still administered home affairs, since he was seldom in the country. He wished to complete the task which Oleg and Igo began. He turned his attention first against the still unconquered peoples on the Oka and Volga, marched against the Wiatici and then against the Khazars (Kozars), whose town Bělawěža (Belaja Vesh or Sarkel) he captured; after subjugating the Jases (old Russian for Alanes, or in Georgian Owsi = Ossetes) and the Kasoges (Tcherkesses) he returned to Kiev. After the year 966 the Wiatici paid tribute to Sviatoslav; shortly afterwards (968–969) the Rōs (apparently Baltic Vikings independent of Sviatoslav) laid waste Bulgaria as well as the Khazar towns Itil, Khazarān, and Samandar. These blows were so crushing that during the next fifty years we hear nothing more of the Khazars.

Shortly before these events Sviatoslav, acceding to the request of the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas, backed up by a payment of fifteen hundred weight of gold (one hundred and eighty thousand Byzantine gold pieces), had undertaken a campaign against the Danubian Bulgars; they were to be attacked simultaneously from north and south. In the summer of 968 Sviatoslav crossed the Danube, defeated the Bulgars (*vide* the coloured plate facing p. 335), captured numerous places, and took up his abode in Perejaslavetz. Sviatoslav was already planning to establish himself firmly in Bulgaria, since Peter, the Bulgarian ruler, died at the end of January 969, when tidings came from Russia that the wild Pecheneges were besieging Kiev. They were induced temporarily to withdraw by the ruse of a false report that Sviatoslav was advancing with all speed against them; but the people of Kiev accused Sviatoslav of indifference. He therefore retraced his steps as quickly as possible, defeated the Pecheneges, and restored peace. But his heart was still fixed on Bulgaria, since Perejaslavetz on the Danube was the centre of his country, and a place where all good things were collected together: "from the Greeks gold and precious stuffs, wine, and fruits; from the Bohemians and Hungarians silver and horses; from Russia furs, wax, honey, and slaves." In the end, Sviatoslav divided his empire among his three sons and marched towards the southwest.

John Tzimisces had now come to the throne of the Byzantine Empire in the

place of the murdered Nicephorus Phocas. His predecessor had concluded peace with Bulgaria so soon as he learnt the real plans of Sviatoslav, and Tzimisces now made a similar attempt; but twice without success. There remained therefore only the arbitrament of the sword. Perejaslavetz and Silistria, to which towns the Russians had withdrawn, were captured by the Greeks, in spite of a most gallant resistance; the Russian women themselves fought hand-to-hand in the *mêlée*. The Russians were seen during the night after a battle coming out of the town by moonlight to burn their dead. They sacrificed the prisoners of war over their ashes, and drowned fowls and little children in the Danube. The emperor proposed to Sviatoslav to decide the victory by single combat. Sviatoslav declined, and was the more bent on a last passage of arms. But when this also turned out disastrously to him, owing to the superiority of the Greek forces, he made overtures for peace (971). The terms were as follows: The emperor promised to provide provisions for the army of Sviatoslav, which withdrew with the honours of war, and not to harass them with the Greek fire during the retreat; he also confirmed the old trading privileges of the Russian merchants. The text of Sviatoslav's treaty as recorded in the Russian Chronicle runs as follows: "I, Sviatoslav, Russian prince, swear and confirm my oath by this covenant; I will to live in peace and concord with every Greek emperor, with Basil (II) and Constantine (VIII) and with all god-fearing emperors and with all your peoples, both I and all Russians who are subject to me, Boyars and others, for ever, so that I will never undertake any expedition against your countries, nor collect armies against you, nor incite another nation to attack your land; nor will I attack those who are subject to Greek supremacy; similarly I will not proceed against the countries of the Chersonnese and their towns, nor against Bulgaria; nay more, if any one plans any expedition against your countries, I will be his antagonist and will fight against him. This oath, that I have sworn to the Greek emperor, the Boyars and all Russia swear with me, that we will keep the lawful treaty. But should we not keep the aforesaid oath, I and those who are with us and among us, then may the curse of the gods in whom we believe fall upon us, the curse of Perun and Wolo, the god of battle, and may we become yellow as gold and perish by our own weapons. This shall ye have as a guarantee of that which we have now covenanted, inscribed on this deed and sealed with our seals." A meeting of Sviatoslav and Tzimisces took place on the right bank of the Danube to ratify the settlement. Leo the Deacon has left us a description of his person. Sviatoslav was of middle height, with blue eyes and thick eyebrows; his nose was flattish, his mouth hidden by a heavy moustache; his beard was scanty and his head close shorn except for one lock hanging down on each side (a sign of his high birth); his neck rose like a column from his shoulders, and his limbs were well proportioned. His general aspect was gloomy and savage. A gold ring, set with a ruby between two pearls, hung from one ear; his white tunic was only distinguished from those of his warriors by its cleanliness.

Sviatoslav now set out on his homeward journey. But the Pecheneges were already waiting on the Dnieper. The Greek chroniclers relate that Tzimisces had requested the Pecheneges to allow the Russian army to pass through without hinderance; but he would probably have done the exact opposite. With a wearied and exhausted army, whose ranks were being thinned by hunger, Sviatoslav went slowly homewards. He was slain by Kuria, the prince of the Pecheneges (973), who had his skull made into a drinking-vessel. Part only of Sviatoslav's army

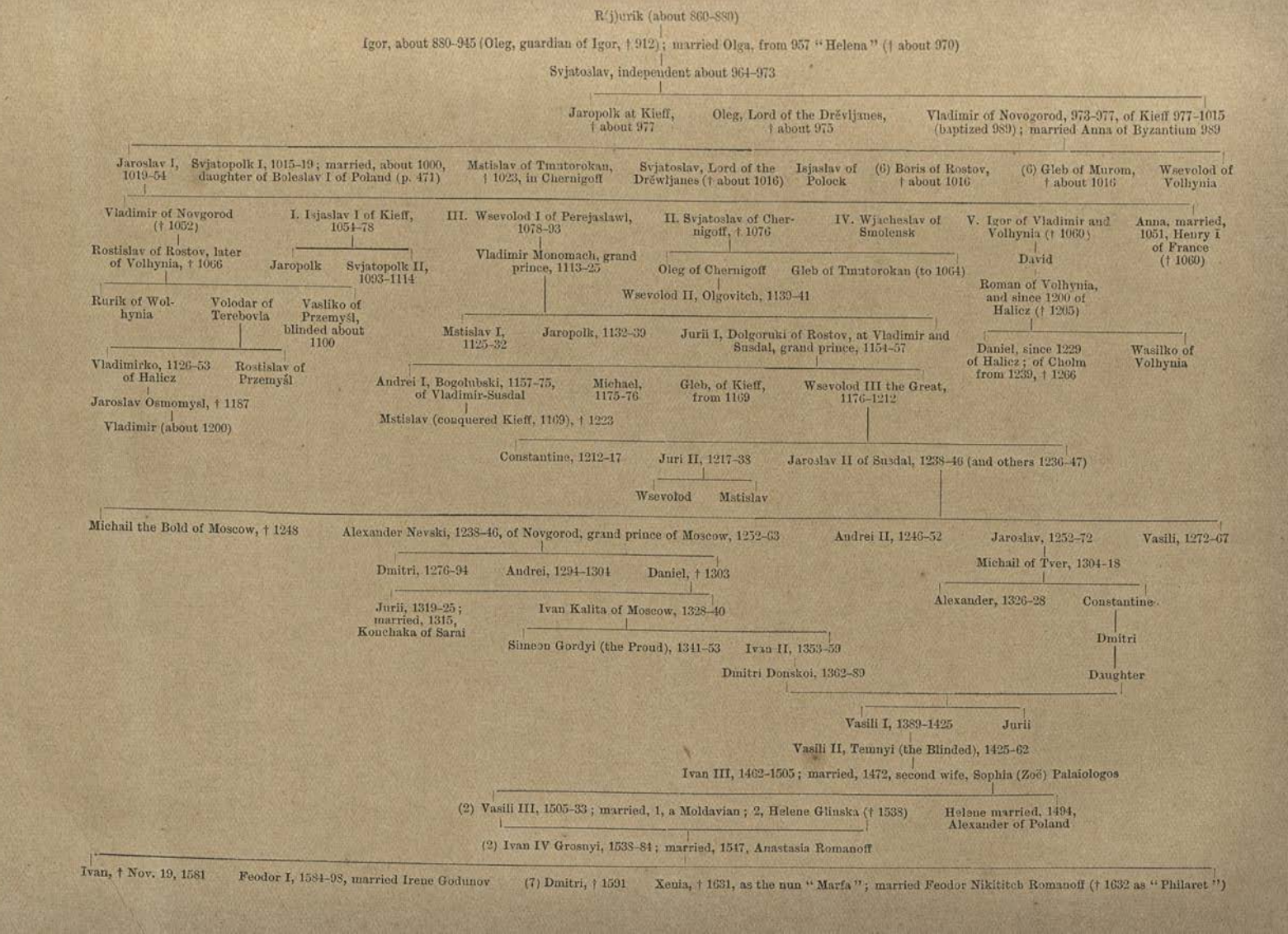
succeeded in making their way to Kiev. This was the end of the greatest hero of Old Russia. A soldier rather than a general or statesman, he was worshipped by his *Družina*. He and Oleg strengthened and consolidated the Old Russian State. The Pagan age of Russia ends with Sviatoslav.

(*b*) *Vladimir and the Adoption of the Greek Faith.* — Sviatoslav's three sons (see the accompanying genealogical table "Rurik's Family") were still minors when he divided his empire among them, and each of them was placed under a guardian. Jarapolk was sovereign in Kiev, Oleg in the country of the Drevlanes, Vladimir in Novgorod. Quarrels soon broke out; Oleg fell in battle, Vladimir fled to Scandinavia, Jarapolk thus remained sole ruler. But Vladimir came back with numerous Varagian mercenaries, defeated Jarapolk and besieged him in Rodna. When Jarapolk surrendered, at the demand of his brother, and was on the way to Vladimir he was murdered by two Varagians at the door of the presence-chamber.

Vladimir thus assumed the government in 977. He too was a hero, fought many wars and conquered numerous tribes. But his importance does not lie in this, but in the Christianising of the Russians, which was completed by him. Merchants had long since brought the Christian doctrines from Byzantium to Russia; several churches already existed in Kiev and elsewhere, and the Christian faith in Russia was free and unmolested. When Olga received baptism in 957, there was already a considerable Christian community in Kiev. Tradition relates that the Jews, the Mohammedans, the Romans, and the Byzantines had tried to win Vladimir over to their faith (cf. for instance the precisely similar occurrences immediately before the mission of Constantine (Cyril) between 851 and 863 to the still pagan Khazars). He is said to have sent, by the advice of his Boyars and city elders, envoys into every country, who were to report from their own experience on the value of the different religions. Ten men thus started out, first to the Bulgarians, then to the Germans, lastly to Byzantium. The service in the splendid church of St. Sophia at Byzantium made the best impression on them. This decided the adoption of the Greek faith. Vladimir had indeed no other choice. Unless he made some violent breach with the past, he was bound to establish the Byzantine religion, which was already widely spread in the country, as the national religion. The decision was taken, as had been the case with the Franks or the Bulgarians, during a campaign. Vladimir, as an ally of the emperor, vowed to become a Christian if he should take Kherson. Christians were already strongly represented in his army. When, then, the town surrendered, he sent to the emperors Basil II and Constance VIII, and asked the hand of their sister Anna. His request was granted on the condition that he would consent to be baptised. Vladimir is said to have attributed the defeats of his great father to the mighty God of the Christians, just as the Byzantines thanked at one time St. Demetrius, at another St. Theodorus Stratilates, for their victories. Vladimir now, therefore, put the Christian God to the proof before Kherson, just as Constantine and Clovis had done in similar crises, and since the result was favourable, he decided to adopt the Christian doctrine. He was, therefore, baptised in 989 in Kherson. The Byzantines conferred on him new royal insignia and the title of *Basileus*, which he at once inscribed on his gold and silver coins. He returned to Kiev, after founding another church in Kherson.

The Russian Chronicle tells us what a marvellous change was then accom-

Rurik's Family


R(j)urik (about 860–880)
Igor, about 880–945 (Oleg, guardian of Igor, † 912); married Olga, from 957 "Helena" († about 970)
Svjatoslav, independent about 964–973
Jaropolk at Kieff, † about 977
Oleg, Lord of the Dřevljanes, † about 975
Vladimir of Novogorod, 973–977, of Kieff 977–1015 (baptized 989); married Anna of Byzantium 989
Jaroslav I, 1019–54
Svjatopolk I, 1015–19; married, about 1000, daughter of Boleslav I of Poland (p. 471)
Mstislav of Tmutorokan, † 1023, in Chernigoff
Svjatoslav, Lord of the Dřewljanes († about 1016)
Isjaslav of Polock
(6) Boris of Rostov, † about 1016
(6) Gleb of Murom, † about 1016
Wsevolod of Volhynia
Vladimir of Novgorod († 1052)
Rostislav of Rostov, later of Volhynia, † 1066
Rurik of Wolhynia
Volodar of Terebovla
Vasliko of Przemyśl, blinded about 1100
Vladimirko, 1126–53 of Halicz
Rostislav of Przemyśl
Jaroslav Osmomysl, † 1187
Vladimir (about 1200)
I. Isjaslav I of Kieff, 1054–78
Jaropolk
Svjatopolk II, 1093–1114
III. Wsevolod I of Perejaslawl, 1078–93
Vladimir Monomach, grand prince, 1113–25
Mstislav I, 1125–32
Jaropolk, 1132–39
Andrei I, Bogolubski, 1157–75, of Vladimir-Susdal
Michael, 1175–76
Gleb, of Kieff, from 1169
Mstislav (conquered Kieff, 1169), † 1223
II. Svjatoslav of Chernigoff, † 1076
Oleg of Chernigoff
Wsevolod II, Olgovitch, 1139–41
Jurii I, Dolgoruki of Rostov, at Vladimir and Susdal, grand prince, 1154–57
Wsevolod III the Great, 1176–1212
Constantine, 1212–17
Juri II, 1217–38
Wsevolod
Mstislav
IV. Wjacheslav of Smolensk
Gleb of Tmutorokan (to 1064)
V. Igor of Vladimir and Volhynia († 1060)
David
Roman of Volhynia, and since 1200 of Halicz († 1205)
Daniel, since 1229 of Halicz; of Cholm from 1239, † 1266
Anna, married, 1051, Henry I of France († 1060)
Wasilko of Volhynia
Jaroslav II of Susdal, 1238–46 (and others 1236–47)
Michail the Bold of Moscow, † 1248
Alexander Nevski, 1238–46, of Novgorod, grand prince of Moscow, 1252–63
Andrei II, 1246–52
Jaroslav, 1252–72
Vasili, 1272–67
Dmitri, 1276–94
Andrei, 1294–1304
Daniel, † 1303
Jurii, 1319–25; married, 1315, Konchaka of Sarai
Ivan Kalita of Moscow, 1328–40
Simeon Gordyi (the Proud), 1341–53
Ivan II, 1353–59
Dmitri Donskoi, 1362–89
Michail of Tver, 1304–18
Alexander, 1326–28
Constantine
Dmitri
Daughter
Vasili I, 1389–1425
Jurii
Vasili II, Temnyi (the Blinded), 1425–62
Ivan III, 1462–1505; married, 1472, second wife, Sophia (Zoë) Palaiologos
(2) Vasili III, 1505–33; married, 1, a Moldavian; 2, Helene Glinska († 1538)
Helene married, 1494, Alexander of Poland
(2) Ivan IV Grosnyi, 1538–84; married, 1547, Anastasia Romanoff
Ivan, † Nov. 19, 1581
Feodor I, 1584–98, married Irene Godunov
(7) Dmitri, † 1591
Xenia, † 1631, as the nun "Marfa"; married Feodor Nikititch Romanoff († 1632 as "Philaret")

plished in the character of Vladimir. Formerly a bloodthirsty barbarian, he had once wished to revive the service of the old gods to whom he owed his victory over Jarapolk. He commanded a Perun of wood with a silver head and golden beard to be erected on a hill in the vicinity of his palace at Kiev, and then images of Chors, Dashbog, Stribog, Simargla, and Mokosh. Two Christian Varagians were sacrificed to Perun, since the father refused to surrender to the pagan priests his son, on whom the sacrificial lot had fallen. Vladimir had been an unbridled voluptuary. Besides five lawful wives, he had three hundred concubines in Wyszgorod, three hundred in Bělgorod, and two hundred in the village of Berestow near Kiev. But now after the adoption of Christianity he became a changed man. The idols were cast down, and, amid the tears of their worshippers, were partly hacked to pieces, partly burnt. He ordered the Perun, which was most highly revered, to be fastened to the tail of a horse; twelve men then belaboured it with sticks and hurled it into the river. The spot is even now pointed out where the "downfall of the devil" was consummated. Men were posted along the shore to push back into the water the stranded god and to keep off the wailing pagans. Vladimir then issued a proclamation that any man, whether rich or poor, who did not come to the river bank on the next morning would be considered his enemy. The next day he went to the Dnieper accompanied by the priests. The people stepped into the water and were baptised in crowds. Many followers of the old gods escaped into the steppes or the woods; centuries elapsed before Russia was entirely Christian. Under the direction of the Greeks he started a school at Kiev. Even this encountered difficulties; Vladimir, indeed, was compelled to send many children away from school back to their homes, because their parents regarded writing as a dangerous form of witchcraft. Kiev, where there was already a bishopric, was now made the see of a metropolitan, and several new bishoprics were founded. The first metropolitan, Michael, came from Constantinople; even in later times the bishops and metropolitans were mostly Greeks, seventeen out of twenty-three, down to the Mongol invasion of 1240. The first priests are said to have been Bulgarians. It was not until later that the schools provided for their own rising generation. Vladimir was completely changed. He remained loyal to his Greek wife, distributed his income to the churches and the poor, and no longer took pleasure in wars. In contrast to his previous severity the prince was now mild; he was reluctant, from fear of sin, to enforce death penalties, and, since brigandage was largely on the increase, had to be urged by the bishops to reintroduce the old laws. In all probability he, like the emperor Otto III and Duke Boleslav I Chabis, had been influenced by the idea of the millennium, and believed that the end of the world would come in the year 1000. He was passionately fond of relics, and came back from Kherson with a rich store of them. He is worshipped in the Russian Church as a saint, and was named Isapostolos, or the Apostle-like.

Although Christianity was only superficially grafted upon national life and was so adapted to pagan customs and ideas that it was closely interwoven with the old popular religion, nevertheless the conversion was decisive for Russia. By the adoption of the Greek faith it entered into the communion of the Greek Church and into the intellectual heritage of the Greek world, and by so doing was distinctly opposed to the Roman Church and Western civilization. This step decided the place of Russia in the history of the world. Henceforward Russia shares the for-

tunes of the Oriental Church, and partly those of the Byzantine Empire. Byzantium had gained more by the conversion of Russia than it could have ever won by force of arms; Russia became in culture and religion a colony of Byzantium without thereby losing political independence.

We must not overlook the fact that Byzantium then was the foremost civilized nation, from which all Western Europe had much to learn. Byzantine Christianity brought inestimable advantages to the Russian people: a language for church services, which was understood by all and enriched the vernacular with a host of new words; and an independent church, which promoted culture and at the same time was considered politically as a common focus for all parts of Russia. Priests and bishops brought books from New Byzantium and disseminated the art of writing. These were followed by architects, builders, scholars, artists, and teachers. Splendid edifices rapidly arose in Russia. Kiev with its countless churches was soon able to vie with Byzantium. Vladimir founded a school for the training of the priests. Monasteries were built, which carried culture into distant countries. It was the national church which helped the Russians to impress a Slavonic character on alien races.

The union with Byzantium had, it is true, some disadvantages; but these were not apparent for centuries. After the thirteenth century Byzantine culture retrograded, and Russia suffered the same fate as her instructress. The hatred of the West, which Russia inherited from Byzantium, was transformed, at a period when the Western civilization stood high, into a hatred of culture. Russia was thus condemned to a sort of stagnation. But it can hardly be asserted with justice that Russia suffered any detriment because in days of danger it could not reckon on support from Rome. It is true that Rome was for many centuries the foremost power, but was she able to save Palestine? Russia shared the fate of Byzantium, because that was the fate of all Eastern Europe, which, lying on the frontier of Asia, suffered much from Asiatic hordes. Russia and Byzantium were like breakwaters erected against the waves of Asiatic immigration. That was the drawback of the geographical position. Even the line of States which lay further back, Poland and Hungary, had been partly drawn into the same vortex. Only the States westward of this dividing wall were able to develop their civilization unhindered.

Since Russia entered fully into the field of Greek thought, it adopted those peculiar conditions which resulted as a consequence of the relations of Church to State in Byzantium. Rome aimed at ecclesiastical absolutism and world-sovereignty: The papacy was not content with a position subordinate to, or even parallel with, the State, but insisted that the spiritual power ranked above the secular. This claim kindled in the West the struggle between the secular power and the Church; the struggle between Papacy and Empire (the Investiture dispute). No such movement disturbed the East. There the Church continued in that subordination to the State which had existed from the beginning. Hence the omnipotence of the State in Russia, although the Church at all times exercised great influence there. The sovereign could appoint or depose the bishops. Even the ecclesiastical dependence on Byzantium was rather a matter of tolerance and custom than an established right. If the sovereign did not find it agreeable to receive a bishop sent from Byzantium, he substituted another.

The inner change, which was worked in Vladimir, was in one respect dis-

advantageous for the empire; there was a loss of energy. In the year 992 Vladimir came into conflict with the Pecheneges on the southern frontier near Perejaslav. A single combat was to decide the day. After a fierce struggle a young Russian succeeded in throttling with his own hands the giant champion of the Pecheneges. In order to protect the country against further attacks Vladimir established a line of defence. There are indications that he entered into alliances with the West, above all with Rome, Germany, Poland, and Bohemia. His son Sviatopolk married the daughter of Boleslav I of Poland. Possibly there is some connection between this and the fact that Vladimir in 981 took possession of the Czerwenish towns of Halicz and Przemysl (the later Red Russia), and thus pushed the western frontier of Russia as far as the Carpathians.

In the year 1000 Bruno of Querfurt, styled the Archbishop of the Heathen, came to him, being desirous to preach the gospel to the wild Pecheneges. Vladimir employed him to negotiate a peace with the Pecheneges, and accompanied him to the frontier. The report which Bruno furnished in 1008 to the emperor Henry II gives us a good picture of Vladimir's character. He wrote: "After I had spent a full year among the Hungarians to no purpose, I went amongst the most terrible of all heathen, the Pecheneges (the verdict of Matthias of Edessa was similar). The lord of the Russians (Vladimir), ruler of a wide territory and great riches, detained me for a month, tried to deter me from my purpose, and was solicitous about me, as if I was one who wantonly desired to rush upon destruction. . . . But since he could not move me from my purpose, and since, besides that, a vision concerning my unworthy self frightened him, he accompanied me with his army for two days to the farthest boundary of his kingdom, which he had surrounded with an exceedingly strong and long palisade. He dismounted; I and my companions went ahead, while he followed with the chief men of his army. Thus we passed through the gate. He took his station on one hill, we on another. I myself carried the cross, which I embraced with my arms, and sang the well-known verse, 'Peter, if thou lovest me, feed my sheep.' When the antiphone was finished, the prince sent one of his nobles to us with the following message: 'I have escorted thee to the spot where my land ends and that of the enemy begins. I beseech thee in God's name not to grieve me by forfeiting thy young life; I know that to-morrow before the third hour thou wilt have to taste the bitterness of death without cause and without gain.' I sent the following answer back to him: 'May God open paradise to thee, as thou hast opened to us the way to the heathen!' We then started and went two days, and no one did us any harm. On the third day — it was a Friday — we were thrice, at daybreak, noon, and at the ninth hour, brought to execution with bowed neck, and yet each time came out from among the army of the enemy unscathed. On Sunday we reached a large tribe, and a respite was accorded to us until special messengers had summoned the whole tribe to a council. At the ninth hour of the next Sunday we were haled to the meeting. . . . Then a vast multitude rushed upon us . . . and raised a terrible outcry. With a thousand axes and swords they threatened to hew us to pieces. . . . The elders at length tore us forcibly from their hands. They listened to us, and recognised in their wisdom that we had come to them with good intentions. So we stayed for five months with that people, and travelled through three of their districts: we did not reach the fourth, but envoys from their nobles came to us. When some thirty souls had been won for Christianity we concluded for the

acceptance of the king a peace such as they thought no one save us would have been able to conclude. 'This peace,' they said, 'is concluded through thee. If, as thou promisest, it is lasting, we are willing all to become Christians; but if the prince does not loyally adhere to it, we must then think about war, not Christianity. With this object I went back again to the prince of the Russians, who for God's sake was contented therewith, and gave his son as hostage. We, however, consecrated one of our number to be bishop, and placed him, together with his son, in the middle of the land. Thus Christian order now prevails among the most cruel and wicked nation of heathens that dwells on the face of the globe." This important letter, which is also the only contemporary account of Vladimir, unfortunately breaks off here. St. Bruno was probably master of some one Slavonic language.

According to the later chroniclers Vladimir was much beloved by his people. The tradition records with especial pleasure how every week he banqueted with his Druzina and the elders of the city of Kiev. He is celebrated in historical ballad as a sun-god, and called the beautiful red sun of Russia (*krasnoje solnyszko*). The Church reckoned him amongst her saints.

(*c*) *Jaroslav; the Right of Seniority.* — Vladimir died in 1015. Some considerable time probably before his death he had divided his empire among his sons after the following method: Sviatopolk received Turow, Isjaslav Polock, Boris Rostow, Gleb Murom, Sviatoslav the country of the Drevlanes, Wsevolod Volhynia, Mstislav Tmutorokan. Whether or how he disposed of Kiev we are not told. In any case, the quarrel about it broke out immediately after his death. The Družina had wished for one of the sons of the Greek princess Anna (p. 452). But Boris, like his brother Gleb, was absent, and the power was seized by Sviatopolk, the son-in-law of Boleslav of Poland, who happened to be on the spot, although an attempt was made to keep secret the death of the father until the arrival of Boris. The latter himself resigned the sovereignty in favour of his elder brother, but nevertheless was assassinated together with Gleb and Sviatoslav. Boris and Gleb were worshipped as holy martyrs and many churches bear their names.

The other brothers were now seized with panic. Jaroslav of Novgorod marched at once against Sviatopolk, defeated the "godless" sinner at Lubetch and forced him to fly to Poland. Jaroslav then remained in Kiev; for Sviatopolk, although reinstated in 1017 by Boleslav of Poland (who took this opportunity to conquer Przemyšl in 1018) could not maintain his position. Jaroslav had yet another war to face with Mstislav of Tmutorokon. With the help of the Kasoges (p. 450), Khazars, and Seweranes Mstislav insisted upon a new partition of the empire in 1023; he received the whole country east of the Dnieper, with a residence in Tchernigov. Jaroslav's rule was important for the development of Russia. We notice especially a coolness in the relations with the Varagians, who began to be troublesome and indeed dangerous to him. Between them and the Novgorodians there were frequent and sanguinary riots. Jaroslav supported the latter, and sent the Varagians out of the land, as Vladimir had tried to do in 980. We find the Ῥῶς Βάραγγοι still at Byzantium at the end of the eleventh century. Thus the Varagian age of Russia ends with Jaroslav.

Russia already appears as a large Slavonic commonwealth, with a policy of its own and a consciousness of nationality. And, as if the wars with Byzantium had

formerly been due merely to Varagian influences, the last occasion when Russia and the empire came into collision occurred under Jaroslav. The *casus belli* was a quarrel between Russian merchants and Byzantines. The punitory expedition with which Jaroslav intrusted his son Vladimir in 1043 ended disastrously, once more in consequence of the devastating effect of the Greek fire. Part only of the Russian army was able to rally and inflict a defeat on the pursuing Greeks. Jaroslav, though no hero in the style of Sviatoslav, still knew how to handle the sword. He struck the Pecheneges such a blow that they no longer ventured to attack Russia; their name soon disappeared. Their rôle was taken over, however, by another wild people, the Polowzes, whom we already know (pp. 92, 338, 380) as Kumanes. In the west, also, Jaroslav fought with Lithuanians, Jatvinges, and Masovians, and helped his son-in-law Casimir of Poland to win back the empire.

Kiev reached the zenith of its grandeur under Jaroslav and excited the admiration of the West; among its churches, which were said to number four hundred, that of St. Sophia with its splendid mosaics was conspicuous. The city with its eight markets was the rendezvous of merchants from Byzantium, Germany, Scandinavia, Hungary, and Holland; flotillas of merchantmen furrowed the waters of the Dnieper. Jaroslav founded monasteries, for instance the Crypt Monastery (*Petschcrskaja Lawra*), at Kiev, which was destined to become a seminary of culture for Russia. Himself acquainted with writing, he took an interest in schools, and founded one in his beloved Novgorod for three hundred boys. He had not artists enough to decorate all the churches, nor priests enough to provide for divine service. He summoned Greek choristers from Byzantium to the capital, who were to instruct the Russian clergy. Adam of Bremen was justified, therefore, in calling Kiev the rival of Constantinople and the fairest ornament of Greece. Since Russia had hitherto no written laws, Jaroslav ordered the customary law to be noted down ("*Ruskaja Prawda*"). This simple code contains little beyond a scale of penalties for various crimes, and a fixed table of fines; it does not mention death sentences or corporal punishments. Nevertheless it was a promising preliminary step. The first ecclesiastical laws for Russia were also put into writing under Jaroslav.

Jaroslav enjoyed a high reputation among his contemporaries. He formed connections by marriage with the royal houses of Norway, Poland, Hungary, and France,[1] and was in request as an ally. The Russian people called him the Wise; the Scandinavian sagas have much to tell of him. If, however, the empire was to be preserved in its old grandeur the succession must be fixed in some way In old times, when the State was governed in patriarchal style and the sovereign held a paternal authority, when the royal treasury was also the national treasury and the offices at the royal court were also State offices, when, that is, the empire was considered the private property of the monarch, family law was identical with public law, and the sovereign had the control of the kingdom as much as of his own goods and chattels. And just as, according to the civil law of the time, every child had a claim to a part of the paternal or family property, so every member of the reigning house had a claim to a share of the kingdom. Since, then, according to Germano-Slavonic custom, the eldest of the tribe or of the family administered affairs within the family circle, so in the empire the younger members were pledged to obey the eldest. This was the so-called right of *Seniority*.

[1] His daughter Anna married in 1051 King Henry I of France, who died 1060.

Russia had long been ruled on this principle. The custom had grown up there since the days of Olga that the eldest should have his home in Kiev, while the younger sons lived elsewhere and were in some sense his subjects. Sviatoslav had divided the kingdom among his sons on this principle, only reserving for himself the title of Grand Duke. According to the Russian Chronicle Jaroslav, foreseeing his death, made the following arrangements: "Isjaslav, your eldest brother, will represent me and reign in Kiev. Subject yourselves to him as you have subjected yourselves to your father. I give to Sviatoslav Tchernigov, to Wsewolod Perejaslav, to Wjatshelav Smolensk. Igor, the youngest, receives Vladimir with Volhynia. Let each be content with his share; if not, then shall the elder brother sit in justice over you as lord. He will defend the oppressed and punish the guilty." By this arrangement Jaroslav had merely acted according to the ancient custom. How far the privileges went which customary law gave to the "eldest" is shown by the expression current at that time: the younger rode at the rein of the elder; he had him as master, stood at his orders, and looked up to him. The Grand Duke, whose seat was in Kiev, was lord over all Russia; he disposed of vacant principalities and was the supreme judge and commander-in-chief.

The innovation probably introduced by Jaroslav only consisted in clearly defining the order in which the younger princes should be promoted after the death of the Grand Duke. The territories, which he assigned to his sons according to their respective age and rank, formed the following scale: Kiev I, Tchernigov II, Perejaslav(l) III, Smolensk IV, Vladimir V. The royal throne was only to be reached by proceeding from V to I. If a junior prince died before the elder, and therefore without having reached Kiev, his sons also remained excluded from the grand ducal title. Thus the son of Vladimir of Novgorod († 1052), Rostilav, was forced to abandon any prospect of reaching Kiev. The princes, who were thus from the first precluded from advancing, since their fathers had not been Grand Dukes, were called Isgoji. But the weakness of the law lay in this very point; for those who were set aside felt the injustice of it, and had recourse to arms. Parties were formed which were bitter foes to each other. The position of the Grand Duke at the same time was not strong enough to ensure order. His power rested on the idea of a paternal authority which was deficient in any true basis of power: he had, in fact, only obtained one share, like the others. If he wished to enforce the right of Seniority, he was compelled to look out for alliances. And since self-interest always outweighs patriotism, Russia was plunged into long years of civil war through the increasing numbers of the royal house. Subsequently many petty principalities, which were unceasingly at war with each other, sprang up side by side in Russia, since the legal arrangement was broken down by unforeseen contingencies. The root of the evil is to be found in that defective legislation and in the large increase of the Rurikoviches (see the genealogical tree on p. 452).

Thus the heroic age ended with Jaroslav († 1054). Russia, parcelled out into numerous provinces, its strength sapped by prolonged civil wars, soon sank from the pinnacle which it had reached in its days of prosperity. Perhaps for this reason tradition has shed a flood of glory round the last prince and despot of the old era.

C. The Fall of the United Nation of South Russians

The very first successor of Jaroslav, the Grand Duke Isjaslav, whom his father had placed on the throne at Kiev during his lifetime, could not maintain his position. The people of Kiev banished him and raised to the throne a prince who stood outside the prescribed order of succession. A hot dispute soon broke out which was destined to last for centuries. Not a single Russian prince was ashamed to invoke, in case of need, the help of Poles, Germans, Lithuanians, Hungarians, or even Polovzes. The first appeal for help was to the Polish duke Boleslav II the Bold, who conquered Kiev in 1069, as Boleslav I had once done, and for the first time sacked the city. Soon, however, the threatened Isjaslav was compelled once more to give way, and his renewed appeals to the Poles for help were futile. Then in 1075 he made overtures to the emperor Henry IV; but the embassy of the latter failed to obtain any results in Kiev. Isjaslav, in order to leave no stone unturned, actually sent his son Jaropolk to Rome to Pope Gregory VII (a course which was followed later by his second son Svatopolk, Grand Duke from 1093 to 1114). If we reflect that the Investiture struggle was then at its height, and that the rift between Rome and the Greek Church was now too wide to be bridged, we must from the Russian standpoint condemn the conduct of Isjaslav in offering for sale in every market the honour of his country. He had not been able to induce Little Poland or Germany to lend him any help without some return, and he now went to Rome and professed himself to be a vassal of the papal chair. The Pope in gratitude nominated his son Jaropolk to be his successor. Had that nomination been accepted, a hereditary monarchy would at one stroke have been created in Russia, certainly to the country's advantage. But Isjaslav never came to the throne.

Hitherto there had not been wanting a supply of able princes and heroes of the old stamp; but they destroyed each other. Every one knew that this meant the ruin of Russia; but no one was willing or able to prevent it. Vladimir Monomach, the son of that Wsewolod to whom, according to the distribution made by Jaroslav, the district of Perejaslav was assigned, was a man of gentle character, religious and just, but at the same time brave and shrewd. He always endeavoured to settle disputes by pacific methods, and pointed out the great ravages caused by the Polovzes. The princes finally concluded a peaceful alliance, when they met in 1097 at Lubetch by Tchernigov on the Dnieper. The source of the evil was seen to lie in the proviso that the princes, since they moved from one country to another, gradually approaching Kiev, never felt at home anywhere, but neglected their principalities. It was therefore decided that every Rurikovich should continue to hold his father's share. All kissed the cross of peace, and promised to defend the country, one and all, against the Polovzes.

But the rule of succession, which had become in Lubetch the law of the land, did not put an end to the civil wars. David of Volhynia, the son of Igor and grandson of Jaroslav, was at enmity with Volodar of Terebowla and Vassilko of Przemyśl, the sons of Rostislav. The princes had hardly separated, when the Grand Duke Sviatopolk, in consequence of the hints of David, enticed Vassilko to Kiev, and then surrendered him to the latter, who put out his eyes. The princes once more assembled in 1100 at Uwjatyči (Witičewo) on the Dnieper and concluded a new peace; the

chief agent this time, also, was Vladimir Monomach. He was Grand Duke from 1113 to 1125, and conducted the government with vigour and justice. A letter which he wrote to Oleg of Tchernigov is still extant, as also his will, some of the chief sentences of which deserve to be quoted. "Since my end is near, I thank the All Highest that he has prolonged my days. . . . Praise the Lord, dear children, and love also your fellow men. Neither fasting, nor solitude, nor monasticism will save you, but good deeds alone. . . . Do not always have the name of God on your lips; but if you have strengthened an oath by kissing the cross, beware of breaking it. . . . Look diligently yourselves after everything in your households, and do not trust to retainers and servants, or the guests will speak evil of your house. Be strenuous in war, setting a model to your Voivods. . . . When you travel through your country, suffer not your vassals to molest the people, but where you halt, give your meat and drink to your hosts. Above all honour your guests, noble and lowly, merchants and ambassadors; if ye cannot give them presents, make them content at least with food and drink. For guests spread good and evil report of us in foreign lands. . . . Love your wives, but be not governed by them. . . . Keep in mind the good which ye hear, and learn that which ye do not know. My father could speak in five languages. . . . Man ought always to be occupied. When you are journeying on horseback, and have no business to transact, do not give way to idle thoughts, but repeat some prayer which you have learnt; if no other occurs to you, then the shortest and best, 'Lord have mercy upon me.' Never go to sleep without having bowed your head to the earth; but if you feel ill, bow yourselves thrice to the earth. Let the sun never find you in bed! Go early into the church to offer your matins to God; my father did so, and so did all good men. . . . After doing that they sat in council with the Družina, or administered justice or rode to the chase. But at noon they lay down to sleep; for God hath fixed noontide as a time of rest not only for men, but also for four-footed creatures and for birds. Thus, too, hath your father lived. I have always done personally that which I might have employed my servants to do. . . . I myself exercised supervision over the church and divine worship, over the household, the stables, the chase, the hawks, and the falcons. I have fought in eighty-three campaigns altogether, not reckoning the unimportant ones. I concluded nineteen treaties of peace with the Polovzes. I took prisoners more than a hundred of their noblest princes and afterwards released them; more than two hundred I executed and drowned in the rivers. Who has travelled quicker than I? If I started in the morning from Tchernigov, I was in Kiev before vespers. . . . I loved the chase, and your uncle or I have often captured wild beasts together. How often have I been brought to the ground . . . but the Lord hath preserved me. Therefore, dear children, fear neither death nor battle nor wild beasts. Be men, whatever be the destiny that God intends for you! If divine providence has destined death for us, neither father nor mother nor brother can save us. Let the hope of man be in the protection of God alone." When Vladimir Monomach died in 1125 "all the people wept," said his contemporary Nestor (p. 435).

The number of the princes fighting for the possession of Kiev grew more and more, and the position of Russia became more and more desperate. South Russia in particular could never regain tranquillity and defend itself against the wild dwellers in the Steppe. It was a fortunate circumstance indeed that inveterate feuds prevailed among these latter. The western tribes, the Torkes, Berendejans, and Pecheneges, which were called collectively Chornyje Klobuki (Black Caps),

were mortal enemies of the Polovzes, and therefore sided with Russia and were settled in the country. They were soon assimilated with the Russian people, and thus brought a peculiar strain into the national characteristics of South Russia. These various nations of the Steppe fought as allies of one Russian prince against others, until they all became Slavs. But as late as the sixteenth century a tribe in the district of Skvirsh near Kiev called itself "Polovces."

The end of all this was the political and economic collapse of South Russia. A consequence of the same causes was that the princes, who were excluded from the contest for Kiev, shook themselves free from the supremacy of the Grand Duke there, and that totally independent principalities were formed. This was the case with Polock, Novgorod, Rostov, Turov, Pskov, Wjatka, and in the west with Halicz.

4. RUSSIA FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE ELEVENTH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

A. The Age of the Petty Princes to the Year 1240

(*a*) *Halicz.* — A powerful principality developed in the southwest of Russia, in the Dniester district. Vladimir, who had been intrusted by Jaroslav the Wise with the conduct of the campaign against Byzantium in 1043, and as prince of Novgorod had predeceased his father in 1052, had left a son, Rostislav. The latter, as Isgoj had no claim to the throne of the Grand Duke, had to be content with Rostov. When, then, one of his uncles, Vjatcheslav of Smolensk, died and the youngest uncle, Igor, advanced from Volhynia to Smolensk, Rostislav obtained Volhynia, while Rostov was defeated at Perejaslav. But when Igor also died at Smolensk in 1060, and Rostislav indulged in hopes of advancing to Smolensk (and later eventually to Kiev), the uncles did not wish to make this fresh concession to him. The adventurous prince, therefore, went in 1064 with his Družina in an oblique line from the extreme west of Russia to the farthest eastern boundary, to Tmutorokan, and drove out the prince Gleb, the son of his uncle Sviatoslav of Tchernigov. As the nearest neighbour of the Byzantines he aroused their alarm; a Katapan who was sent to him won his confidence and poisoned him in 1066.

Rurik, Volodar, and Vassilko, the sons of Rostislav, inherited a part of the Volhynian principality, Przemyšl and Terebowla; these "Chervenian towns," which had been conquered by Vladimir the Great in 981, and taken from him by Boleslav of Poland in 1018 (p. 456), had been won back by Jaroslav in 1031, at the time of the Polish disturbances. The Diet of Princes at Lubetch recognised their right to the towns. The efforts of the Igorid, David of Volhynia, to wrest this province from the Rostislaviches (the blinding of Vassilko; p. 469) were unsuccessful. New bishoprics were formed here in the twelfth century, as, for example, in Przemyšl (1120) and Halicz (c. 1157). Vladimirko, the son of Volodar, after the death of his father, his uncles, and his brother Rostislav of Przemyšl, united the whole country under his sceptre and made Halicz on the Dniester his capital. When he died in 1153 he left to his only son Jaroslav Osmomysl, who reigned until 1187, a principality stretching from the river San almost to the mouth of the Dniester. The Chronicle extols the wisdom and learning of this

prince, who was a patron of culture and possessed a remarkable library. The principality of Halicz (Galicia) threatened to eclipse Kiev.

It fell to the lot of this principality, from its prominent position on the western frontier of Russia, to repel the attacks of the Hungarians under Bela III (p. 381) and of the Poles, who were then torn by internal feuds. But under Vladimir, son of Osmomysl (c. 1200), Roman of Volhynia, having been called in by Galician Boyars, won the country over to his side, and by this union of Volhynia with Halicz founded a dominion which was perhaps the most powerful among all the Russian States and larger than the existing Polish Empire. Roman had the throne of Kiev at his disposal, and fought with Poles, Lithuanians, and Hungarians. The Volhynian Chronicler calls him the undisputed monarch of all Russia. The expelled Vladimir sought refuge with the German emperor. Innocent III, to whose ears the fame of Roman had come, sent an embassy to him, offering him the royal crown, and urged him to adopt Catholicism; he received, however, an unfavourable answer. The effect of the proximity of Hungary and Poland was that the Družina of the prince, the nobility, was more prominent here than in other parts of Russia and influenced the destiny of the country. This tendency was suppressed by Roman. He is said to have ordered refractory Boyars to be quartered or buried alive; "in order to eat a honeycomb peacefully the bees must be killed" was his favourite saying.

When Roman fell in 1205, at the battle of Zavichost, leaving behind him two infant sons, Daniel and Vassilko, interminable wars for the possession of the country broke out, and princes were tortured and hanged. Poles and Hungarians took advantage of these disturbances to seize the country. Koloman, a son of the Hungarian king Andreas II, having married the Polish princess Salome (cf. the genealogical table at page 384), was placed on the throne of Halicz. Daniel had reconquered it in 1229 by dint of great efforts, and did not succeed in winning back his whole inheritance until 1239. He then chose Cholm for his residence.

The estrangement of the northwest was fraught with disastrous consequences for Russia. The princes of Polock in the region watered by the Niemen and the Dwina were too weak to protect themselves, first from the Swedes and Germans, and then from the Lithuanians (cf. below, p. 489). It was the weakening of this region which rendered the rise of a strong Lithuanian State possible.

(*b*) *Novgorod.* — Novgorod also aimed at independence, but had to suffer much from the wars about Kiev. The ruling body there was the assembly of citizens (*weče*; p. 444), not prince or Boyars. Novgorod was an important industrial centre and greatly influenced the history of the northern Slavs and Fins. It was in fact the cradle of Russian history. The Novgorodians were once the first and only people to resist the Varagians, whom they ultimately drove out of Russia. When Jaroslav the Wise, having been defeated by his brother Sviatopolk and the Poles, came to Novgorod and wished to cross the sea, the people of Novgorod broke up his boats, voluntarily laid a tax on themselves for war purposes, and forced him once more to resume hostilities with Sviatopolk. Being victorious at their head, he held Novgorod in high honour, and is said to have granted a charter of privileges to the city in 1019. The people of Novgorod also always held his memory sacred. But in that busy trading town, with its hundred thousand or more inhabitants, no

prince was able to exercise absolute authority, nor could any dynasty find a firm footing. The prince was obliged to take an oath that he would respect their rights and privileges. He could not pronounce any judicial sentence without the assistance of the municipal "Possadnik," and above all he could not bring a disputed cause before a foreign court. He could neither obtain any existing villages nor build any new ones within the municipal district. His revenue was accurately fixed. The prince had, it is true, the right to summon the popular assemblies, which met in "the court of Jaroslav" at the sound of the tocsin. But they were more powerful than he was; for with his small Družina, which neither belonged to the body of citizens nor could live in the centre of the district, he was totally unable to keep the great city in check. If the prince was guilty of any misconduct he was impeached. If he did not give satisfaction "they said farewell to him and showed him his way." When Prince Vsevolod-Gabriel, who exchanged Novgorod with Perejaslav, came back in 1132, the *Weče* said to him, "Thou hast forgotten thy oath to die with us, and hast sought a new princedom for thyself; go hence whither thou willest." The popular assembly also summoned new princes. The princes, for this reason, were reluctant to go to Novgorod. When an archbishopric was founded there in the twelfth century, the archbishop himself was chosen by the popular assembly, which naturally deposed him if there was anything against him. The *Weče* decided even matters of faith. The town, therefore, proudly styled itself "sovereign, mighty Novgorod" (*gospodin velikij Nowgorod*). It was full of churches and monasteries founded by private individuals. Since the soil was sandy, the town was forced to expand, colonise, and trade far and wide, especially with Northern Europe and even with the Far East. Independent Družines travelled in search of adventure, subjugated countries and founded colonies, as, for instance, the subsequently important free State of Vjatka, which, like Pskov also, was governed by its assembly of citizens. The Novgorodians were esteemed as good seamen; their merchants formed a guild of their own. Novgorod played the principal part in Slavonicising the north of Eastern Europe (for the loss of its freedom cf. page 517).

(*c*) *Susdal-Vladimir.* — The congress of princes at Lubetch, which settled the hereditary provinces to be held by the princes, had assigned the Finnish territory round Rostov to the family of Monomach (cf. p. 459). Monomach founded there on the Kliasma a town which bore his name, Vladimir. The son of Monomach, Jurij Dolgorukij, was the first independent prince of Rostov. He soon attained his object of becoming Grand Duke in Kiev; yet he cared more for his inheritance in the north, for Vladimir and Susdal. He removed thither the discontented population from the south; he founded towns there, and according to tradition Moscow, also, which is mentioned for the first time in 1147. His son Andrej Bogolubskij, who became ruler in 1157, took no further interest in the south, since Kiev, he thought, had no future; its title of Grand Duke had been passed on from hand to hand eighteen times since 1125! In the year 1169 he organised an alliance of eleven princes, at whose head he placed his son Mstislav. The latter took Kiev by storm after three days' siege and allowed it to be sacked mercilessly. A great impression was made on the whole country when the city, which was sacred in the eyes of every Russian, the mother of all Russian towns and the goal of the ambition of their princes, was captured by her own sons; many

believed that the end of Russia had come. The glory and importance of Kiev were ended. Andrej assumed, it is true, the grand ducal title, but sent to Kiev his brother Gleb, who also bore the title of Grand Duke. Other heads of the princely families, those of Halicz, Smolensk, Tchernigov, equally assumed the title of Grand Duke. There was, however, no doubt that the Grand Duke of Susdal-Vladimir, the conqueror of Kiev, was the true master of Russia; Vladimir on the Kliasma was destined to become the centre of the empire.

Jurij Dolgorukij and Andrej Bogolubskij had a clear insight into the heart of the matter. They wished to found a strong princely power independent of the Boyars (Družina) and the municipality, which in later years had often disposed of the crown in the south. Father and son, therefore, showed no mercy towards the Boyars. In the north there were mostly newcomers and colonists, who were bound from the outset to adapt themselves to the new conditions. The towns, too, were new uninfluential settlements, which became exactly what their founders wished them to become. Andrej had for this reason chosen as his residence in the district of Susdal neither Rostov nor Susdal with their old citizen assemblies (*weče*), but the insignificant market town of Vladimir. An absolute monarchy was able to develop there which was capable of rescuing Russia from destruction. Andrej, it is true, was murdered by his Boyars in 1175; but his successors resolutely carried out the policy of treating the Družina merely as subjects.

During the calamitous civil wars the consciousness of a common Russian mother-country was kept alive less by the blood relationship of the reigning princes than by the Church. In the later period the glory of Kiev also was mainly based on the fact that the oldest churches were there, especially the famous subterranean monastery, where the bones of the saints reposed, and that the supreme Metropolitan resided there. If, then, Vladimir on the Kliasma was to be a serious rival of Kiev, it must receive an archbishop and magnificent churches. The princes provided both these essentials. Vladimir soon possessed a golden gate, like that of Kiev, a tithe church, several monasteries, and beautiful buildings. At the sack of Kiev valuable images, church ornaments, books, and bells had been carried off to Vladimir. But the petition to the patriarch of Constantinople to found an archbishopric in Susdal met with no immediate success. Otherwise the power of Susdal grew stronger from year to year. Vsevolod the Great († 1212), brother of Andrej, was feared throughout Russia. But quarrels again arose among his sons, until Constantine defeated the others. After his death in 1217 his brother Jurij II (George) became Grand Duke of Vladimir. He conquered the country of the Mordvins and founded in 1221 Nijni Novgorod (from 1350 to 1390 residence of the princes of Susdal) at the point where the Oka flows into the Volga.

In 1200 three forces in Russia were struggling for victory, — the princes, the nobles, and the popular assembly (*weče*). The Boyars were victorious in Halicz, the citizens in Novgorod, Pskov, and Vjatka, and the princes in Susdal; in Kiev alone the three institutions existed side by side, collectively powerless. As an inevitable consequence, instead of only one, several political centres were formed side by side in Russia.

B. The Subjugation of Russia by the Tartars

(*a*) *Temujin.* — Russia had already been weakened by internal feuds, and now the greatest calamity that had ever befallen it burst on the country. In the year 1222 the Tartars (Mongols) appeared in the south, and first struck a blow at the Alani, who lived to the north of the Caucasus. Terrible tidings heralded their approach. Temujin (Genghis Khan, Vol. II, 171) had united the Mongol tribes, had conquered and plundered Northern China, Kharismia, Bokhara, Samarkand, and Northern India, and was now filled with the idea of subduing Europe. He styled himself the Scourge of God, and the Asiatics, with their inborn fatalism, seldom dared to offer resistance.

The Alani allied themselves with the Polovzes; but the Mongols brought the Polovzes over to their side by bribes, and subjugated the Alani and after that the faithless Polovzes. The latter appeared as fugitives in Russia. The princes of Southern Russia united their forces, and the Polovzes joined them, their Khan Basti having accepted Christianity. They determined to anticipate the enemy and attack him in the Steppe. Tartar envoys then appeared in their camp, ostensibly on account of the detested Polovzes. The Russians, in their infatuation, rejected the offer of peace and put the envoys to death; they had collected more than eighty thousand men. A decisive battle was fought on the 16th of June, 1223 on the banks of the small river Kalka, which flows into the Sea of Azov. The Polovzes fled at the very outset, and thus forced the Russians into a retreat which degenerated into a disastrous rout. Mstislav of Kiev defended himself for three days longer in his fortified camp, but finally, from over-confidence, fell into the hands of the Tartars; six princes and seventy Boyars were left on the field of battle. Mstislav and his two sons-in-law were suffocated under planks, and the Mongols celebrated the victory by a banquet over their dead bodies. Hardly a tenth part of the army succeeded in escaping. "A vast host pressed on its heels, plundering, murdering, and sacking the towns," so the Arab ibn al-Athir records; "many Russian merchants banded together, packed up their valuables, and sailed in many ships to Mohammedan countries."

(*b*) *The Golden Horde.* — Temujin suddenly turned back to Asia; Russia was saved. The great conqueror died in 1227, and was succeeded by his third son Ogdai (Ogotai; Vol. II, p. 174). A resolution was passed by the general assembly of the empire at Karakorum in 1235 that Russia and Europe generally should be conquered, and the supreme command was given to Batu, a grandson of Temujin. A Mongol army of five hundred thousand men, nominally, appeared in Russia in the year 1237. The Bulgarians on the Volga offered a feeble resistance, and their capital, Bulgar, was destroyed. The Mordvins, who were of Finnish stock, joined the Tartars and became their scouts. The enemy were soon before the gates of Riasan; by the help of powerful siege-engines they took the town after five days' storming, on December 21, and a terrible massacre ensued. The Grand Duke of Vladimir had gone northwards before the battle, but was soon overtaken and killed; Vladimir, which was defended by his sons Vsevolod and Mstislav, had already fallen on February 14, 1238. The whole principality of Susdal was plundered, and Kolomna, Moscow, Volo Kolamsk, Tver, and Torchok were reduced

to ashes. Batu was now close to Novgorod when a thaw prevented any further advance of the Mongols. On their way back they captured Koselok after a gallant resistance of seven weeks. In the winter of 1239 Batu marched against South Russia; the task of conquest was rendered easier for him by the persistent feuds of the Russian princes. Daniel of Halicz seized Kiev, which he ordered his Boyar Dimitri to defend, but the latter's stubborn courage was ineffectual against the superior force. Kiev fell on December 6, 1240, and was ruthlessly sacked; even the tombs were not spared. Batu spared the life of the brave Dimitri, an unprecedented act of grace, and kept him by his side as a military adviser. He then conquered Halicz; Novgorod alone still held out. The Russians were inferior to the Mongols, who were always mounted, in the higher arts of war; the latter even employed a sort of Greek fire. Poland, Hungary, and other neighbouring kingdoms were filled with Russian fugitives. Counter measures were discussed everywhere, in Rome, Hungary, Bohemia, and Germany. Men's thoughts turned to Gog and Magog, the mythical destroyers, whose appearance would signify the end of the world. Louis IX of France made ready for a crusade.

The Tartar storm then raged over Poland, Moravia, and Dalmatia. Suddenly (cf. Vol. II, p. 176) the Asiatic tide ebbed. Russia alone remained Tartar. The fugitive princes returned, but as Tartar vassals. Attempts were begun to make the pillaged towns once more habitable, and the ruins were partially rebuilt. But the country was depopulated; men were required, and they were chiefly taken from the more densely populated west. From this time dates the movement of German colonists towards the east.

Batu had long since established on the Volga an empire, almost independent of the Great Khan, called Kiptchak, or the Golden Horde, with Sarai as capital, and was now occupied with its organisation (cf. the map of the Mongolian Empire at page 174 of Vol. II). The national code was the Yasa or customary law drawn up by Genghis Khan, which recognised only the penalty of death and corporal punishment. The oath of loyalty was taken bareheaded, kneeling and with loosened girdle. A strict ceremonial distinguished the Khan from the people. Before any man approached him, he had to pass between two fires, since poison or other dangerous things, which he might have on his person, would thus, it was supposed, be rendered harmless. No one might speak with the Khan except when kneeling, and frequently a veil was thrown over the visitor that he might not look on the face of the Khan. John de Plano Carpini, who was received in audience by Batu as ambassador of Pope Innocent IV, records: "Batu keeps a splendid court; his army numbers six hunded thousand men. His brothers, sons, and grandees sit below him on a bench in the middle, all others on the bare ground, — men on the right, women on the left. . . . We, too, when we had delivered our message, seated ourselves on the left, as all ambassadors do; but we were placed on the right. . . . Batu never drinks in the presence of people without singing and zither playing. When he rides, an umbrella is held over his head, as is the custom of all Tartar princes and their wives."

The residence of the Khan was called Orda, hence "horde." The nation was divided on a military system into groups of tens, hundreds, and thousands. A *tuman*, or body of ten thousand, constituted a separate province. The subject peoples had only to pay taxes, and were not under any other obligation. The receiver-general of taxes was called *baskak* (later, equivalent to extortioner or oppressor).

RUSSIAN CROWNS AND ARMOUR

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OVERLEAF

1–3. The Russian crowns.

1. Czar Michael Feodorovitch's crown of Astrachan, about 1613.
2. The Siberian crown.
3. The crown of Kasan, sixteenth century.

4. The helmet of the High Prince Alexander Nevski, made of red copper, with Arabic inscription. Asiatic work, apparently of the crusading period. Now in the Kremlin at Moscow.

(1–4 from the copy in the Royal Public Library at Dresden of the "Antiquités de l'empire de Russie, éditées par ordre de Sa Majesté l'empereur Nicolas I.")

5. Front and back view of Tartar armour of the fourteenth century; in the museum of Tsarskoe Selo.

(From the work of Gillé, also to be seen in Dresden, Le Musée de Tzarskoe Selo.)

6. Warriors of Moscow.

(From the "Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii Sigismundi liberi baronis in Herberstain, Neyperg & Guettenhag;" Basel, 1556.)

Plano Carpini tells us that one such *baskak* carried off one son out of every family which had three; the same thing occurred with the unmarried men, women, and all beggars. A list was made of the remaining inhabitants and a tax levied on every human being, new-born babes of a day old included; from each a black or white bearskin, a black beaver, a sable, a marten, and a black fox. Those who could not pay were carried off into slavery. The Russian princes were required to make personal suit to the Khan that he would confirm their rank. Thus Batu summoned the Grand Duke Jaroslav of Vladimir, who had succeeded his brother Jurij II, to appear before him at Sarai with all his family. Jaroslav was further forced to go to the Great Khan at Karakorum; there he met Plano Carpini. Jaroslav died in the desert on his way home, either from exhaustion or from poison, which he is supposed to have drunk at the court of the Great Khan (1246). The adventurous Minorite saw in the Kirghiz steppes the dried bones of the Boyars of the Grand Duke, who had perished of thirst in the desert. It was necessary, in order to be successful, to spend large sums on "presents" to Tartar princes, favourites, and women. The unhappy Russian princes had also to face the machinations of their own people.

Daniel of Halicz (see the genealogical table at page 452), far from paying any tribute, fortified his towns and sought an alliance with the Pope after 1246. But in 1250 a message came from the Khan, that he was to give up Halicz. Being inadequately prepared for resistance he went thither and humbled himself by drinking the black mare's milk (*kumiss*) and prostrating himself before the "great princess." He was dismissed after twenty-five days and received Halicz back again as a fief. He nevertheless renewed his negotiations with Innocent IV, and promised to subordinate his church to him; he received papal legates, by whom he was crowned king in 1254. But as the crusade was preached in vain, he once more broke off his relations with Rome. He was then compelled at the command of the Great Khan to rase his fortresses, and from dire necessity he bore the Tartar yoke until his death, which occurred at Cholm in 1266.

Alexander, son of Jaroslav, who had driven out the Germans and in 1240 had conquered the Swedes on the Neva (hence the honourable title of Newskij; see Fig. 4 on the plate facing this page, "Russian Crowns and Arms") was then established in Novgorod. Innocent IV sent two cardinals in 1251 to win him over to the Roman Church, but in vain. Alexander, on the other hand, went in 1254 to Sarai, accompanied by his brother Andrej (p. 513), and thence to Karakorum; the journey lasted three full years. He must have obtained an overpowering impression of the Mongol power; henceforward he remained loyal to the Tartars, and even fought with his own brother Andrej on their behalf. Only a united Russia could have resisted.

Batu Khan died in 1256. His son Sertak, who was devoted to Christianity, soon followed him to the grave, probably owing to poison, and Batu's brother Berkai (or Bereke) now mounted the throne (1257). He instituted a general census and taxation throughout Russia. The hated *Baskaks* now appeared for the first time in Novgorod. The popular assembly was convened. The *Possadnik* addressed the meeting, but when he counselled submission, the people killed him. Alexander's own son reproached his father for imposing servitude on free men. It was with the greatest difficulty that the prince induced the defiant population to allow themselves finally to be registered. In the year 1262 the towns of Vladimir,

Susdal, and Rostov revolted against the *Baskaks*. Alexander hurried with presents to the Khan, but was nevertheless detained there for a year. He died on the journey home on November 14, 1263, in consequence of his privations.

A change was then produced in the life of the Tartar people. They could not permanently disregard the influence of a higher culture. Rome made great efforts to win them by missions, especially since the Mongol world, by the destruction of Bagdad in 1258, had proclaimed itself hostile to Islam. The two recently founded orders of Franciscans and Dominicans gained a name in the Church history of the East, and undertook in particular the task of converting the Tartars. John de Plano Carpini the Minorite was not the last who sought to win the Tartar Khan for the Roman faith. The Greek Church also was not without influence. Some Great Khans were superficially followers of Christianity. Kuyuk (1246–1248) had a Christian chapel near his palace; Kublai (1260–1294) regularly attended the celebration of the feast of Easter. A Greek bishopric was founded in Sarai itself. The Mongol rulers were thoroughly tolerant. Plano Carpini saw in the camp of the Great Khan Christians, Greek priests, and a Christian church. The Franciscan William of Rubruquis (Ruysbroek; Vol. II, p. 99) describes how Mangu Khan in 1254 arranged a discussion between the representatives of various beliefs; Christians, Mohammedans, and heathen performed their acts of worship in his presence. Priests and monks were exempt from the poll-tax. The jurisdiction of the Greek Church was confirmed. Sacrilege was punishable with death. The monasteries within the dominions of the formerly abused Mongols increased in numbers and wealth.

An event of great significance then occurred: Bertai Khan turned his attention to Islam. The religious fanaticism of the Moslems then invaded Sarai, and prevented the fusion of the nations. It was one of the serious results of the miserable Fourth Crusade (p. 98), which, by the capture of Constantinople (1203) under conditions of such revolting cruelty and by the partition of the empire, had crippled the power of the Greek Church and of Greek culture without aiding the West, that Mohammedanism was able to achieve so important a victory. A Byzantium of undiminished power would have all the more certainly won the Tartars for the Orthodox faith, since the Greek form of worship impressed the Asiatics, and since their army, to the extent perhaps of three-fifths, consisted of Oriental Christians, owing to the thousands of prisoners made yearly. But a destroyed Byzantium commanded as little respect from the Tartars as the mutual hatred of the two "Christian" beliefs. The Mongols therefore adopted Islam, which from racial considerations at least appealed more closely to them and seemed to be politically more advantageous. The gulf between Europe and Russia was widened by the Mohammedan Tartars. Russia had now for the first time become a province of Asia in the true sense of the word.

The three centuries which Russia had spent under the Tartar yoke had determined its place in civilization and its development. Hitherto it had stood, if not higher, at any rate not lower, than many a Western state. But now its culture was so sapped and sank so low that, even at the present day, it has not completely recovered from the blow. The political situation, it is true, remained much in the same position; some princes were confirmed in their dominions and self-government conceded to them (see the inset to "Maps illustrating the History of Poland and Western Russia," later in this volume). But the excessive drain on the finances weighed so heavily on the country that it infallibly took from the people any

desire to work. The humiliating treatment and the feeling of absolute impotence as regards the Great Khan could not but corrupt the ideas of the people, destroy their national pride, and sap their moral fibre. This is noticeable even in the Chroniclers of the Tartar age. When in the fifteenth century one prince put out the eyes of another, the Chronicle did not utter a word of blame, as it did when Vassilko was blinded. The Russian people had thus become accustomed to scenes of horror. And these outrages were a heavier burden and lasted longer than the economic downfall.

Even after half a century the widely spread influence of the Asiatic school could be felt. The son of Daniel of Halicz already kept a Tartar body-guard (see Fig. 5 of the plate on page 467); the insubordination of the nobles cannot alone excuse this procedure. That same proud city of Novgorod, which had only submitted to the Baskaks with extreme reluctance, rejected Prince Michael in 1304 with the words: "We elected thee, indeed, but only on the condition that thou shewest us the *Jarlyk*" (the warrant from the Khan). Mongols were called in by Russian princes just as Petchenegs and Polovzes had been, — to help them against their own people. Russians took part in the campaigns of the Tartars, who honourably gave them a share of the spoils. The relations between Mongols and Russians rapidly became so much closer, that in the first half of the fourteenth century Tartar princes and nobles settled in Moscow. Many distinguished Russian families are of Tartar descent; but, on the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that the later Tartar immigrants were mostly descendants of Russian prisoners, so that we ought rather to speak of Slavonic blood among the Tartars than *vice versa*. Russia would almost have got over the depression had not, from time to time, fresh outbursts of savage barbarism inflicted new wounds on the country. The keen wish for liberty was thus kept alive. Russia obtained some partial successes politically. Hostilities between Russian princes were forbidden, since no one dared to wage war without the consent of the Khan. A still more important point was that the Grand Duke, as vassal of the dreaded Mongol, enjoyed elsewhere a greater reputation than had ever been the case. We may see in this fact the germs of the subsequent unification of Russia.

5. POLAND FROM THE TENTH CENTURY TO THE YEAR 1376

A. The Beginnings of Poland (to the Year 1138)

The waves of Slavonic migration, which surged to and fro in the Far East of Europe, had from an early date come into contact with the peoples of Western Europe; but there were as yet only tribes and no large empire. The tidings first came to Constantinople in the ninth century that a large Russian empire existed in the north. A hundred years later a powerful Polish empire was discovered in the northwest. The honour of this discovery belongs to Germany. War had been raging between the two, since the middle of the eighth century, on the line of the Elbe, at the point where the Slavonic and German tribes came into contact with each other. But while the Germans won political unity through Charles the Great, assimilated Roman culture and adopted Christianity, the Slavs were still disunited, and were inimical to Western views on politics, religion, and culture. A

bitter contest was waged for these principles, and finally for freedom. In the course of a hundred years the Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder were subjugated; the Slavs on the Oder also were now engaged in a desperate struggle, more especially since they were torn by internal feuds.

(*a*) *Misako* (*Mesko*). — It then happened that the Wends chose the Saxon Count Wichmann († 967), who had quarrelled with the German Empire, as their leader against the neighbouring Lisikaviki. Wichmann inflicted in 962 two defeats on Misako (Miseko or Mesko, a diminutive of Mstislav), and killed his brother; Mesko in consequence submitted to the Margrave Gero, who was then stationed with an army on the Polish frontier, and agreed to pay a tribute for the country between the Oder and the Warthe. That was the first contact of Poland with the West.

In 965 the Spanish Jew Ibrāhīm ibn-Jaʿqūb travelled through Germany for trading purposes and made his way to Merseburg and Prague, where he became acquainted with the Slavs. There are now, he wrote, four princes among them: the prince Al-Bulgârin [Peter from Danubian Bulgaria; or there may be a confusion, as had happened in other cases, with the Magyars, who had occupied the position of the Moravians]; and Brislav, the prince of Fraga and Bvina and Krakut [Boleslav I of Prague, Bohemia, and Cracow]; and Mshka [Mesko], the prince of the north; and Nāqūr (Nakkon = Hakon ?) in the extreme west [in the country of the Abodrites]. . . . As regards the country of Mshka, it is the largest of the Slavonic countries. It is rich in corn, flesh, honey, and pasturage. The taxes, which he levies, are paid in Byzantine *Mitkal;* they serve to maintain his people. . . . He has three thousand Dsrā (Družina or suite) . . . ; he gives them armour and horses, arms, and whatever they need. The Russians live to the east of Mshka and the Prussians in the north.

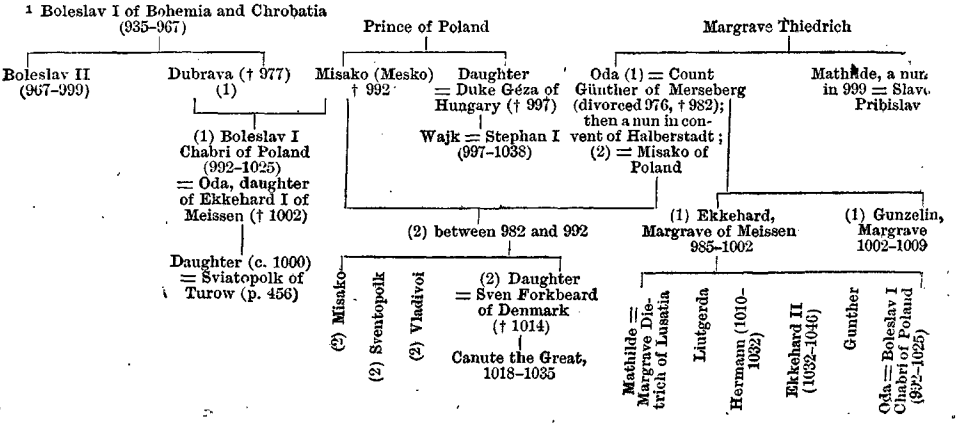
The above-named Misako or Mesko is, therefore, the first Polish prince who is authenticated by history. The later tradition relates that he was descended from the family of the Piast of Krushwitz; it speaks of a dynasty of the Piasts, and can give some account of his ancestors. Piast in Polish means much the same as *tutor* or guardian. In connection with the legendary narrative it is conjectured that a court official of the royal family, who filled the post of teacher to the children, resembling, therefore, a Frankish major-domo, overthrew the old dynasty and obtained the throne. The Piast family ruled in Poland until 1370.

Poland comes into history at the time when Germany revived the claim of the Roman Empire to rule over all lands and peoples, and showed the strength necessary to enforce the claim. The Slavonic tribes, which adjoined on the east, although they obstinately defended their liberty, must have heard of these alleged claims of sovereignty, since they soon reconciled themselves to the position of vassals of the Holy Roman Empire. This empire, like the whole West, was dominated then by the Christian idea. To disseminate it was the noblest task, and the Church, which put forward legal claims, supplied the power and authority for it. The heathen Slavs in the East thus offered a wide field to German missionary enterprise; and with this purpose an archbishopric was founded in Magdeburg. The conversion of Poland to Christianity was, under these conditions, only a question of time.

Some years after the first contact with Germany Mesko married the daughter

of the Bohemian prince Boleslav I, by name Drubava (p. 236). At her persuasion he and all his nobles are said to have accepted Christianity (966 ?). The political consideration that this was the only way to assert, even partially, his independence must have turned the scale. He must have seen that Rome was the powerful head of the Christian world, and that upon Rome even Germany was in a sense dependent. In 968 a bishopric for the Polish territory was founded in Posen, under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Jordan was the first bishop of Posen. This was the turning point in the history of the Polish tribes; they began a new chapter of life with their connection with the West. Poland first grew into a powerful empire under the guidance of the Christian Church. For this reason Mesko must be regarded as the real founder of Poland. He cemented more closely his amicable relations with the German Empire by wedding Oda, the daughter of the Margrave Thiedrich, after the death of his Bohemian consort in 977.[1] He took part, however, in the conspiracy of Henry of Bavaria against the emperor Otto II in the year 976, and had to be reminded of his duties as a vassal in 979; nevertheless, on the death of Otto II (983) the Poles once more sided with the rebellious Henry. It was only in 985 that Misako loyally shared the campaigns of Germany against the Wends, and actually fought in 990 against Boleslav of Bohemia, the brother of his deceased wife.

(*b*) *Boleslav I Chabri (Chrobry).* — Mesko died in 992 and left several children by both wives, who, according to Slavonic law, were all entitled to inherit. Possibly he had contemplated some division of his inheritance. But the sovereignty over the whole empire was seized by Boleslav I, the son of the Bohemian mother, later called "Chabri" (preferably to Chrobry; the Valiant). A man of unusual ability, he anticipated in some degree the results that coming centuries were destined to effect. He pointed out to the empire the way, and to some extent himself attained the objects for which the nation subsequently struggled. Cunning and brave, an admirable politician and administrator, possessed of indefatigable energy, he was superior to all who had dealings with him. A true appreciation of existing needs and the forces actually available prevented him from ever attempting the impossible. The nation did not prosper when it went outside the circle which he drew round it. At the very beginning of his reign he marched northwards and conquered Pomerania and the Prussian territory, and in the south Chrobatia with Cracow, and Moravia with Slovakia, as far as the Danube.


[1] Boleslav I of Bohemia and Chrobatia (935–967)
Prince of Poland
Margrave Thiedrich
Boleslav II (967–999)
Dubrava († 977) (1)
Misako (Mesko) † 992
Daughter = Duke Géza of Hungary († 997)
Wajk = Stephan I (997–1038)
Oda (1) = Count Günther of Merseberg (divorced 976, † 982); then a nun in convent of Halberstadt; (2) = Misako of Poland
Mathilde, a nun in 999 = Slavo Pribislav
(1) Boleslav I Chabri of Poland (992–1025) = Oda, daughter of Ekkehard I of Meissen († 1002)
(2) between 982 and 992
(1) Ekkehard, Margrave of Meissen 985–1002
(1) Gunzelin, Margrave 1002–1009
Daughter (c. 1000) = Sviatopolk of Turow (p. 456)
(2) Misako
(2) Svantopolk
(2) Vladivoi
(2) Daughter = Sven Forkbeard of Denmark († 1014)
Canute the Great, 1018–1035
Mathilde = Margrave Dietrich of Lusatia
Liutgerda
Hermann (1010–1032)
Ekkehard II (1032–1046)
Gunther
Oda = Boleslav I Chabri of Poland (992–1025)

Just at this time Bishop Adalbert, who had been banished from Prague, went northwards to preach the gospel to the pagan Prussians, and died a martyr's death there in 997. Boleslav ransomed his bones from the pagans and buried them in Gnesen. He knew that the bones of a saint were necessary for the founding of churches, and that high respect was then paid to relics. Adalbert (properly Voitech or Voiciech) thus became the patron of the Polish realm. Churches were built in his honour. The standard of the corps which the prince himself commanded bore as a badge the figure of Adalbert; and the military standard of the whole Polish army displayed his portrait. Boleslav must have already been negotiating with the emperor and Pope on the subject of new bishoprics, for we find by the year 999 an organised body of clergy in Poland. Gaudentius (Radim), brother of Adalbert, was nominated to be archbishop of Gnesen, distinct from Magdeburg; he was given as suffragans the bishop of Cracow for Chrobatia, the bishop of Breslau for Silesia, and the bishop of Kolberg for Pomerania. Posen still remained under Mainz. Thus an independent church of Poland was established as a foundation for the later political independence. In the year 1000, when according to the teaching of the Chiliasts (cf. p. 453) the end of the world ought to have come, the fanatical emperor Otto III went to Gnesen, in order to pray at the tomb of the Saint, with whom he was also related. He had a brilliant reception; but the political advantages were not small which the Pole was able to obtain. Otto approved of the ecclesiastical system of Poland; and promoted the prince, whom hitherto he had reckoned as the vassal of the German Empire, to be brother, friend, and ally under the title of Patricius. In his pursuit of the dream of a world-empire Otto III had lost his footing on the soil of fact. "May Heaven forgive the emperor," exclaimed Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg († 1018) discontentedly, "for having made a sovereign out of the Duke of Poland, who hitherto was a tributary, and for having exalted him so high that he soon sought to bring beneath his rule and degrade to servitude those who were once his superiors." It was shown afterwards that, in the days of the civil wars and disintegration, the solidarity of the Polish Empire was safeguarded and strengthened only by the unity of the Church.

The growth of the power of Poland caused alarm in Germany. Matters culminated in war under Otto's successor, Emperor Henry II, since Boleslav at the beginning of 1003 had annexed Bohemia also (p. 237). Henry II for many years waged war with great energy against the Duke of Poland, supported by Bohemia, which had been evacuated by Boleslav in 1004, and by the heathen Liutizes, an alliance which horrified the pious German clergy, but could effect nothing. Boleslav had his supporters everywhere, and roused up enemies on all sides for the emperor, even in Germany. The political and military superiority of Boleslav now showed itself in the clearest colours. In the year 1005 Henry was forced to conclude a disadvantageous peace at Bautzen, while the treaty of Magdeburg in 1013 ratified the Pole's claim to all the conquests made in the East at the cost of Germany. Boleslav, indeed, in return did homage to the emperor at Merseburg, because he wished at the same time to turn against Russia. Being now recognised as an ally, he was accompanied on his Russian campaign by three hundred German warriors, but obtained little success. In 1015 the war with Germany began afresh; it was not until 1018 that a second peace was concluded at Bautzen. The Elbe once more was the western frontier of Poland. Boleslav took Kiev on August 14, 1018, and reinstated his exiled son-in-law Sviatopolk (p. 456).

Although the union of Bohemia and Poland had not been successfully carried

out, Boleslav had united most of the west Slavs, who were still independent of Germany, under his own sceptre, and had founded an empire which stretched from the Elster and the Elbe to the Dniester (see the small map "Poland, etc., in the Year 1000" among the "Maps illustrating the History of Poland"). He also emphasised the Slavonic as opposed to the Germanic features of national life. His name has thus become the banner of Polish patriotism. After so many successes the Polish duke solicited the title of king, and with this object sent an embassy to Rome. This was intercepted by the emperor, but after the death of Henry (1024) Boleslav placed the crown on his own head. He died in the year 1025 at the age of fifty-eight.

Under the first successors of the greatest Polish king the situation was at once changed; not one of the conquests of Boleslav could be retained. In the first place, the empire, according to custom, had to be divided between the heirs; but Boleslav I (not Boleslav III, as is asserted) had already decided that one of the sons should rule over the whole realm, and the other petty princes should be subordinate to him. Mesko (Mieczylav, Mcsislav) II did in fact assume the government with the crown, while we find his brothers and kinsmen as petty princes. Quarrels naturally broke out, which weakened the power of Poland. The Bohemian prince Břetislav conquered Moravia in 1029, Stephen of Hungary Slovakia, Canute the Dane Pomerania, and Jaroslav of Russia the eastern half of Galicia. It was a more momentous matter that relations with Germany grew worse. Emperor Conrad II, who had been closely bound by ties of friendship with the Danish king since 1025 (cession of the Mark Schleswig in 1035), adopted Besprim, the exiled elder brother of Mesko. He must also have considered the coronation of Mesko an insult. Mesko indeed valiantly held his ground and ravaged Saxony and other districts with the utmost ferocity in 1028 and 1030. Finally he was forced to succumb, to resign Lusatia once more, and in the Merseberg treaty of 1033 to recognise in explicit terms the German suzerainty, probably also to pay tribute.

The splendour which Poland had reached under Boleslav I was completely gone. The conditions of a vassal state existed for centuries, and were more or less burdensome. We are nowhere distinctly told what constituted the duties of vassals; we may, however, consider it as certain that the Polish princes were bound to attend certain court ceremonies, to provide tribute or presents, and on the occasion of coronation journeys to Rome to supply an escort of five hundred or, later, three hundred soldiers. So long as ambitious ideas of empire dominated the German kings, they actually claimed the feudal rights of suzerains over Poland. It was only about the end of the thirteenth century that Poland was once for all recognised and treated as an independent State. The political efforts of the Polish princes were naturally directed to shake off that yoke. When a favourable opportunity offered, they revolted, refused military services and tribute, seldom appeared at the court ceremonials, and here and there assumed the royal title, although in the German Empire they were merely styled *duces* or dukes. The country reached the zenith of independence under Boleslav II at the time of Henry IV, while it sank to the lowest depth during the rule of Frederick I Barbarossa and Rudolf of Hapsburg.

When Mesko II died in 1034 complete confusion ensued. Slaves rose against freemen, the semi-serfs against the nobles; churches and monasteries were plundered, and the bishops killed or banished. Riche(n)za, Mesko's widow, a daughter of Hermann II of Suabia († 1003) and sister of the empress Gisela, was

forced to leave Poland with her little son Casimir, and went to her home to implore help from her brother-in-law the emperor Conrad. The old pagan faith seems then to have once more proudly raised its head. To fill up the cup of misery, the surrounding nations attacked and pillaged the country. Besides this Bretislav Achilles of Bohemia in 1039 (p. 237) carried off from Gnesen to Prague the bones of St. Adalbert, doubtless next to the booty the main object of his campaign. Boleslav I had built up the Polish Church over the tomb of the Bohemian martyr and had deprived Bohemia of the glory of the martyrdom. How important the event was for both sides is proved by the lamentations of the Polish chroniclers, the joy with which the relics of the national saint were received at Prague, and the long trial which was held about them at Rome. Cosmas of Prague cannot find language enough to praise the prince. The holy Voitech now became equally with the holy Wenzel the patron saint of Bohemia; the chief military standard of the country bore his image. Now that he possessed these relics, the Bohemian duke contemplated founding an archbishopric in Prague. It was only in the thirteenth century that Poland was able to acquire a new national saint (Stanislav; p. 480).

Casimir meanwhile remained in Germany. In the reign of the emperor Henry III, who gladly employed the opportunity of once again asserting imperial claims upon the East, he marched with five hundred men to Poland in order to win back his inheritance (1040). He found the country ruined. Wild animals had their lairs where once the cathedral of Gnesen stood. The nobles had established independent lordships in the provinces. Casimir, in order to be able to carry on war successfully, married a Russian wife and made an alliance with Hungary. The war against Bohemia was conducted with unusual energy on account of Moravia and Silesia, as well as of the plundering of the church of Gnesen. When by the help of Russia he had won back Masovia and also Silesia, he proceeded to re-establish the decayed Polish Church. He renewed the bishoprics, and conferred the archbishopric upon his kinsman Aaron, who resided at Cracow so long as the road to Gnesen was blocked. Casimir successfully accomplished his plans by the help of Germany, whose suzerainty he acknowledged. He died in 1058. The distress and misery which Poland suffered in the first years after Mesko's death never occurred again down to the time of its overthrow. Casimir, therefore, for his services in the restoration of the empire has been given the honourable title of "Restaurator."

The empire owes to him also a second change. Hitherto the Polish duke had no permanent abode; he journeyed from country to country, in order to administer justice personally in every place. The duke had his throne in the town where he preferred to live. When Casimir came to Poland he took up his quarters in Cracow, since other provinces were still to be conquered. From that time Cracow has remained the residence of the duke and was, down to the sixteenth century, the political centre. This has not been any advantage for the development of the empire. Posen or Gnesen would indisputably have better answered the purpose, since both lay nearer to Pomerania and the sea, to which indeed the future of Poland pointed. With Cracow as capital, Poland came into the disturbing vicinity of Bohemia and Hungary, and was distracted from her true aims. Apart from this disadvantage, the West Slavs were in this way more easily Germanised. The first mistake, the remoteness from the sea, was partially remedied later by the removal of the court to Warsaw.

In conformity with the order of succession, introduced probably by Boleslàv as king, the eldest of four sons, Boleslav II, subsequently called by the Chroniclers "the Bold" (*Smialy*), assumed the reins of government on the death of Casimir. His courage and ambitious plans recalled the memory of Boleslav I. The political situation on his accession was peculiarly favourable; the dispute about the right of investiture between Henry IV and the Pope left a free hand to the Polish duke. Boleslav actually took the side of Henry's enemies, and had himself crowned at Christmas, 1076. But the scene of the struggle of the Salian with the rival kingdom was mostly the valley of the Main. Fraught with greater consequences was Boleslav's attitude towards Stanislav, bishop of Cracow, whom the king, from reasons unknown to us, murdered with his own hands before the altar. This tragedy was the theme of many writers. It is also said to have been the cause of Boleslav being forced to go into exile; but the story is improbable. He died in 1081, but the place of his death is unknown. Many churches were built in honour of the murdered bishop, who was promoted in the thirteenth century to be the first patron saint of Poland.

Boleslav's successor until 1103, at first only in Posen (while Cracow belonged to Bohemia), was his brother Vladislav Hermann, a weakling in brain and body. He was unable to take up any firm attitude either towards the nobles or his own sons, or even the Church (to which he is said to have granted certain privileges). He divided the empire during his lifetime; while he himself retained the supreme authority, Boleslav received Masovia, Gnesen, and Posen, and his illegitimate son Sbigněv (Zbigniev) Cràcow and Silesia.

The smouldering feud between the two brothers burnt the more fiercely after Hermann's death, until Boleslav III Krzyvousty (Crooked Mouth) had conquered his brother's share. In spite of numerous frontier wars (for example, in 1109 the defence of Glogau against the emperor Henry V and Svatopluk of Olmütz) Boleslav did not secure any lasting advantage. Nor does his important place in the history of Poland depend upon the fact that he resubjugated Pomerania and won it for Christianity by his missionaries, especially bishop Otto of Bamberg († 1139; formerly chaplain of Vladislav Hermann); for by his very choice of a German bishop to evangelise Pomerania the Germanisation and hence the loss of Pomerania were ensured. But the Church paid him an appropriate tribute of thanks for what he had done. A priest, probably a Venetian, erroneously known by the name of Martinus Gallus, wrote in glorification of Boleslav III the "Chronicæ Polonorum," reaching down to 1113,—the oldest chronicle of Poland, and the earliest literary monument belonging to the country. The campaigns in Pomerania and the conversion of the land had the same value for Poland as the Crusades for the West. Bohemia and Poland in return for their often rather forcible missionary work in pagan Pomerania and Prussia were released from the obligation of sharing in the expeditions to Palestine.

The importance of Boleslav III for Poland consists chiefly in his settlement of the order of succession to the throne. He divided his empire before his death in the following way: Vladislav, the eldest son, inherited Silesia with Glatz; Boleslav, Masovia and Kujavia with Dobrzyn; Mesko, Gnesen and Posen with Pomerania; Henrij, Sandomir. Casimir, a posthumous son, came off empty-handed. The eldest of the family was always to be Grand Duke, and reside in Cracow; to him were assigned the district of Cracow with Lençzyca and Sieradz, besides

the tribute from Pomerania and the region beyond the Oder, so that he might be superior in possessions to all other petty princes. Cracow thus became an official centre. It is persistently asserted that Boleslav introduced with this measure the custom of *Seniority*, according to which the eldest Piast for the time being should be the supreme head of the whole kingdom. But that is hardly correct. In the old days there was no distinction between public and private law (cf. p. 448). His scheme for the succession was not, therefore, new. Further, when in 1054 the Bohemian duke Bretislav Achilles and Jaroslav of Kiev introduced the Seniority, they only applied to the royal power the old Slavonic custom of family inheritance. The Polish duke, therefore, made use of the experience which had been gained in Bohemia and Russia. The conference of Russian princes at Lubetch in 1097 had already declared that the petty principalities were hereditary. Boleslav now adopted this principle for his realm. The only new feature in Boleslav's scheme for the succession was that the district of Cracow remained as an appanage of the Grand Duke without any hereditary rights.

B. The Consequences of the Introduction of the Law of Seniority into Poland

The consequences of Boleslav's settlement of the succession were the same in Poland as in Bohemia and Russia. The office of Grand Duke became, it is true, the badge and guarantee of national unity. But it also became an apple of discord among the Piasts. The sanguinary wars, which lasted among the descendants of Boleslav almost unceasingly down to the year 1333, are full of petty incidents which possess no significance in universal history; but nevertheless, like the similar wars in the families of the Přemyslids, Rurikovitches, and Arpádes, they supply a fresh proof that the rule of Seniority was destructive to the state. If men notice that a law produces in different places the same disastrous effects, they must arrive at the consciousness that it is bad; but at that moment they have taken a step forward. But from the circumstance that Bohemia was able to abolish the rule of Seniority in 1216, and Poland and Russia only in the fourteenth century, it may be gathered how tenaciously mankind clings to one idea, and how hard it is to strike out a new path. We also learn from it that Bohemia was more than a hundred years ahead of the above-named states in political development.

(*a*) *From Vladislav II to Casimir II.* — The oldest period of Polish history, when the young realm, guided mostly by strong hands and sound at the core, turned its strength toward the outside world, ends with Boleslav III, who had done homage again in 1135 to the emperor Lothar, and died in 1138. The course of events after 1138 was exactly opposite. While the Piasts disputed among themselves for the Seniority, they only regarded themselves, and lost sight of the common Polish interests in the outside world. The dispute among the sons broke out soon after the death of the father. The Grand Duke Vladislav II of Cracow wished once more to restore unity at the expense of his brothers. But the threatened princes combined and asserted their claims; the law indeed spoke for them. Boleslav IV Ke(n)dzierzavy (the Curly-headed), the eldest but one of the brothers, ascended the grand ducal throne in the place of Vladislav, who was deprived of his share in the inheritance in 1146, and maintained his position until his death in

1173, notwithstanding that the exiled monarch sought to recover his sovereignty by the aid of Germany (cf. the genealogical table on page 241). After him the third brother, Mesko (Mieszko) III Stary (the Old), became Grand Duke, and finally after his banishment by the nobles the originally excluded Casimir II Spraviedlivy (the Just; 1179 to 1194) came to the throne, since Henry of Sandomir had already fallen. The Pope and the Emperor had approved of this choice. Matters so far had gone smoothly with the succession to the throne. But the fruit of the new order of things had already been tasted; thus Leszko I Bialy (the white), a son of Casimir, disputed the grand ducal throne with his uncle Mieszko III. Vladislav III Laskonogi (Longshanks), a son of Mieszko III, who resided at Cracow 1202–1206, must have equally recognised the evil latent in that law. Even the sons of the deposed Vladislav II — Boleslav I the Tall of Breslau, Mesko (Mieszko) of Ratibor, and Conrad of Glogau (see Figs. 9 and 10 of the plate at page 248) — came forward with their claims, and not without success, after they had previously, with the help of Germany, taken possession of their inheritance.

The empire owing to this could not but lose all prestige with the outside world. The banished or defrauded Piasts sought help on every side, especially in Germany; each promised and performed all that was required of him in return. The dukes Vladislav II, Boleslav IV, and Mieszko III appeared in deepest submission before the German emperor; they paid tribute and fines, and furnished hostages. The Bohemian duke was, as it were, their mediator with the emperor, who usually received him with great respect. The conquests in the north also were lost. The German princes Albert the Bear († November, 1170) and Henry the Lion of Saxony († August 6, 1195) had, in alliance with the Danish king Waldemar I, finally subjugated the north and west Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder, and had secured their territory after 1150 by the new margraviate of Brandenburg. Not far from the place where the Slavonic Brennaburg stood Berlin arose at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Pomeranian princes, who were once tributaries of Poland, were now forced to acknowledge the German sovereignty. Bogislav II of Stettin was raised by Frederick Barbarossa in the summer of 1181 to the dignity of a prince of the empire. Only a part of Pomerania was still left for a time to Poland. For that reason also the empire would have required a free hand in order to be able to defend its interests against Russia, which was at a low ebb owing to civil wars. But thus it lost not merely the East Galician towns which Boleslav I and Boleslav II had once conquered, but allowed a strong Russian principality to be formed on the Dniester.

The events of domestic history were far more momentous. First and foremost the power of the nobility, which composed the fighting strength, rose to an unforeseen height. The Slachta forced even the vigorous Boleslav II to leave the country, as his father Casimir had been obliged to do. Under Boleslav III, who was an able soldier, his Palatine Skarbimir rebelled, and was blinded as a punishment in 1117. In 1171 the nobility under the leadership of Jakva of Miechow rose against Boleslav IV in order to put his brother Casimir in his place; this was the first great rebellion of the Slachta. Mieszko the Elder fought for the princely rights in Poland, just as the son and grandson of Vladimir Monomach did in Susdal; though repeatedly driven from the throne, he mounted it again.

Besides the nobility, a second power arose in the empire, — the Church. The storm of the Investitures controversy had passed over Poland in the eleventh cen-

tury almost without leaving a trace, so little power had the hierarchy in those parts; Boleslav had entered the lists against Henry IV merely on political grounds. If we assume, with the clerical chroniclers, that Boleslav was forced to go into exile for the murder of Bishop Stanislaus, we are regarding that event from the standpoint of the thirteenth century — in the eleventh century the Polish Church was still too young to be capable of such a vengeance. The pious historian of the thirteenth century pictured to himself that the wanton crime must have been expiated in some way or other. The Christian religion only slowly struck root in Poland. The first prince who was obedient to the Church was Boleslav III; he took interest in the missions, and himself made pilgrimages to France to the tomb of St. Ægidius. During his reign the first papal legate came to Poland in 1123–1125 (from which period dates the oldest Polish document) in order to settle the boundaries of the dioceses there, establish the cathedral chapters in the sees, etc. The Polish clergy still recognised no rule of celibacy, and the prince alone nominated the bishops and removed them at his own discretion; and this state of things continued for a long time. No bishop would then have been able to oppose the prince. It was only at the period of the civil wars that the Church acquired an increasing reputation. Vladislav III Laskonogi, son of Mieszko the elder, suspecting the latent danger, obstinately resisted the claims of the clergy.

The conviction was at last brought home to the Poles, as it had been to the Bohemians and the Russians, that the only salvation for the empire lay in a hereditary monarchy. Since each of the petty princes wished to become a hereditary ruler, and no one of them would give way, for a time the evil only grew worse. The ablest statesman among the Piasts of the time was undoubtedly Casimir II (p. 476). Brought up in the German school, he grasped the true state of affairs, and therefore allied himself with the newly arisen forces, the nobility and the clergy, in order to reach his goal. Immediately after his elevation to the Grand Dukedom (which date is better fixed at 1179 than 1177), he convened an imperial assembly at Lençzyca, at which the clergy appeared as well as the nobles. This was the first imperial assembly of Poland, and at the same time its first synod. Here the Church obtained the important privilege of exemption from payment of imposts and taxes to the princes. The power of the princes was checked. By this policy Casimir placed himself in opposition to the conservative line of Great Poland, which would not hear of any concessions to the Church. Casimir acted here in the same way as the Ottos when they provided a counterpoise to the dukes by the creation of the imperial ecclesiastical offices; he must have fully understood that he was dependent on the nobility. But the result was that he was supported in his efforts by the grateful Church. He also took the precaution of having his title confirmed by the Pope and Emperor; in this policy he seems to have been the model for the Bohemian dukes. He now was able to think how to make the grand ducal power hereditary in his family, an arrangement which was also the ambition of the Přemyslids. Thus he and Mieszko III represented two opposite political schools, and friction was inevitable. But when Casimir died in 1194, it was seen that matters were in a favourable position for his children.

(*b*) *The House of Casimir.* — Vincentius, bishop of Cracow (later surnamed Kadlubek), who voluntarily became a monk at Jędrzejów in 1218 and died in 1223, records that the clergy and nobility met in 1195 at Cracow in order to settle

the question of the throne. Who had summoned them? The Chronicle does not tell us. We only learn that the Church sided there with the house of Casimir. At the instance of Bishop Fulko of Cracow, who adroitly adduced as an argument the preference given by Pope and Emperor to Casimir over Mieszko, Casimir's elder son, Leszko I Bialy (the White; see the genealogical table below), was summoned to Cracow. It was the first election of a prince in Poland, though only, as in Bohemia, from among the members of the already ruling family, the Piasts. Henceforward with little interruption Cracow remained until 1370, when the family died out, in the hands of the descendants of Casimir, although the hereditary monarchy had not yet been formally legalised and contests for the throne were frequent. But it was the will of the Church and of the nobility of Cracow. This struggle for a satisfactory constitution progressed slowly; Russia and Bohemia had not escaped it. It is an important feature in the present case that it was the Church which solved the problem; it must have been already very powerful in Poland in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Leszko, it is true, had not been able to gain any success against Mieszko. But after the latter's death in 1202 Leszko was summoned by the nobles of Cracow, and the only condition imposed upon him was that he should remove the Palatine Govorko of Sandomir. That, instead of doing so, he preferred to abdicate the throne in favour of the son of Mieszko, Vladislav Laskonogi, proves how well designed was the policy of the royal house. Laskonogi, however, being an enemy of the Church, could not hold his own. Just at this time Heinrich Kietlicz, a Silesian by birth, was elected archbishop of Poland. He had formerly studied theology at the Sorbonne in Paris with Count Lothar Conti, who mounted the papal throne on January 8, 1198, as Innocent III; and he had been steeped in the plans of this mighty Pope. When placed on the archbishop's throne at Gnesen, he did not demand privileges but rights for the Polish Church. Then for the first time there a conflict between the temporal and spiritual powers broke out. Kietlicz was obdurate, and for the first time in Poland, apart from the dubious case of Boleslav II, launched the ban at the Great Duke. He was forced indeed to flee the country, but the duke also had to leave Cracow, since the nobles of Cracow, incited by Bishop Pelka (Fulko), left him in the lurch.[1]

Leszko was then (1206) recalled. And he now took decisive measures for the succession. Since he first, following the example of many princes of the time (for example, Přemysl Ottocar I of Bohemia, 1204), declared his country to be a papal fief, and then gave his brother Conrad Masovia and Kujavia, he contrived, with the assent of the clergy and the nobility, that Cracow and Sandomir should remain an inheritance of his family. This arrangement was confirmed by the Pope. And by it the law of Seniority of Boleslav III was formally repealed. But since this

[1] Sbislava from Russia = Boleslav III of Poland, † 1138 = Salome from Suabia
(1) (2)

- Vladislav II, * 1105, Grand Duke at Cracow = Agnes, half-sister of Emperor Conrad III (p. 241)
  - Boleslav I of Breslau, * 1135
  - Mesko of Ratibor
  - Conrad of Glogau
- Lestko, † early
- Boleslav of Masovia, * 1127, † 1173 = Zvenislava of Kiev
  - Leszko (Leszek) of Masovia, † before 1194
- Mieszko of Great Poland, * 1130, † 1202 = Gertrude of Hungary
  - Otto of Great Poland
  - Vladislav Laskonogi, † 1231
- Henry of Sandomir, * 1137, † 1166
- Casimir of Sandomir after 1166, † 1194
  - Leszko of Cracow, † 1227
  - Conrad of Masovia and Kujavia

was not done with the approval of all the Piasts, the civil wars still continued. The result of the enactment, on the contrary, was that the provinces felt themselves independent of Cracow, and the unity of the empire seemed imperilled; but this danger was averted by the Church. Archbishop Kietlicz soon came back from Rome and summoned a synod at Gnesen. The rule of celibacy was here introduced; and a special jurisdiction and other rights were conferred on the Church. Laskonogi was therefore forced to give way. The remaining petty princes followed his example. But in all these events the archbishop of Gnesen played an inferior part to the bishop of Cracow, for Gnesen was in another country. The wish, however, of the bishops of Cracow that the archbishopric should be removed from Gnesen to their court was not gratified.

Poland in the thirteenth century stood already definitely under the banner of the Christian faith, and the princes acknowledged the power of the Church. Casimir had made an alliance with it in 1180, and solicited Pope Alexander III to confirm him in his title. Now, also, the canonisation of Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, was completed, in order that the country might have its own patron saint; with this object the old Chronicles had to be purposely falsified. Churches and monasteries sprang up everywhere. The influence of the Church was felt in every domain of public life. Boleslav, Leszko's son, practised deeds of piety and acts of penance. The princesses took the veil and won for themselves the saintly nimbus. It was Leszko's brother Conrad who fought against the pagan Prussians and summoned the order of Teutonic knights (p. 492), and by so doing brought great danger later upon Poland.

When Leszko died in 1227, and Conrad of Masovia assumed the government in the name of his infant son Boleslav Vstydlivy (the Shamefaced or Modest), the nobles conspired against him. They made use of the Silesian Piasts, whose head at that time was Henry I the Bearded, grandson of that Vladislav who had been expelled in 1146 from Cracow. The nobility of Cracow supported Henry, who in spite of his piety was at variance with the clergy. The princes of Silesia, as well as of Great Poland, seem to have agreed together about him. Laskonogi, in opposition to whom his own son Vladislav Odonicz, came forward as a champion of the Church, actually designated the Silesian Henry as heir to Great Poland. Under such circumstances Henry succeeded in uniting in his hands the greater part of the Polish dominions. It would have been a good thing for Poland if the Silesian Piasts had been able permanently to hold Cracow. But Henry I died early in 1238; and his son Henry II, the Pious, fell gloriously on the battlefield at Liegnitz, on April 9, 1241, in a campaign against the Mongols (Vol. II, p. 173).

Thus once more an obstinate struggle for Cracow was kindled. Three lines of Piasts — the Silesian, the Great Polish, and the Casimirid — entered the lists. The weakest of all, Casimir's grandson, Boleslav Vstydlivy, substantiated his claim; the bishops, who were on his side, married him to an Hungarian princess, so that he was supported also by Hungary. On his death without issue the grandsons of Conrad of Masovia, Leszko the Black and Vladislav Lokietek, both of whom had estates only in Kujavia, came forward as claimants to the throne. Leszko maintained his position until 1288. The internal feuds were then at their height; each province had its own prince, who, though himself too weak, was still at war with his neighbour. After Vladislav Lokietek, who only reigned a short time, another Silesian prince, Henry IV Probus of Breslau (see Fig. 12 of the plate at

page 248), took possession of Cracow (1289–1290). In the true spirit of patriotism he selected Przemyslav of Great Poland, a grandson of Odonicz, to inherit his dominions. But others came forward as rivals. The most dangerous was the Bohemian king Wenzel II. He married in 1287, as his first wife, Jutta, a daughter of the German king Rudolf I of Hapsburg; perhaps the object in view was a union of Poland with Bohemia under the overlordship of Germany. Cracow was taken by Bohemia in the year 1291. Przemyslav, it is true, in order to notify the independence of the crown of all the Polands, had himself crowned king of Poland at Gnesen in 1295; but he died the next year, 1296. Wenzel conquered Great Poland and had himself crowned king of Poland in 1300. His death alone (1305) saved the independence of Poland; but the kings of Bohemia henceforward bore the title of "Rex Poloniæ." The native candidates for the throne were finally beaten by Vladislav Lokietek (p. 485), brother of Leszko the Black. When he was himself crowned at Gnesen, in January, 1320, with the consent of the Pope, the union of Poland was once more safeguarded, and with it the era of hereditary monarchy had dawned. More than two hundred years had elapsed before the Polish nation, by great sacrifices and hard struggles, had won the suitable form of government.

C. The External Relations and Domestic Affairs of Poland to 1320

(a) *The External Relations of Poland to 1320.* — The Polish nation, which had [illegible] to gratify the ambition of her princes, while defiant nobles claimed a share [illegible] government, had seen her most prosperous days irrevocably ruined through civil wars. We can best estimate her loss by the unimportant relations of Poland to her neighbours.

The position of Poland towards Germany had become unfavourable. It was only when Germany, weakened by long wars, had, under Rudolf I of Hapsburg, abandoned all notions of world empire that a more prosperous era dawned for Poland. It was only to the turn of events in other countries, and to the battles which had been fought in the West between Emperor and Pope, and not to their own efficiency, that the Piasts of Poland owed their independence from Germany.

The Bohemian relations of Poland were important, and, in fact, decisive for her policy. We first find the two states in friendly relations one to the other; Mieszko I (p. 470) married a Bohemian princess. The common menace of Germany had probably brought them closer together. It then happened that, as Thietmar (p. 472) records, the two princes quarrelled with each other because the Polish prince had robbed the Bohemian of a province (Moravia or Cracow). The emperor, it is true, decided in favour of Bohemia, but could not force Poland to accept his arbitration. This mutual hostility forms the pivot of the future policy of Bohemia and Poland. Bohemia openly joined the German Empire, and, relying on this, wished to make conquests; the only place left for Poland was in the camp of its enemies. In the year 1003 Boleslav I of Poland succeeded in making himself master of Bohemia. The union of these two kingdoms would have been of far-reaching importance for the whole Slavonic world; but Germany could not and would not tolerate the subjugation of her vassal. Poland was forced to liberate Bohemia. The capture of Prague only increased the hatred of the two nations. Bretislav of Bohemia then conquered Moravia, and carried off to Prague the bones

of St. Adalbert. Silesia and Cracow fell for a time under Bohemian rule. Polish refugees were welcomed in Bohemia, and those of Bohemia in Poland. There was almost uninterrupted fighting in the forests on the Silesian frontier. The same jealousy was apparent in the ecclesiastical domain. Bohemia wished to have its archbishopric, like Poland. Bohemia took part in Prussian missionary work, but only in rivalry with Poland. The words, therefore, of the Polish Chronicle of the so-called Martinus Gallus (p. 475), "the Bohemians are the worst enemies of Poland," have a deep significance.

It was only in the thirteenth century that this hostility decreased, principally through the efforts of Přemysl Ottocar II. The hatred of Germany had now brought the two countries together. It was Ottocar who first appealed to the Slavonic fellow-sympathies of the Poles when he prepared for a decisive campaign against Germany. But Bohemia was too deeply plunged in submission to the empire, and already too far removed from the Slavonic spirit for this step to have any prospect of success. Poland was weaker, but since she always was opposed to Germany, the day of her independence would eventually dawn. While Bohemia, however, in connection with Germany developed more peacefully and under able kings attained some importance, Poland sank deeper and deeper. Poland formerly had assumed the aggressive towards Bohemia, but now the two neighbours had exchanged their rôles. Bohemia obtained Moravia and extended her influence over Silesia. In fact, Bohemia, the direction of whose plans was defined by the northern course of the Elbe and Oder, had formed still wider plans. If the Bohemian princes repeatedly warred with Prussia, and if Wenzel II conquered Cracow, the incentive to such action must have been the Baltic. Poland barred the way thither.

The relations of Poland and Hungary were quite different. Once only had the sovereigns of the two kingdoms faced each other as foes: when Boleslav I took Slovacia (p. 473), and at the same time contested with Stephen in Rome for the royal crown. In later times the interests of the two countries seldom conflicted. Hungary went down the Danube southeastwards, Poland struggled to reach the Baltic. Owing to this divergence of their aims quite friendly relations were often afterwards developed.

The state of things on the Baltic Sea became dangerous for Poland at the time of the civil wars. The Polish princes of Kujavia and Masovia were unable to defend themselves against the pagan Prussians. The Popes, indeed, were solicitous about their conversion, crusades were preached, and an order of knights was founded in Dobrzyn. But that was of little avail. Conrad of Masovia and Kujavia (pp. 479 *et seq.* and 492), therefore, summoned the Teutonic knights and assigned to them some districts in 1226. Hermann of Salza did not, however, content himself with the deed of gift of the Piast, but obtained that district as a fief from the emperor Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX; the latter, in fact, freed the territory of the Order from all except papal overlordship. Thus secured on all sides the Order began the war with the Prussians, supported by the knights of Western Europe and especially those of Germany; the princes of Bohemia, Poland, and Pomerania also sent help. Success came rapidly; Prussia was soon conquered and secured by fortresses. But it was soon apparent that the Order had its own interests, not those of Poland, in view. Duke Svatopluk of Pomerania soon confronted the Order and protected Prussia. The Polish princes, however, had claimed the help of the knights against Brandenburg, which wished to have

Pomerania. But the Order, when once brought into Pomerania was unwilling to evacuate the country. In that same year, 1309, the Teutonic knights removed their chief centre from Venice to Marienburg. Thus there arose here a dangerous neighbour, supported by Germany and the Pope, which threatened to cut off Poland from the sea. The only hope left was, that now Lithuania was developing to the east of the Order, it certainly lay with Poland to make the best use of this turn of events.

Poland was equally unable to guard her interests in Russia. This position was now all the more dangerous, since, after the subjugation of her eastern neighbour by the Tartars, the way to Poland lay open to the latter; and often enough have the Tartars ravaged Polish countries.

(*b*) *The Domestic Condition of Poland to 1320.* — Equally gloomy was the position at that time of the internal state of Poland, both in respect of legal and economic developments and with regard to general culture. The person of the prince and his court constituted the centre of public life. The prince was the supreme administrator, judge, and general; he was formally absolute and irresponsible. He nominated the higher officials, who represented his rights; such were the court-judge and under-court-judge, the marshal and under-marshal, the chamberlain and under-chamberlain, seneschal and under-seneschal, carver, etc. At their head stood the palatine (*wojewoda*). It cannot now be determined which offices dated from the pagan times and how far the court may have been altered later; the offices of chancellor and court secretary were certainly only creations of the Christian age.

The administration was simple. The country was divided into Castellanries; each *Castellanus* exercised in his own division all the rights of the prince. The Castellanries were divided into smaller districts (*opola*), which, probably dating from the oldest time, continued in existence until the thirteenth century.

But more important for the people were the treasury and the law court. It is difficult to distinguish accurately between the fiscal dues which the freemen and serfs, who resided on the crown lands, were required to pay, and those which were payable to the royal coffers from other lands. The dues required consisted in payments in kind and in compulsory services, and there was a long list. A plough tax, a court tax, and a peace tax (*poradlne*, *podworowe*, and *mir*) are first mentioned; we find also dues on honey, corn, cows, oxen, sheep, swine, etc. The subjects had to discharge public duties; they were, for instance, bound to build and restore the castles and bridges, and compelled to dig moats, mount watch in the castles and courts, furnish the prince and his officials with horses and carriages, guides and escorts, to hunt down criminals and clear the forests, and so forth. Most burdensome was the obligation to receive and board messengers and officials, hunters, falconers, the keepers of the royal horses and hounds, their brewers, bakers, fishermen, etc., and supply food for the hounds and fodder for the horses. Even the butchers were bound to hand over to the royal falconers the livers of the animals which they slaughtered. Besides this the prince claimed all unoccupied lands, all hunting-grounds and fisheries, all castles and towns, tolls and coinage rights, mills and the sale of salt, markets and court fees, etc. No considerable deviations from the oppressive burdens of the feudal system in Western Europe (partially down to the great French Revolution) are observable. If we bear in mind also that abuses in the system occurred, that, for instance, when horses were required, they were

taken from any place, but were often not restored, we shall understand that the people were completely at the mercy of the prince and his officials.

Equally unfavourable to the people was the judicial system. The inhabitants of each district (*opole*) were collectively responsible for any crimes, and in the event of a murder which had been committed on its soil it paid the indemnity, and also was under the obligation of prosecuting the criminals. Since, with the exception of the death penalty or mutilation, there were only fines, that is to say, court dues, the courts themselves became a sort of fiscal institution. As long as the kingdom was still undivided and large, all burdens were still more or less endurable. But the position became worse and finally intolerable, when after the partition every prince kept up in his own province a court with a crowd of officials. To crown all, the nobles and clergy struggled more and more, as time went on, to free themselves from these obligations, while they obtained the corresponding privileges. They released themselves from the system of the *opole*, and, by so doing, from its collective responsibility, jurisdiction, and taxation. In this way private lordships, almost tax free as regards the treasury, with their own jurisdiction, and their own system of taxation, were formed by the side of the *opola*. The whole burden of the kingdom was shifted on to the peasants. The clergy and nobility became rich, while the people and the princes were impoverished.

(*c*) *The Significance of the German Colonisation.* — The old Slavonic law and the earlier enactments were so riddled by these privileges that they became almost impracticable. The necessary change came in the shape of the German colonisation. The circumstance that the Piasts, especially the Silesian, married German princesses, who came to Poland with a German suite, must have contributed to increase the German element in Poland, just as in the adjoining country of Hungary (cf. p. 398). The economic distress, however, was the decisive cause. In order to fill the treasury, princes, as well as monasteries and nobles, brought into the country German settlers from the more densely inhabited West in order to gather the produce of the fields. The superiority and the lasting influence of the foreign colonists lay less in the fact that the Germans knew better how to cultivate the soil than in their more favourable legal position. The colonists, who were brought into the country by a contractor, received a plot of ground as an hereditary property, with certain minor rights and privileges, and had in return merely to pay a definite annual sum to the lord of the manor. This privileged position was bound to promote their prosperity and to strengthen in them that feeling of self-reliance which they had brought with them as subjects of the German Empire, to which Poland was tributary. The relation of the immigrant to the native was the same in Bohemia and Russia. The strong political position of Germany benefited the settlers of that day as much as it benefits the German merchants and artisans of our times. Foreigners were promoted by the Slavonic princes to the detriment of their own people. The princes were too short-sighted to see that in this way they fostered in their own people that feeling of insignificance which has been felt for centuries and has found its expression in legends, songs, and other forms of literature. On the other hand, the Germans, who had the means at their disposal, were always in the position to pursue further developments of culture. The feelings of the Slavonic population, mortified and humiliated by their own princes, either unburdened themselves in hatred for the

quite innocent German element, and in rebellions against the authorities, or found a vent in emigration. On the other hand, the people took refuge in the protection of the German law; Polish villages and towns under the Slavonic law wished, in order to increase their prosperity, to be "promoted" to the German law. German customs, language, and culture would obviously spread rapidly under these conditions. The devastations of the Tartars and the civil wars helped on the German colonisation. Silesia was soon completely Germanised, and in other provinces the German element at any rate grew steadily stronger. If the Silesian Piasts succeeded in temporarily driving the Casimirids from the throne of Cracow, they owed that in no small degree to the support of their German subjects. A Germanisation of the entire Polish state lay already within the range of probability. A national crisis now took the place of the economic crisis which had been partially relieved by the German colonisation. This was the more dangerous since the Teutonic knights had now formed a third party in the country by the side of the Germans and the Empire.

This situation was especially gloomy for Poland and all Slavs, since it was no longer the courts and castles of the ruling class, but rather the towns, that formed the centres of political, economic, and social life. The Slavs had, however, adopted their municipal organisation directly from the Germans, who were far ahead of them in this respect, and they usually found that their requirements in culture were satisfied to a far higher degree among the Teutons than the Latins.

D. The United Kingdom of the Last Piasts (1320–1370)

(*a*) *Vladislav Lokietek.* — Such was the state of affairs in Poland when, in 1320, Vladislav Lokietek was crowned king in Cracow. The removal of all abuses in the interior of the realm, the improvement of the administration and judicature, the revision of the system of taxation, the establishment of equitable relations between the various sections of the people, the restraint of the Germanising movement, the encouragement of culture, and the protection of the realm against foreign attacks, — such was the task of the restored monarchy. It was the more difficult since Poland had no friend, at the most some moderate support from the Roman Curia, which was again in conflict with the empire. Lokietek saw clearly that the Teutonic Order was the most dangerous enemy of Poland. He therefore sued the knights in the Roman Curia respecting Pomerania. He formed an alliance with Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and married his daughter Elizabeth with the Hungarian king, Charles Robert of Anjou (see genealogical tree at page 384). He also succeeded in gaining the friendship of Lithuanian princes, who were already hostile to the Order. In 1325 he married his son Casimir to Aldona, daughter of the warlike Lithuanian Gedymin (Withen). Thus strengthened, he advanced himself against the Order. The first engagements proved favourable to him. But the results were temporarily unimportant; and the Roman suit brought him no advantage. This was partly due to the hostile attitude of King John of Bohemia, who could not disguise his impulse toward the North. John so far accomplished his purpose between the years 1327 and 1331, that most of the Silesian princes did homage to him (p. 248); and he undertook a campaign against Lithuania, receiving on the way the homage of a Masovian prince. The

Hungarian assistance, which Lokietek received, alone checked the Bohemian king from further steps. In spite of all this, the neighbouring States noticed that the position of Poland was strengthened when Lokietek died in 1333.

(*b*) *Casimir the Great.* — Work enough was left for his son Casimir. Lokietek had, it is true, already restored to a large extent the unity of the empire, and its independence was actually acknowledged by the Holy Roman Empire. But Poland, which had hardly been cemented together, was so exhausted that it could only be permanently saved by a strong hand. Casimir proved himself the wished-for strong king. The times had changed. The formerly despotic ruler had now to share his power with the priests and the nobles. By the side of these the towns rose continuously victorious. Chivalry soon lost its peculiar value; on the one hand firearms had been invented, on the other the ideas and objects of men changed with the growing prosperity of trades and industries. The laws, the military system, and the government required reform; they were to suit the conditions of a new era.

Casimir was competent for his task; with unerring eye he recognised that chivalry was nearing its end; and he did not fritter his time away in tournaments as King John did, but turned his attention with all the greater zeal to important economic, political, and social questions. Thus in 1335, making full use of the favourable situation, he concluded with John of Bohemia the treaty of Visegrád. John abandoned his claims on Poland, in return for which Casimir paid him one hundred and twenty thousand Bohemian groschen, and recognised the Bohemian suzerainty over Silesia and Plock. Casimir's relations with the Teutonic Order did not turn out so favourably for Poland. The kings of Bohemia and Hungary decided in favour of the knights; the Roman Curia played a double game. Thus Pomerania, which was lost, could only be won back by the sword. Casimir must have been resolved to do so, since he concluded a treaty with Charles Robert of Hungary in 1339 at Visegrád. Having no male issue, he promised the succession in Poland to Lewis, the son of the latter and his own nephew, on the understanding that Lewis would win back the lost provinces, especially Pomerania, would fill the offices and high posts only with Poles, would impose no new taxes, and would respect the ancient privileges. The purport of this hereditary alliance was certainly hostile to the Order. But Casimir's attention was turned to another direction.

When the childless prince Boleslav Troidenovicz was poisoned in Red Russia (Halicz) by the Boyars, Casimir was bound to interfere, if he did not wish that the Lithuanians or the Tartars should seize the country and thus become his immediate neighbours. When Casimir took Halicz and Lemberg in 1340, the Lithuanians occupied Volhynia; an event of the greatest importance for all Eastern Europe. Even the question of the Teutonic Order at once became less weighty and urgent for Poland. In 1343 Casimir concluded a treaty with the Knights at Kalisch, by which he ceded to them Pomerania and the region of Michelau and Chelm, while he only recovered Kujavia and Dobrzyn. Half voluntarily Poland thus barred her own access to the Baltic Sea. But in return there was the glimpse of hope in the future of pressing onwards to the East, of reaching perhaps the Black Sea, and finally, through the increase of power there acquired, of wreaking vengeance on her ancient foes, and winning back the provinces lost to Bohemia

and the Teutonic Order. Perhaps this goal hovered before Casimir's eyes when he concluded in 1339 the settlement of the succession with Hungary; there were then clear signs of ferment in the region of Halicz. At first, however, Casimir was unfortunate; the war with Lithuania and the Tartars was by no means easy. It was only towards 1366 that he permanently secured Lemberg, Halicz, and a part of Volhynia for Poland. Meanwhile he had also reconquered a part of Silesia; the prince of Masovia also took the oath of fealty to him. He still, however, bore the title "Heir to Pomerania;" a proof that he continued to think about that country.

But it was not in his conquests and his advancement of his realm that the true greatness of Casimir lay, but in his administration and organisation. He would not have been able to achieve any political successes had he not been intent upon internal reform. In the first place, he gave Poland, which had hitherto only been a personal union of distinct countries, a centralised organisation. He unified the administration by creating new imperial offices in addition to the local offices which had existed since the times of the petty principalities. He then proceeded to improve the judicial system. He first of all ordered the customary law, which was preserved only in oral tradition and naturally was different in the different districts, to be written down, and then had a universal code prepared for all Polish countries. He allowed the flourishing towns which lived according to the code of Kulm or Magdeburg to retain their laws, but forbade any appeal to the mother towns outside the kingdom. He substituted a superior court of German law in every district, which decided cases according to the principles of the Magdeburg Code and the Sachsenspiegel; the magistrates of all the German villages were subordinated to this court. As the tribunal of highest instance for all local courts he established the Supreme Court of Justice at Cracow in 1356, at the head of which he stood the governor of Cracow and a royal procurator-general, with seven qualified lawyers as assessors. The towns were in this way severed from Germany, and since they gradually lost any tendency to become Germanised, the national feelings of Poland were cautiously fostered and developed.

It seemed as if Casimir from the same motives had specially favoured the nobility, in order to prevent the German town element from acquiring political importance. The arrogance of the *slachta* certainly increased from the fact of his taking the advice of assemblies of nobles; indeed, there was actually formed among the nobility a league whose head suffered the death penalty by order of the king on account of outrages which had been committed. The king, however, continued to regard the nobles as the advisers of the crown. This tendency was visible in the actions of his successors; the national opposition between Poles and Germans was then very strong.

The reorganisation of the military system was not less important. Hitherto only the wealthy nobles had furnished troops, since the cost of equipment was heavy and the landowning clergy were exempt from the duty. Casimir now decided that for the future, in order to raise the sunken state of the army, the duty of service should be imposed upon all possessors of land. Thus the citizen became equally available for the army; the clergy had to send substitutes. Regulations as to levying troops were also drawn up. In addition to this he ordered that stone fortresses should be constructed everywhere in place of wooden; he transformed churches into castles (hence the Polish *kosciól*, Bohemian *kostel*, in the sense of

church) and built good roads. The later successes of Poland were considerably influenced by these military reforms.

He took not less effective steps to advance the trade of the country, since he conferred special privileges on the towns, guaranteed security of person and property to foreign merchants, and gave them rights, built roads and bridges, founded markets, multiplied the number of fairs, opened up trade-routes into the interior, extirpated brigandage, and, which was the most important point, introduced a uniform coinage. The prosperity of the kingdom suddenly revived, and the reputation of the king grew so greatly that he was chosen to arbitrate between the emperor Charles IV and King Lewis of Hungary. The former of these sovereigns married at Cracow, as his fourth wife, Casimir's granddaughter Elizabeth (a daughter of Boguslav V of Pomerania). On this occasion Casimir gave his guests, the kings of Hungary, Bohemia, Cyprus, and Denmark, a brilliant reception. The event is described in the "Chronica Cracoviæ" of John of Czarnkov, archdeacon of Gnesen.

Casimir put the coping-stone on his labours when he founded in 1364 a university at Cracow. Now for the first time Poland entered the ranks of civilized states, and could perform her duty in the east of Europe. He considered in this scheme the interests of all classes, nations, and creeds. He protected the peasants from the nobles, and was therefore called the Peasants' King. He granted rights to Armenians, Jews, and others. Himself a Roman Catholic, he nevertheless instructed the Byzantine patriarch to found bishoprics in his Russian dominions.

When Casimir died in 1370 the formerly exhausted and despised Poland was a rich and respected civilized state. The old dynasty of the Piasts became extinct with him. And with him also closes the first great epoch of Polish history. In conformity with the arrangement which had been made respecting the succession, King Lewis of Hungary took over the government. Piasts still ruled, it is true, in the petty principality of Masovia, but Casimir had been forced to exclude from the succession these ultra-conservative and insignificant relations, in the interests of the realm, which could only attain greater importance in alliance with a second power.

E. The Personal Union between Poland and Hungary

The reign of the Angevin Lewis brought no prosperity to the country of Poland, which was regarded merely as an appanage of Hungary. After his coronation in Cracow Lewis returned home with the Polish royal insignia, and sent his mother Elizabeth, the sister of Casimir, to Poland as regent (cf. p. 384). He only thought of securing the crown of Poland for one of his daughters, since he had no male heirs, who alone were regarded in the succession treaty by Casimir. The agreement with the Polish nobles was signed at Kaschau in 1374. The king in return pledged himself to reconquer the lost Polish provinces, to remit the dues of the nobility except the sum of two groschen from each plough, to confer all offices only on Poles of the district concerned, and to give special pay for military service outside the borders of the country. He was not concerned by the thought that the military and fiscal strength of Poland was thus much reduced and that the nobility were expressly recognized as the dominant influence; indeed, he actually united Red Russia with the Hungarian throne, and sent his own governor thither. He it was, also, who largely promoted the Roman Catholic propaganda in the Russian

territory, and thus generated a movement which not only cost Hungary Red Russia, but later proved disastrous to Poland also. The arrogance of the nobility increased during his reign, and with it disorders in the country, so much that there was no longer any justice. The property of the poor was continually plundered by the Captains and Burggraves. And when after large payments to the Chancery a petitioner came back from Hungary with a royal letter, the noble brigands took no notice of it at all. Merchants and travellers were continually robbed and plundered on the highroads without the slightest interference on the part of the Captains.

6. CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM IN THE BALTIC PROVINCES AND IN LITHUANIA DOWN TO 1386

A. The Ethnology of the Southern Regions of the Baltic

On the southern shores of the Baltic, where nature has not marked any sharply defined limits landwards, the Slavs, Fins, and Lithuanians influenced each other reciprocally. In the first place, the Slavs, who were the earliest to found states in those parts, ruled the others. Thus Poland, following the course of the Vistula, turned against the Prussian Lithuanians in order to set foot on the Baltic. We find the Finnish Livonians at an early period of history the vassals of the Russian princes of Polock, who ruled the whole course of the Dwina as far as the sea. The Esthonians finally became dependent on the Novgorodian Slavs on the Lake of Ilmen, who founded there Jurjev (Dorpat) and other towns.

But when Russia became weakened by civil wars, and the princes of Polock could therefore not assert their authority over the tribes on the Dwina (p 462), other nations tried to gain a firm footing there. The country was more accessible from the sea than from the interior of the continent of Eastern Europe, and could not escape the influence of those nations who navigated the Baltic Sea. The Danes were the first to try to settle in Livonia. The Swedes also, who navigated the whole Baltic coast and established a large emporium at Wisby on the island of Gotland, came into contact with the Finnish tribes in Livonia and Esthonia. But even they failed to achieve permanent successes. The situation changed only when the German trading towns of the North came into prominence. Lübeck also possessed an emporium and trading factories in Wisby, but then tried to come into direct communication with the Finnish tribes without Swedish intervention. The German ship that had sailed to seek out these tribes was driven by a storm into the Gulf of Riga. The natives flocked together, as the older Livonian Rhymed Chronicle (c. 1291) tells us, and attacked the Germans. But when they were beaten off, they proffered peace and began to trade by barter (the founding of the castle Üxküll, usually assigned to the year 1143, really dates from four decades later). This first contact of Germans with Livonians, Lithuanians, and Slavs was purely due to a commercial policy. But it did not continue so. The races of Western Europe were then permeated by a deep religious feeling. The paganism of the Finnish and Lithuanian tribes attracted attention. The awakening missionary zeal found supporters in Germany the more readily since it promised to be remunerative both in its political and economic aspects.

The first missionary of the Prussians was St. Adalbert, who enjoyed the protection of Poland (pp. 236 and 472). Twelve years after him, St. Bruno of Querfurt also found a martyr's death there. Boleslav III Krzyvousty carried on the work of conversion in Pomerania and Prussia on a larger scale. The man in whom he confided, Bishop Otto of Bamberg (p. 475), in contrast to other missionaries, who went barefooted and shabbily dressed, appeared among the Pomeranians as a mighty prince, with a brilliant suite, and supported by the Polish army. He gave beautiful clothes and other presents to the newly baptised, and met with great success.

Henry Zdik, bishop of Olmütz (p. 239), then resolved to preach the gospel to the Prussians in the footsteps of St. Adalbert, and applied to the Curia (1140). But it was not until 1144, when preparations were being made for the second crusade, that Pope Lucius II negotiated with Henry about a Prussian mission. It was then determined that Bohemia, Poland, and other northern kingdoms should not be obliged to join expeditions to the Holy Land, but should undertake the conversion of the Prussians instead. The Moravian princes therefore undertook with Bishop Henry a crusade against the Prussians in 1147. They were joined by German and Polish princes. This event may have ripened the plans at the Bohemian court for expanding in a northerly direction at the cost of Poland, and obtaining a footing on the Baltic by building castles, etc. The Prussians obstinately defended their old gods and their liberty. They improved their methods of warfare, and even ventured on invading Kujavia and Masovia.

During the course of these events the Danes turned their attention to the Wends, and the Swedes to Finland, Livonia, and Esthonia. Abbot Peter of Rheims marked out for the Finnish mission his pupil Fulko, who was consecrated bishop by the archbishop of Lund. Pope Alexander III gave his sanction to the plan in 1169, and conferred indulgences on all Scandinavians who would join the war against the Esthonians. Fulko was not, however, adequately supported by either side. The Christian propaganda of the Scandinavians generally met with no success.

Abbot Arnold of Lübeck († 1212), who is generally supposed to have continued the Slavonic Chronicle of Helmod, relates that Meinhard, a priest, came with the Germans to Livonia, and was the first to try and preach the gospel to the Livonians. When he found that the harvest was good he applied to the archbishop of Bremen, in 1186, to inaugurate a mission on a grand scale; he also asked the prince of Polock to allow the mission. As a reward for his successful energy (building of a church and a castle at Üxküll, founding of convents, etc.), the archbishop of Bremen consecrated him bishop of Üxküll. But when tithes were exacted from the Livonians, and they noticed their dependence on Bremen, they attacked Üxküll and dived into the Dwina to wash off their baptism. Meinhard, who could not leave the castle, sent his vicar, Dietrich, as an envoy to Rome, and died in 1196. His successor, Berthold, reached Livonia with an army of crusaders, but was defeated by the Livonians in 1198. All the baptised Livonians abandoned Christianity; they threw into the sea a wooden image which they thought to be the German god of destruction.

The archbishop of Bremen now sent Albrecht von Bukshövden in 1198 as bishop to Üxküll. King Canute of Denmark, Pope Innocent III, and several princes supported him. A crusading force of twenty-three ships now came to

Livonia. The Livonians assumed the defensive, but Albrecht had recourse to stratagem. After concluding an armistice, he invited the oldest Livonians to a banquet, and did not let them go free until they gave their children as hostages and promised acceptance of Christianity. The opposition of the Livonians was broken down, the children were sent to Bremen to be educated, and the gospel was preached everywhere. In 1201, for greater security, he removed the bishopric from Üxküll to the town of Riga, which had been newly fortified by him and lay nearer to the sea. He then, in order to create a fighting force for himself, divided the land as fiefs among such crusaders as were willing to settle there. When the news of the founding of Riga was spread, Esthonians, Livonians, Courlanders, and Lithuanians came to conclude peace. In order to secure absolutely the work of conversion, Albrecht founded in 1202 a new knightly order for Livonia on the model of the Templars. These *fratres militiæ Christi* wore white cloaks with a red cross and sword on the left breast, and were therefore called *fratres ensiferi* or *gladiferi*. They were subject to the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops of Riga. The master had his seat in the newly built Wenden. In the year 1207 Albrecht surrendered Livonia to the emperor Philip of Suabia as a fief. The real conquest now began. The Livonians first and then the Letts were subjugated. The Russian principality of Polock, to which the country on the Dwina paid tribute (the two principalities of Kukenojs and Gersike belonged to it), attempted, it is true, to enforce its rights by help of the Esthonians, but it was too weak. Even Kukenojs and Gersike were conquered by the Germans, and the name of the latter soon disappears from history, although Albrecht agreed to the payment of a tribute for Livonia to Polock.

It was now the turn of Esthonia. The district of Sakkala, with Fellin, was first conquered, then Ungaunia. Here, however, Novgorod, to which the Esthonians paid tribute, and which had built Jurjev in those parts in 1030, came into the question. The princes also of Pskow, with the help of Novgorod, inflicted defeats on the Germans. Albrecht therefore turned in 1218 to King Waldemar II of Denmark. The Esthonians were beaten in 1219. The Danes founded then the town and castle of Reval, and placed a bishop there, who was subordinate to the archbishopric of Lund. The Danes and the Germans now vied with each other in the conversion of the country. The Livonian Order protested against the Danish conquest. Albrecht lodged charges against Waldemar in Rome and before the German emperor, all in vain. Waldemar offered Esthonia as a fief to the Pope; the emperor Frederick II was involved in the preparations for a crusade. Albrecht was compelled therefore to recognise the supremacy of Denmark over Esthonia. But since Waldemar, his attention being engrossed elsewhere, abandoned the conquered countries to their fate, the Germans were able to recover their strength. In the year 1224 they took Jurjev, although it had been obstinately defended by the prince Wjatko. Albrecht then conquered the islands of Mon (Molon) and Oesel. The Order attacked Reval and other Danish possessions. Even the Courlanders and Semgallians on the left bank of the Dwina were subjugated in the lifetime of Albrecht. The Order received after the year 1207 a third of the conquered countries for its maintenance. When Albrecht died in 1229 the sovereignty of the bishopric and the Order extended over the whole of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia.

B. The Teutonic Order and Lithuania to 1386

(*a*) *The Teutonic Order.* — The successes of the Livonian Order drew the attention of all the northern States to it. The Polish prince Conrad of Masovia and Kujavia, whose dominions had been cruelly raided by the pagan Prussians and were being overrun by the Lithuanians, formed a scheme of founding a similar knighthood. At that time Christian, a monk of the Cistercian monastery in Oliva (later suffragan bishop of Mainz), was preaching the gospel to the Prussians. Pope Honorius III, to whom he appealed for assistance, raised him to the bishopric of Lithuania and recommended him to the archbishop of Gnesen. On his return to Prussia he could not, however, maintain his position. Even Conrad was compelled to leave his principality. In his straits he founded an "Order of Christ," and assigned to it the territory of Dobrzyn (hence also the name "Dobrinian Order"). But this Order also failed to hold its own.

Conrad now turned to the Teutonic Order, which just at this time (1225) was expelled from Transylvania by King Andreas of Hungary. The Grand Master Hermann of Salza accepted the offer, and received as territory the district of Kulm and the regions still to be conquered. The Order took all this in 1226 as a fief from the emperor Frederic, and thus made itself independent of the Masovian prince. In the year 1228 Hermann Balk, the first territorial Master, appeared in Prussia with a strong force of knights under the banner of the Blessed Virgin. The heathen, who were still disunited and carried on the war in bands, were driven back step by step. Good roads were laid down everywhere and castles built. Thus, first of all, Thorn arose, then Kulm, Marienwerder, and Elbing. The Prussian children were taken away and sent to Germany to be educated. The pagans offered indeed an obstinate resistance. But the German knights were supported by the whole of Europe, while the Prussians found only here and there some slight help from their fellow tribesmen in Lithuania.

While the Teutonic Order thus grew stronger, the news suddenly came from Livonia that the Order in that country, being inadequately supported by the West and threatened by an overwhelming force of Livonians, Danes, and Russians, was on the verge of being dissolved. In order to save the new offshoot, it was proposed to combine the two foundations. The Knights of the Sword were incorporated in the Teutonic Order in 1237, adopted its badges and dress, and henceforward formed a province of the Teutonic Order, without, however, disowning their duties toward the bishop of Riga and the prince of Polock. The amalgamation was advantageous for both parties. A powerful German state was now formed on the southern coast of the Baltic (see the small map, "Poland, etc., at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century," on page 550), to which the Lithuanians, Fins, and Slavs were subordinated. Its superiority in culture, warfare, and government soon made the Order a menace to the Russians and, above all, to the Poles.

Knights flocked to the territory of the Order from all parts of Europe. Luxury and magnificence, with a constant round of brilliant tournaments and banquets, were the order of the day at Marienburg, the seat of the Grand Master, and in the other castles. Possibly no royal court in Europe, not excepting that of the emperor himself, offered such pleasures and distractions to the knights as the

court of Marienburg. This was the training college for the young knights, who naturally went there in preference to Palestine. Every year foreign knights assembled in the domains of the Order to take part in the campaigns. "Journeys" were made to Lithuania, when the lakes and morasses were frozen. The country was completely ravaged, the inhabitants carried off, the villages burnt. The Lithuanians then did the same, only in larger numbers, since the domains of the Order were thickly populated and studded with castles. The Teutonic knights succeeded after a time in winning a party for themselves among the Lithuanians; the wealthier and shrewder pagans were forced ultimately to acknowledge that Christianity was better, the culture of the Order higher, and their way of life more pleasant.

(*b*) *Lithuania.* — At the moment when the danger from the Teutonic Order was the greatest, Lithuania unexpectedly found a new source of strength in the surrounding Russian territory. The adjoining district of Polock had severed itself earlier than the other Russian principalities from the control of Kiev. Since there also, as formerly in the Russia of the twelfth century, several petty principalities sprung up in consequence of the dissensions of the princely family and with the popular assemblies, the contending parties often called in the help of their neighbours, and in this way Lithuania was drawn into Russian affairs. By the first half of the thirteenth century Lithuanian principalities had arisen on Russian soil.

Towards the middle of the thirteenth century Mendog (Mindove) came into prominence as ruler of Lithuania. He appears to have been the first who as "Grand Duke" treated the other petty princes as vassals. But his position was difficult. Not only did the lords of Halicz and Vladimir fight with him for the possession of Black Russia, but his kinsmen pressed on him still more heavily. Even the people, dissatisfied with his imperious policy, turned against him; the more so as the prince, although still a pagan, was not disinclined towards the Christian religion, which was introduced there from Russia. The result was the formation of two parties in Lithuania. The one represented the national element, and defended the national language, customs, and religion; the Christian, which was already the stronger party, inclined toward Russia. At the head of the latter party stood Mendog's son Vojschelk, an enterprising character, who was devoted to the Greek Church with the full zeal of his fiery soul. He entered a convent, and his dearest wish was to end his days on Mount Athos, as many sovereigns of Oriental Christendom had done.

But what Mendog wished was some relaxation in the struggle against the Livonian and Teutonic Orders; instead of which both parties launched him into a still more obstinate war with the Orders, and, in addition, with Russia. Red Russia now entered on the scene against Lithuania with all its forces; a better understanding between it and the Teutonic knights had been effected. Both sides fought for the possession of Black Russia. If the princes of Halicz had succeeded in uniting Black Russia with their possessions, a new power, with the Little Russians for its chief supporters, would have been formed, owing to the internal dissensions of Lithuania and the disintegration with which Russia was threatened from the southeast through the Tartar ascendancy. But the wily Lithuanian understood how to cripple all his foes. He first professed his willingness to accept Christianity. Innocent IV sent him the royal crown, and Mendog received it and

the rite of baptism at Novgorod in 1250. In this way a friendly understanding was promoted between him and the Livonian Order. By ceding to the latter the whole region of Smud, he revenged himself also on that national party, which refused to recognise his overlordship. He also concluded a treaty with the prince of Red Russia in 1255, and ceded Black Russia to him as a fief; his son Vojschelk married a daughter of the former. The people soon rose in Smud against the Livonian Order, and were willing now to accept Mendog's rule. Mendog vigorously supported this movement; the Order suffered a decisive defeat, and was compelled once more to cede all the Lithuanian provinces. In this way the power of the Grand Duke in Lithuania was strengthened. For although Mendog was murdered in 1263, others aimed at the position of Grand Duke. Lithuania had now therefore to face the same struggle for the constitution as Russia, Poland, and other Slavonic countries.

The family of Mendog had made a power out of Lithuania; but it was the lot of another Lithuanian family to raise Lithuania into a great power,—the family, that is, whose representative, Gedymin (Withen), was Grand Duke in 1316. The state of Lithuania had already acquired a quite different aspect. Its swamps and lakes were not its only fortifications, but the country was covered with castles and walled towns. An improved method of warfare had been learnt from the Germans. Russian culture permeated public and private life; the Russian language was the language of the Church, the court, and the nobility; the princely chancery used no language except Russian; the Lithuanian army consisted to a large extent of Russian troops, and was often led by Russians. As a sort of Russian state, Lithuania was able to expand more easily on Russian territory. Gedymin had several Russian principalities. His rule was actually greeted with joy in the regions occupied by the Tartars. The Lithuanians defeated even the dreaded Mongols, who were reckoned invincible. Kiev itself oscillated now between the Lithuanian and the Tartar ruler. Russian districts composed with it the predominant part of the Lithuanian state, which under Gedymin was the first power of Eastern Europe. Although still a pagan, Gedymin married Russian princesses, and allowed them to live according to the Christian faith and educate their children in it. He married his son Olgerd to a princess of Witebsk, his second son to a princess of Volhynia, one daughter to Prince Symeon of Moscow, and another to the prince of Tver; Aldona (p. 485) wedded Casimir of Poland; the fourth daughter, Boleslav Trojdenovicz of Masovia. He sent colonists into the wide deserts, and built towns and villages, to which he gave privileges of the German type. He founded Wilna, the future capital of Lithuania, transferred the pagan sanctuary thither in 1322, and had the sacred fire kindled there before the altar of Perkunas. At the same time he entered into negotiations with the Pope, obviously only to hold the Teutonic Order in check. In 1336 the Grand Master Dietrich of Altenburg (1335–1341) once more organised a great "journey" to Lithuania. The knights marched on Smud; and Pillene, where some four thousand Lithuanians, with wives and children, were shut in, was besieged. Fire decided the fate of the wooden fortress and its valiant defenders.

Gedymin met his death in 1340 or 1341 at the fortress of Welona when it was besieged by the Germans, having been struck by a bullet; use was therefore made of the invention of gunpowder (Vol. VII, p. 238) earlier than at Crecy in 1346. Following the precedent of Russia, Gedymin had legalised the dignity of Grand

Duke, and attached it to the possession of Wilna. Javnut was marked out to be Grand Duke. His other six sons — Monvid, Narymunt, Koriat, Olgerd, Kejstut, and Lubart — divided the rest of the kingdom between them. Olgerd and Kejstut (Olgjerd and Kynstudt) stood out conspicuously among them. The former obtained Lithuania proper, with Krevo and the territory of Witebsk; Kejstut, on the other hand, obtained Smud, with Troki as capital, Grodno, and Berestie in Black Russia. Olgerd was a strong and handsome man, of fine intellect and political insight, and, what was rare in his days, sober and abstemious. He understood several languages, and was not addicted to play. A crafty leader, he did not even inform his troops on the march to what goal he was leading them. Olgerd was the representative of the Christian party among the Russians. His wives and children were Christians. According to Russian authorities he was a Christian himself, although the foreign chroniclers assert that his corpse was burnt on a funeral pyre; perhaps the pagan priests wished this to be so. Kejstut, an honest nature, a typical knight in every sense, and an impetuous spirit, was deified by the people as the representative of the national paganism. He unselfishly helped his brother to obtain the grand ducal power, and was his most loyal subject, friend, and guardian. Himself a pagan by honest conviction, he was the last Lithuanian prince who was buried according to heathen customs. Both added to the greatness and fame of Lithuania. While Olgerd as Grand Duke united Russian principalities with Lithuania, conquered Kiev itself, and so advanced the frontiers as far south as the Tartar tribes of the Black Sea and eastward beyond the Dnieper, Kejstut took over the protection of the western frontier and the war with the combined knightly orders.

The chroniclers record many noble features in the life of this great hero. Kejstut rescued by his intercession the commandant of a castle of the Order who was sentenced by the Lithuanians to be burnt; he also forcibly expressed his displeasure when corpses were wantonly mutilated on the battlefield. If he planned an attack into the knights' country he used to announce his intention to their commanders, and he naturally expected similar chivalrous treatment from the Order. When Covno was suddenly attacked by the knights in 1362, he lodged a protest against such conduct before the far-famed Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode (1351–1382). On one occasion, being made prisoner and brought to Marienburg, he was recognised and secretly liberated by Alf, the servant assigned to him, a Lithuanian by birth. Kejstut was almost beloved by the Order on account of his chivalrous spirit. Once when after the unsuccessful siege of a castle he was compelled to cross a river and was nearly drowned, the marshal Henning Schindekopf drew him out of the water and refused to make him prisoner.

For forty years Kejstut unweariedly defended Lithuania, by the people of which he was extolled as their first national hero. The Order was not able to make any conquests there in his time. In spite of his support of paganism, Christianity itself continued to make greater and greater progress in Kejstut's dominions, although there were naturally many martyrs. Roman Catholicism alone could strike no root there. Both the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries which had existed in Wilna under Gedymin were suspended under Olgerd. When, then, they were revived by the Boyar Gastold, who went over to Catholicism to please his wife, a band of pagans attacked Gastold's house and killed seven monks; the others were crucified and thrown into the river.

Lithuania in its victorious career was bound sooner or later to come into contact with Moscow and the Tartars; both, indeed, aimed at the same goal, — the union of Russia in their hands. If Olgerd beat the Tartars, his success could only find a joyful response in the hearts of the Russians. It was therefore easy for him to subjugate one Russian district after another. There was no fundamental distinction between Russia and Lithuania under Olgerd's régime. Only in Moscow existed any dangerous rival to the Lithuanian princes. Olgerd was able to postpone the decisive blow. He died, however, in 1377.

After Olgerd, Kejstut, as the senior of the family, ought to have mounted the grand ducal throne; but in accordance with a wish of his brother he renounced his claim in favour of Jagiello (Jagajlo, Jagal, Jagello). The latter was of a different disposition from his father, Olgerd. He dragged on a dull existence without any lofty aspirations. He was most dissatisfied that his uncle, by sharing in the councils at Wilna, influenced the conduct of affairs, and occasionally took liberties, as was natural in an old hero dealing with an inexperienced nephew who was indebted to him for the grand ducal throne. Contrary to precedent, Jagiello first allied himself with the Tartars, nominally in order to confront Moscow with their help. He then, by an equally gross breach with the traditions of his house, made secret overtures to the Teutonic Order. He was assisted in this by one of his crown councillors named Vojdyllo, whom Kejstut had offended on some occasion. Jagiello did not concern himself about the repeated attacks of the knights; in fact, he concluded a secret treaty with the Order which was aimed at Kejstut.

Kejstut, greatly annoyed, surprised Wilna, took his nephew prisoner, and discovered the original text of the treaty with the Order. He then mounted the grand ducal throne himself, gave Witebsk and Krevo to Jagiello, and then set him completely at liberty, with no other condition than that he should hang the traitor Vojdyllo. Then a second relation, Demeter Korybut, rose against Kejstut. Jagiello brought up his forces, nominally to the aid of Kejstut, but led them against Wilna and took it. The knights of the Order, who were allied with Jagiello, soon advanced. Troki, Kejstut's residence, was taken and sacked. Kejstut quickly collected forces to save his castles. Jagiello then implored Kejstut's son Witold, a friend of his, to intervene, since he did not wish to shed blood. Kejstut and Witold went, on the guarantee of a third person, into the camp of Jagiello, and were then thrown into chains. Cast into a gloomy dungeon at Krewo, Kejstut was found strangled there on the fifth day (1382). His body was burnt according to pagan rites (cf. above, p. 495). Old Lithuania was set ablaze by his murder; the everlasting fire which burnt before the altar of Perkunas (p. 439) was extinguished.

Witold, who had made good his escape, went to Masovia and thence to the territory of the Order. Baptised according to Catholic rites, he took the name of his sponsor, Wigand, commander of Ragnit (Ragnita), 1383. The Order, to which Witold-Wigand promised to cede Saimaiten (north of the river Memel) in the event of his having no issue, welcomed the new ally. But in the latter the old, and therefore more intense, hatred for the Teutonic knights quickly overpowered his momentary thirst for vengeance. He had barely concluded the treaty with the Order when he sought and obtained a reconciliation with Jagiello. The most salient feature of Witold's character was a pronounced sympathy with Lithuania. If he could reach the desired goal by the straight road, he did not on occasion hesitate at dubious methods.

7. POLAND FROM THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A. The Union of Lithuania with Poland

When King Lewis I of Hungary and Poland (p. 384) died at Tyrnau, on September 11, 1382, according to the tenor of the treaty of Kashau, concluded in 1374 (p. 488), one of his daughters was to obtain the Polish crown. He had three daughters, — Catherine, Maria, and Hedwig. Catherine was intended for Poland, Maria was wedded to Sigismund (Siegmund), margrave of Brandenburg, and Hedwig betrothed to Duke William of Austria. Since Catherine had predeceased her father, the Polish crown was intended for Maria. But this proposal was hardly acceptable to Poland. Since Poland had been greatly neglected by Lewis, it only wished to acknowledge that one of his daughters who would pledge herself to reside with her husband in Poland. Sigismund, the prospective king of Hungary, could not possibly consent to such an arrangement. Casimir the Great had wished first to strengthen his country economically, in order to be able to show a bolder front against the Teutonic Order, the most dangerous of Poland's foes, since it was supported by all Western Europe; with this object he had concluded a series of treaties with his neighbours. When he concluded the succession treaty with his nephew Lewis of Hungary, the latter had to give a pledge that he would reconquer the lost provinces of Poland with his own forces. From whom? Obviously only from the Order. But Lewis had procrastinated; the Polish atmosphere did not please him. The Order thus increased, and with it the German element. As a result of this, the national feeling and the hatred of the Germans grew so strong, both in Poland and Lithuania, that any other candidate would have been more acceptable to the Poles and Lithuanians than the margrave of Brandenburg. The Polish statesmen were aware that if Sigismund obtained the crown of Poland this would involve the loss of its independence. When, even in the lifetime of his father-in-law, he had come to Poland at the head of a small army in order to receive homage, his entry into Cracow was barred; only the towns, where the German element predominated, received him cordially. Sigismund was compelled, therefore, to leave Poland without having achieved his purpose. And so the matter rested, since he could not obtain any firm footing at first even in Hungary (p. 384).

The Polish throne was thus once more regarded as vacant. Prince Ziemko of Masovia soon came forward, supported by a large party and the archbishop Bodzanta of Gnesen, who actually proclaimed him king, when the envoys of the queen mother Elizabeth († 1387) appeared, with the declaration that Hedwig (born 1369), who was destined for the Polish throne, would soon come to Cracow for coronation. But after vainly waiting a long time for Hedwig, the Poles began to lose patience. The matter was not so simple. In the first place, the queen widow was herself in danger. Next, Hedwig, although just thirteen years old, was betrothed to William, whom the Poles could never accept, nor would he consent to give up Hedwig. Only after a declaration that the claims of Hedwig on the Polish crown would be regarded as waived if she did not appear within two months in Poland, did Elizabeth resolve to send her daughter to Poland. Hedwig,

a child of barely fifteen years, came to Cracow at the beginning of October, 1384, accompanied by the archbishop of Gran and the bishop of Csanad, and was crowned on October 15. The first important step taken by the Polish statesmen had succeeded. The question now remained, to find a suitable husband for the young queen.

(*a*) *Vladislav II Jagiello.* — National and religious considerations led the Poles to Lithuania. Poland as well as Lithuania fought against the Teutonic Order as their common and deadly enemy. Only by combined efforts could they hope to crush it. At the same time the thought of a union was not new. Vladislav Lokietok, when pressed hard by the Knights, had married his son Casimir to Aldona, a daughter of Gedymin (p. 485). The idea then still prevailed that even single-handed they were a match for the Germans. But Lithuania was now torn by party feuds. New and stronger German castles arose on its soil and gripped it with iron arms. Another circumstance also favoured the *rapprochement*. Lithuania had been zealously addicted to paganism, but the number of the Christians now increased continually. Kejstut, the last pagan on the throne, was now dead. Lithuania was thus, from political and religious reasons, ripe for a union with Poland, and it is easy for two nations to form a sincere alliance when a great danger threatens both.

We do not know from which side the suggestion came. But since the prospect of missionary work on a large scale in Lithuania and the whole East was thus opened up to the Catholic Church of Poland, and since Kmita, the provincial of the Franciscan Order, was a trusted friend of Jagiello, we may suppose that — apart from the nobility of Little Poland, who turned the scale and zealously advocated the union of the two states — the Franciscans chiefly prepared the ground in Lithuania. The view that paganism could nowhere be tolerated was then very strong in Europe; the Order owed to it the friendship of Western Europe. But if this pretext, which furnished its chief source of strength in the struggle against Lithuania, were to be cut away, Lithuania must inevitably accept Christianity. Then only could the power of the Roman Church, which was still the decisive force in Europe, be made useful. The fact that Jagiello with his whole people resolved to accept Christianity shows that, in spite of his low moral character, he was a far-sighted statesman.

In the early days of the year 1385 a Lithuanian embassy to Cracow formally asked Hedwig's hand for their prince Jagiello. No decision could be made without consulting Hedwig's mother; and messengers were therefore sent to Elizabeth. The dislike felt by the Magyars for Sigismund and William caused a decision in favour of Jagiello. It was certainly withdrawn again, and William himself appeared in Cracow, where romantic love passages took place between him and the young queen. But any opposition was wrecked on the firmness of the Polish grandees. On February 12, 1386, Jagiello made his entry into Cracow after he had accepted all the conditions proposed. He promised to throw himself into the bosom of the Catholic Church with all his still unbaptised brothers and relations, all the nobles, and all the inhabitants of his country, rich or poor, and to devote his treasures to the use of both kingdoms. Further, he promised to pay Duke William of Austria the forfeit of two hundred thousand guldens, which was entailed by the repudiation of the marriage contract, to make good at his own

cost all the encroachments and curtailments to which the Polish Empire had been subjected, to release all Polish prisoners of either sex, and to unite for ever his Lithuanian and Russian dominions with the Polish crown. Everything now depended on Hedwig. It was plainly put to her that she would not only serve her own country, but would perform a meritorious action in the sight of God, if a whole region was won for Christianity through her instrumentality. Besides this, the news from Hungary must have forced Hedwig to come to a determination, where the royal power was grievously imperilled, and her mother's life in danger. On February 15 Jagiello was baptised, together with those of his brothers and kinsmen who were present. The office of sponsor, which had been declined by the Grand Master Conrad of Rotenstein (1382–1390), fell to Vladislav of Oppeln; whence Jagiello received in baptism the name of Vladislav (II). Then followed the marriage and the coronation (March 4, 1386). After that, Wigand the king's brother married the daughter of Vladislav of Oppeln, Prince Janusz of Ratibor married Helene, niece of the king, and Prince Ziemko of Masovia the king's sister, Alexandra. Vladislav II Jagiello of Lithuania was not at first hereditary monarch of Poland, but merely prince consort and regent of the empire.

There is no more important event in the history of the Polish people, with the exception of the conversion to Christianity, than the union of Lithuania with Poland, which was completed in the year 1386. It gave a quite different aspect to the Eastern question, and completely changed the course of history. Poland, itself too small to play any part in the midst of powerful neighbours, had first leant upon Hungary. But that policy had not proved to their advantage; the Fins, who then stood on a higher plane of culture, had treated Poland as a province. Besides that, Polish interests, especially as against the Order, had been neglected. Poland and Lithuania had now hardly anything more to fear from the Teutonic Knights. Indeed, the Order, when dealing with a Christianised Lithuania, lost its *raison d'être.* Soon not merely the Emperor, but the Pope, declared publicly the Order had now fulfilled its task. Later Popes forbade the expeditions among the heathen and any injury to Lithuania. A century had hardly elapsed after the baptism of Jagiello when the plan came up that the Knights should be transplanted to Podolia, and be employed in the war against the Turks and Tartars. Besides this, the position of Poland in the new treaty with Lithuania was far more favourable than had been the case in the treaty with Hungary. Poland now stood higher in every respect than Lithuania. Further, Jagiello, a thoroughly selfish character, had, in return for the crown of Poland, formally given up his country to the Poles. Poland was the recipient, Lithuania the donor, if we disregard the free constitution, the new religion, and the culture which the Poles had to give to the Lithuanians. Henceforward the will of the Polish king was all important in Lithuania, or rather, since he himself was of little consequence, the will of the Polish *slachta* and the Catholic priesthood. Lithuania, three times as large as Poland, sank into an appanage of the Polish crown. Hitherto there had been in Eastern Europe three political centres, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia, not to speak of the Tartars, but now the largest of them, Lithuania, suddenly ceased to exist. Henceforward only Poland and Russia confronted each other, and the time was approaching when the question would be decided which of the two was to dominate Eastern Europe.

When the first frosts came in the winter of 1386–1387, Jagiello, accompanied by princes and grandees, and by numerous priests and Franciscan monks as spiritual leaders of the undertaking, marched to his home in order, according to his promise, to baptise his subjects. At the beginning of January, 1387, when the ice built firm bridges everywhere in that country of rivers, lakes, and marshes, the Polish mission appeared at Wilna. It was just after the long autumn festivities, a time when the supplies of the Lithuanians began to fail. The missionaries, however, brought a quantity of corn, new white linen robes, and other presents for those about to be baptised, and appeared in state just as Otto, the apostle of Pomerania, had formerly done. The will of the prince had still more weight in Lithuania. Besides this, Vladislav Jagiello, in order to win over the nobles, conferred on all Catholic Boyars, as from February 20, 1387, all the liberties which the Polish nobility possessed (the "Polish right"). This was the first charter of Lithuania. Concurrently the Catholic Church was organised by the creation and splendid endowment of a bishopric at Wilna, with seven parish churches at Miednicki, Meszagole, Wilkomierz, Krevo, Niemerczyn, Hajnovo, and Obolcza. The first bishop was the Franciscan Vasylo, a Pole, formerly confessor of Queen Elizabeth and then bishop of Sereth. The wooden image of the god Perkunas stood on the highest summit of the town of Wilna. The flames of the unapproachable Znicz (p. 439) still darted forth on the oak-planted square as the missionary procession came up the hill, singing holy songs. The sacred oaks were felled, the "eternal" fire was quenched. A thundering *Te Deum* announced to the people the dawn of a new era. Not a hand was raised to protect the old gods. Men and women were then led to the river, and whole companies received one name each, such as Stanul, Matulis, Piotralis, Janulis, Szezepulis (feminine Jadzuila, etc.). Distinguished Boyars were baptised singly. The same ceremony was performed in the surrounding country. The number of those who were then baptised is put at thirty thousand. By the end of July, 1387, Jagiello was again in Cracow, and informed the Pope that Lithuania was converted. "Among all kings of the world thou, dear son, holdest the first place in our heart," answered Urban VI, whose sternness in 1378 caused the great schism. But when he further said, "Rejoice, my son, that thou hast been found again like a hidden treasure and hast escaped destruction," these words, transferred to the political world, aptly represented the true state of affairs. Even in Germany there was a prophecy current that all states would disappear *except* Poland and Lithuania.

Various petty states of Eastern Europe now sought support from the newly created empire of Poland-Lithuania; Hungary, for example, was just then crippled by internal disturbances. Soon after the coronation the petty princes of North Russia, mostly vassals of Lithuania, began to do homage to the now powerful Grand Duke. While Vladislav Jagiello still remained in Lithuania, Hedwig personally received the homage of Red Russia, which, since the times of Casimir the Great, belonged half to the Hungarian, half to the Polish crown, but had received from Lewis the Great a Magyar Starost-General. In Lemberg the brothers Peter and Roman, who, as Voivods of Moldavia, were, properly speaking, Hungarian vassals, did homage to the Lithuanian; the Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev read out the formula of the oath according to the Orthodox rites. In the year 1390 a second Hungarian vassal, Prince Mircea the Elder of Wallachia (p. 356), did homage. In the course of the next years the Voivods

of Bessarabia and Transylvania did the same, and their successors renewed this oath. In the north the fear of the German-Livonian Order and of Moscow, in the south the fear of the Turks, drove those small princes to seek refuge under the great ruler. The sphere of the influence of Poland-Lithuania expanded now from sea to sea.

Meanwhile the Teutonic Order had acquired more and more territory by purchase and treaty. It roused up opposition against Vladislav Jagiello at Rome and at every European court. The situation became especially grave, since in every negotiation it constantly invoked the intervention of the empire, and required actual obedience from Lithuanian princes. Vladislav of Oppeln submitted to the Grand Master of Wallenrod himself (1391–1393) a scheme for the partition of Poland. Poland-Lithuania was, however, not free from blame. In dire straits treaties were made with the Knights and some territory was actually ceded; but there was bitter feeling against every arbitrator, who assigned the land in question to the Germans. There was no rupture to be feared in the lifetime of Hedwig, whose father, Lewis, had been a patron of the Order. But after her death (1399) the decision could not long be postponed. Witold, Jagiello's cousin, was especially eager for war. In the year 1410 Germany had three kings or emperors, Wenzel, Jost, and Sigismund (p. 256), and would therefore bring no help to the Order. Lithuania enlisted Bohemian mercenaries and secured the aid of the Tartars; Witold incited the Samaiten country to revolt, although he had previously given one hundred and fifty hostages to the Order. There was nothing left for these poor wretches except to hang themselves on the doors of their prisons. The Russian vassals of Lithuania marched also to their assistance. Nevertheless, the operations were by no means easy. The Teutonic Order, then the only power in Europe which could mobilise its forces in a fortnight, had splendid artillery, excellent cavalry, and a large body of mercenaries at its disposal. In culture it stood then on a distinctly higher level than Poland. The Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen anticipated Poland with a declaration of war. The first engagement took place in the territory of the Order at Grünwald and Tannenberg on July 15, 1410; the army of the Order was annihilated. The Polish army for the first time sang the *Te Deum* (*bogarodzica*) in the Polish language. The chief credit of the victory belongs to Witold. Dlugosz, father of the celebrated historian, and Zbigněw Olesnicki, later bishop of Cracow and first statesman of Poland, took part in the battle. Contemporaries probably realised the far-reaching effects of this event more than the writers of the present day; John Dlugosz, soon after 1457, urged that the spoils (*Banderia Prutenorum*) should be kept for ever in the Church, and that the anniversary should be commemorated in perpetuity. The Order, it is true, tried its fortune repeatedly afterwards, but always without success. If Vladislav II Jagiello had been a true soldier he could have easily made himself master of Marienburg, for treachery was rife. Many of the Knights collected their money and goods and fled to Germany. The writer who completed the "Chronicle of the Land of Prussia" (commenced by Johann von Posilge, an official of Riesenburg (Pomerania), deceased in 1405) laments the fact. In spite of the comparatively favourable treaty of Thorn on February 1, 1411, the fall of the Teutonic Order was inevitable. The Electoral College recommended the protection of the Order to the emperor Sigismund, and Charles VI of France issued a warning to Poland; but such steps were of little avail.

With the collapse of the power of the Order, the influence of Germany, both national and political, on Eastern Europe was broken. The empire lost its magic charm there, while Poland became a great European power; the Hussite movement, for example, only became possible after 1410. The Slavonic spirit grew so strong that even German culture could not hold its own. The effect of the year 1386, enhanced by the year 1410, thus signifies an important crisis for the Western and Northern Slavs, whose subjugation would certainly otherwise have been accomplished, as well as a revival of the Slavonic movement. Vladislav II Jagiello and Hedwig had done great services in raising the level of Polish civilization. Hedwig first endowed a college at the University of Prague for such Lithuanians as studied theology there, and then obtained permission from Pope Boniface IX to found a theological faculty in Cracow. Finally she left her fortune to the University of Cracow, so that in the year 1400 it was able to leave the hamlet of Bavol, near Cracow, and settle in its own buildings in the city. The king himself and the highest officials registered their names as the first among two hundred students. Peter Wysz began with lectures in the presence of the king. After 1410 it was possible to equip the university still better, and it soon flourished. Nicholas Copernicus studied theology, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy there in 1491. Schools were provided, churches built, art studied.

The Pomeranian duke Bogulslav, formerly an ally of the Order, now did homage to the Polish king. Duke Ernest the Iron of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, a brother of that William († 1406) who met with such humiliating treatment in 1385 (p. 498), went to Cracow in 1412, concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Poland, and married a niece of the king, the daughter of Ziemko of Masovia, Cimburgis (Cecilia or Cymbarka; † 1429), who created a sensation by her physical strength, beauty, and her "large lips." She became in 1415 the mother of Emperor Frederic III, and thus (after the hereditary Countess Johanna von Pfirdt, who died in 1351) the second great ancestress of the house of Hapsburg; at the same time she attained a similarly high dignity in the house of Wettin, since her daughter Margaretha († 1486) was married to the elector Frederic II the Clement. The emperor Sigismund himself, who even before Tannenberg had invaded the Cracovian territory, concluded a truce with Poland, and from November 8, 1412, pledged the thirteen towns of the Zips district (p. 404) to Vladislav Jagiello. In fact, just when the Hussite movement was at its height, embassies appeared several times in Cracow to offer the crown of Bohemia also to the Polish king.

But this scheme, like the further progress of Poland, was wrecked on the personality of the king. Vladislav II Jagiello, uneducated and sensual, without energy and deficient in military ability, was not the man who might have served a great empire, burdened with a difficult constitution in critical times, although from his position as Grand Duke of Lithuania he was invaluable as a visible sign of the union and was clever enough to adapt himself to the new situation. He was, besides, too indifferent in most matters. His nobles, especially the bishops, managed everything. Nevertheless, a certain progress is observable in him if we picture him to ourselves how he once had governed despotically as a pagan; he now had to rule a Catholic people within almost constitutional limits. Transplanted to another soil, his disposition underwent a change; from a rude barbarian he became a soft-hearted and absolutely effeminate character. He towered

above the princes of Moscow, for example, in culture. Illuminated by the glory of a great victory, and as the suzerain of many princes, he loved to appear in magnificent state, like his brother-in-law Sigismund, for whom he always showed a certain weakness. He rode with a suite of one hundred knights and an escort of six thousand or eight thousand horse. He was so generous that the story ran in the territory of the Order that he had won the Polish crown by bribery, and his successors completely squandered the crown lands. Vladislav Jagiello was four times married. After the death of Hedwig (1399) he married the daughter of the Count of Cilli, a granddaughter of Casimir the Great and sister of that Barbara who, having married, as her second husband, Sigismund in 1408, died as empress widow in 1451; next, Elizabeth Granovska; and, finally (1422), he espoused, through the mediation of Witold, the Russian princess Sofie Olfzanska of Kiev († 1461). He died on May 31, 1434, at Grodek, having almost attained the age of eighty-six years.

(*b*) *The First Jagellons.* — His successors, called after him Jag(i)ellons, ruled in Poland until 1572 as elective, not hereditary, kings. In the fifteenth century Poland reached the highest point in her political history, while in the sixteenth her civilization was at its zenith.

Some years after the death of Vladislav II Jagiello, who had left two sons, Vladislav (III) and Casimir (IV Andreas), an Hungarian embassy appeared in Poland in 1440 which offered the crown of St. Stephen to Vladislav III, a boy of barely fifteen years. Fear of the Turks had caused this recourse to powerful Poland. This time not merely the notables of the national party, but also the bishops, even Olesnicki of Cracow, the all-powerful leader of Polish policy, counselled acceptance of the offer. It was worth the struggle against the unbelievers. Poland also had interests in the south. This led, therefore, to the first war (p. 134) against the Osmans. The young king fell at Varna on November 10, 1444. The Hungarians had, it is true, chosen Matthias Corvinus king in 1458, and the Bohemians, George of Podiebrad. But after the death of the two, the Bohemians first, and then the Hungarians, by the choice of Vladimir (II), a son of Casimir (cf. the genealogical tree on p. 387), fell back upon the house of the Jagellons. This family retained the crowns of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia until 1526, when Lewis I–II, son of Vladislav II, fell as the last of the Bohemian-Hungarian branch at Mohácz (cf. pp. 150, 270, and 387).

More important for the Polish Empire than the acquisition of the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary was the victorious advance to the Baltic. The Teutonic Knights had often tried after 1410 to retrieve their losses. Poland was compelled to wage a tedious war against them during the years 1420–1430; the campaign flagged greatly. But the dissolution of the Order could not be staved off. The estates of the country, dissatisfied with the rule of the Knights, took up a hostile attitude; the "Lizard League" founded in 1397, and the Prussian league of 1440, were openly and secretly aimed against the Order. Men took courage and tried to effect a rupture. After the emperor Frederic III in 1453 had issued the command that the league was to be dissolved, the latter resolved to submit to the Polish king, Casimir IV (Andreas). In February, 1454, twelve members of the league appeared in Cracow and offered the Polish king the possession of Prussia. Cardinal Olesnicki tried to dissuade him. But Casimir accepted it

without hesitation and immediately nominated the spokesman of the Knights of the Lizard, Hans von Baisen, to be governor, awarded to the Prussian estates the rights of salvage, etc., and freed the towns from the harbour dues known as poundage. The Order, again defeated and actually driven out of Marienburg, was forced to accept on October 19, 1466, the unpalatable second treaty of Thorn. The whole of Western Prussia, with Marienburg, Thorn, Danzig, Elbing, and Kulm, fell to Poland, and Ludwig von Ehrlichshausen (1449–1469) was compelled to take the oath of fealty to the king of Poland for East Prussia. Every Grand Master, six months after his election, was to swear the oath of loyalty to the king for himself and his followers, and in return the place of honour in the Polish Diet at the left hand of the king was guaranteed to him. The Master was to recognise no superior (Poland excepted) but the Pope, and to conclude no alliances or treaties without the sanction of the king. Prussia and Poland were to remain united forever. Immediately afterwards "suitable persons" from the subjects of the Polish kingdom were added to the Prussian houses of the Teutonic Order, on condition they should not compose more than half the members of the Order, but should be also eligible to half the offices of the Order. The Grand Master further could not be deprived of his office without the king's knowledge. A long chapter in Polish history was thus closed. "With reluctance I saw," said Dlugosz, "how Polish territory hitherto was divided among different nations, and I count myself and my contemporaries happy in having been allowed to live to see this territory won back again." Poland thus obtained a large town population, of which she had long and deeply felt the want. The possession of the mouth of the Vistula and a firm foothold on the Baltic Sea was of inestimable value to Poland, although she did not use this circumstance as much as might have been advantageous for the development of her trade, nor succeed in making the townsfolk Polish.

B. The Internal Development of Poland and its Relation to Lithuania

More important for Poland than its foreign relations was the internal development, that is the development of the constitution in the young dual monarchy and the other relations between Poland and Lithuania. The chief task was to secure for all future time the union which had early been accompanied by such great successes. The solution of this and many other problems devolved upon Poland as the moiety of the whole which was most developed in civilization and politics.

There could be no doubt as to the foundation on which the constitution was to be based. The Catholic religion was certainly the standard, by which all reforms must be tested. This fundamental idea had already been expressed in the document of February 20, 1387, in which the Polish rights were only granted to Catholic Lithuanians; a special article went so far as to assert that any man who left the Catholic faith should *ipso facto* lose all privileges. In order that the Church might grow in the future, marriage between the Roman Catholic Lithuanians and members of the Greek Orthodox faith was forbidden; if, however, the parties had secretly married, the Greek party was to be compelled to accept conversion. The non-Catholic population was excluded, therefore, from all privileges.

(*a*) *Witold and the Constitution of Horodlo.* — But this policy of degrading the non-Catholic population, intelligible and wise as it was in itself, provoked bitterness in the Lithuanian and Russian districts and commotions in the adjoining states. When Jagiello was in Cracow in 1386 he had, in order to secure Lithuania, transferred the grand ducal office to his brother Skirg(i)ello. One danger threatened, however: his cousin Witold (pp. 496 and 502), who had only obtained Grodno, seemed eminently dissatisfied with the new turn of events. He entered into secret connections not only with the Order, but also with the Grand Duke Vassilij Dmitrijevitch of Moscow, and was a suitor for the hand of his sister Sophia. The cousin brought his Russian bride home in the face of the express prohibition of the king. An alliance of Lithuania with Moscow influenced for the first time Polish and Lithuanian relations. The distinction between the Roman and the Greek faith became the more noticeable, since Lithuania definitely inclined toward the side of the latter. Witold wished to take the opportunity of his marriage to surprise Wilna. Jagiello, who suspected even his brother, who belonged to the Greek faith, thought it best to win over Witold to his plans. The latter happened to be in the territory of the Order when Bishop Henry of Plock came to him on a secret mission from Jagiello. Witold accepted the offer, effected a reconciliation with Jagiello and Hedwig at Ostrov in Volhynia, and received the grand ducal title, while Skirgiello was sent to Kiev. From that day Witold remained so loyal, to the Catholic Church at least, that Pope John XXIII conferred on him later the title of *vicarius ecclesiæ*.

The case was different with his loyalty to the Polish crown. The subordinate position which his native land now took as regards Poland, and perhaps also the slight inflicted upon the Orthodox Church, in which he was brought up, must have chagrined a typical Lithuanian like Witold. The great campaign which he prepared against the Tartars throws a peculiar light on his political plans. He fed himself with the thought of bringing the Russian principalities under his supremacy in order finally to make even Poland dependent on Lithuania. But if he wished to subjugate Moscow, which was then growing, the Tartar power must first be crushed. He was defeated, however, on the Vorskla in 1399. His hopes, so far as they had travelled in that direction, were buried in that reverse.

The battle on the Vorskla was therefore momentous not only for Poland and Lithuania, but also for all Eastern Europe. Above all it placed Lithuania in a lower position towards Poland. The depressed Witold now resolved to tighten the bond with Poland and hurried to the king at Cracow. Now for the first time the amalgamation of the two countries was seriously carried out. At the beginning of 1401 Witold assembled his Boyars and Russian vassal princes at Wilna; they all pledged themselves to help Poland with all their forces and take measures that, if Witold died, the whole dominions, inherited and acquired, should devolve on Vladislav Jagiello. Witold renewed his oath of homage, and the other princes followed his lead; Svidrig(i)ello alone appended, as the chronicler of the Order relates, "an illegal seal" to the document in order to testify to his reluctance. Immediately afterwards the Polish dignitaries held an assembly on their side at Radom on March 11, and equally gave the promise that they would support Lithuania, and after the death of Vladislav Jagiello would not elect a king without Witold's knowledge. If a personal union was concluded in 1386, a constitutional union of the two kingdoms was now effected. The advantage lay with Poland;

Lithuania was to be independent only during the lifetime of Witold, then it would be incorporated with the crown of Poland.

When the common danger threatening from the Teutonic Order had been dispelled after the great victory of 1410, it seemed as if the union would break up, for Witold believed that he was strong enough single-handed. Since the Polish statesmen had at times almost spared the Order, they might nearly be suspected of having intentionally wished to keep the necessity of an alliance with Poland continually before the eyes of the Lithuanians. Witold for his part valued Western civilization too highly not to form a true estimate of its blessings. But if he wished to raise his country to the plane of a European state, it was essential to make his people Catholics. Catholicism had yet another charm for him, — it was the religion of chivalry. Witold had already dubbed several of his men as knights; but now a creation of knights on a large scale was planned. The Polish and Lithuanian nobles hurried in crowds to Horodlo on the Bug (1413). Each Polish clan adopted a Catholic Lithuanian Boyar, who then received the family name, the arms, and all rights of the members of that Polish family; thus, for example, the palatine of Wilna, Monvid, became a member of the Leliva family, and bore the same arms as Jasko of Tarnow. Witold himself named forty-seven Boyars as the most worthy. The personal union of 1386 and the constitutional union of 1401 were thus followed by the inauguration of brotherhood between the two nations. All earlier enactments were renewed, and the preliminaries of the impending incorporation of Lithuania were so far arranged that it was resolved to undertake for administrative purposes a new partition of the Lithuanian territory on the Polish model.

Vladislav II Jagiello on this occasion increased the fundamental privileges of the nobility by an enactment of great importance for the future. Henceforward all nobles of Poland and Lithuania were to have the right, whenever it was necessary, of holding meetings and parliaments, for the benefit of the realm with the sanction of the king, at Lublin, Parczov, or some other suitable place. By this enactment the Polish parliament, as it is styled in the charter, was legally recognised, and the chief power in the state laid in the hands of the nobility. While this new parliamentary constitution implied for Poland an enlargement of existing rights, it was something quite new for Lithuania, which had hitherto been governed by an absolute monarch.

The Lithuanians, in return for their adoption of the Catholic religion and the surrender of political independence, received the same liberties and the same constitution as the Poles, whose arms they were permitted to bear as brothers. Their political loss was compensated by their newly acquired influence on the general affairs of the empire. The two other achievements of the Lithuanians, at any rate, proved illusive. The greatest corruption then prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church; the Hussite and the Protestant movements soon disturbed it. Nevertheless Christianity had not yet lost all its strength. But chivalry was waning; it had already become untenable on military, economic, and social grounds, and from the advance of civilization. Lithuania had only just laboriously introduced what Western Europe had already begun to discard.

On the other hand, the constitution of Horodlo is of first-class importance from the standpoint of civilization and history generally. Its most prominent characteristic is the accentuation of Catholicity. The Polish statesmen tried to solve

their main constitutional problem by the example of Western Europe. Did they succeed? The constitutions of the West were equally based on a Catholic foundation; but their success was not menaced by the existence of a non-Catholic element. Poland, on the contrary, had two strong religious parties side by side. That no account was taken of the Greek faith was attributable to the ideas of Western Europe; but a political reason for this was adduced. "Difference of faith produces difference of sympathies." But subsequently friction was produced by this, and rebellions broke out. Moscow, seizing on this weak spot in the armour of Poland, proclaimed herself the protector of the Orthodox faith and brought Poland to the ground. Through this vulnerable point of her constitution Poland fell a victim to the prevailing Roman Catholic ideas.

Witold then once more showed that he towered above the Polish politicians in statesmanship. It was clear to him that the gulf must somehow be bridged; he perceived the constitutional humiliation of the Orthodox population, and found the solution in the idea of ecclesiastical union. Rome, if an oppressed sovereign sought her aid, had formerly stipulated for a complete adoption of the Catholic faith, even if some occasional exemptions were promised. But now it was resolved to carry out the unification of the two churches in such a way that the Orthodox population need only accept the Catholic articles of belief and show obedience to the Pope, but in other respects should retain their Greek ritual. Before the spread of the Hussite movement men would hardly have ventured to lay such terms before the Curia. Witold energetically supported the prosecution of this plan. It was essential that the Russo-Lithuanian district with Kiev should be made independent in Church matters of the Metropolitan at Moscow. In the same year that Huss was burnt at the stake at Constance (1415; p. 257) Witold convened a synod of the Russo-Lithuanian clergy at Novohorodok in Lithuania, and proclaimed the independence of the Russo-Lithuanian Church with Kiev as its centre. Gregor Camblak, raised to be Metropolitan of Kiev, went in 1418 with eighteen suffragan bishops to Constance, at the command of the Grand Duke, in order to conclude there the union with the Roman Church. On account of the dissensions in the bosom of the Roman Church the negotiations fell through. But the idea of union remained. Thus the union concluded at Florence in the reign of Vladislav III (cf. pp. 509 and 546) is, properly speaking, the sequel of those efforts. The plan was resumed in the year 1596 under Sigismund III, when a union was agreed upon at Berest; and so again later. But there is a vast difference between the plan of Witold and the later unions. Witold contemplated only a constitutional equalisation of the Russo-Lithuanian and Catholic population, in which connection he, as a statesman, laid no special weight on creeds, and even protected the Jews; while later the only wish was to promote the Roman Catholic Church and the spread of the Polish element.

The second chief characteristic of the Polish constitution of 1413 is the stress laid on nationality. The Piast constitution had taken no account of other races because it had no cause to do so. But when in 1291 the Bohemian king Wenzel II became king of Poland also, the Polish nobility, following a precedent under Henry II of Silesia in the year 1239, drew up a charter that the king should confer offices on Poles alone. The same incident occurred when King Lewis of Hungary reigned in Poland, and again at the election of Jagiello. This article of the constitution raised a barrier between the Poles and the other nations, and thus strengthened the consciousness of Polish nationality.

A third peculiar feature of the Polish constitution was its republican spirit. Since in Horodlo it was only said generally that nobles might meet in suitable localities, but it was not precisely laid down by whom or how often they were to be summoned and how many might be present, the republican character of the constitution was thus emphasised. Wherever several nobles met they had *ipso facto* the right to decide on affairs of state; this was the source of the later Sejmiki and confederations. The unity of the constitution was destroyed by it. When an attempt was made, in 1540, in the Imperial Diet to fix at least the number of their deputies, the nobility did not even concede that point. Every noble was a deputy by birth and had a share in the imperial government. The anarchy of the falling empire had its origin at Horodlo.

Two classes now guided the destinies of Poland, — the Catholic priesthood and the nobility. The peasant population and the citizens of the towns had no place by the side of these two. The impoverishment which the privileged orders brought upon the middle class had a most disastrous effect on industry and trade. The peasantry, however, were bound to retrograde in every sense. The two powerful parties were anxious naturally to increase their privileges still more. When Vladislav Jagiello in 1425 wished to secure the succession of his sons, the stipulation was required in return that for the future only men of noble birth should be admitted to spiritual dignities. This stipulation was not granted, because it ran counter to the custom of the Roman Church itself; but henceforward priests from the common people were to be excluded at any rate from the cathedral chapters at Cracow and Gnesen. Jagiello conferred a new favour on the nobility at Jedlno in the year 1430, and in 1433 at Cracow: "we promise and vow that we will not allow any property-owning Pole to be imprisoned for any crime, or any penalty to be inflicted upon him before he has been assigned to and brought before some court, excepting thieves and criminals caught red-handed, as well as persons who cannot or will not give any security. Nobody shall be deprived of his goods by the king, but only by the sentence of the barons." This was the Polish act of Habeas Corpus.

In Lithuania people had long been discontented with the state of things created by the union with Poland. Chiefly belonging to the Orthodox communion, they felt their religious and political degradation the more keenly, since they were socially and economically prejudiced by it, and their culture must in the long run inevitably be stunted. In fine, it was felt that Lithuania was in an inferior position as regards Poland. This was perceived with the greater bitterness, since before 1386 Lithuania contained three times as much territory as Poland. At first the opposition massed itself round Witold. The Poles won him over. Then he wished to equalise the differences in a constitutional way by the union. But he could not overcome the politically inferior position of Lithuania. In a letter to Vladislav Jagiello he declared that the emperor Sigismund (Poland's evil genius, in whose power it lay to break up the union) had suggested to him the idea of aiming at the royal crown for Lithuania. Witold in fact staked everything upon obtaining his coronation. He had already invited Jagiello and many neighbouring princes to Luck. The imperial embassy, which was to bring him the crown, had reached the Polish frontier when the Poles barred the way. Sigismund and Jagiello were at Luck, when Witold died unexpectedly (October 27, 1430). The danger thus disappeared. Witold probably did not aim at a complete severance of Lithuania from

Poland or at the status (which Sigismund designed imposing on him) of a vassal of the German emperor, but rather intended to place Lithuania on an equal footing with Poland, and wished to employ Germany for the purpose.

(*b*) *Casimir IV Andreas.* — The Polish yoke grew heavier after Witold's death. Thus, for example, Polish garrisons were thrown into Kamienec and other Podolian fortresses without any warning, and Sigismund, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, was forced in the name of Lithuania to waive all claim to Podolia, and actually to surrender the most important fortresses of Volhynia. Nor was that all. The Poles demanded that all fresh acquisitions of territory should be made in the name of the crown of Poland alone. Finally, in all negotiations and treaties with foreign countries Lithuania was almost completely ignored. The malcontents grouped themselves round the person of Svidrigiello (p. 505) and the opposition found support in Moscow. Then war was determined upon in Poland. Svidrigiello, defeated in 1435 on the river Svienta, was forced to recognise the suzerainty of Poland. But the opposition was not yet crushed by this defeat, and now the Grand Duke Casimir himself, brother of King Vladislav III, put himself at its head. The union of Florence in 1439, the arrangements of which were promoted by the Polish statesmen (Bishop Olesnicki received for his services a cardinal's hat), could not but make the more bad blood in the Russo-Lithuanian districts, since King Vladislav III at the suggestion of the cardinal conferred on the united clergy the same rights which the Latin clergy enjoyed.

Casimir IV Andreas, even after he had become king of Poland in 1447, did not alter his Lithuanian proclivities. On the contrary, he endeavoured to change the constitution, the defects of which he had clearly recognised. His greatest anxiety was due to the excessive power of the Catholic ecclesiastical princes, especially the haughty behaviour of Olesnicki, who, being the real originator of that constitution, tried to overshadow the crown itself. Casimir, adroitly making full use of the schism which then divided the Roman Church, forced the anti-Pope Felix V to renounce the exclusive right of nominating the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his empire; henceforward the king had for six years to fill ninety first places. By this plan the election of the chapters became invalid, and only persons acceptable to the king could be nominated to high offices. Casimir IV also passed the enactment that the prelates as landowners should be liable to military service, by which means the military constitution of Casimir the Great was completed.

The king also planned to break down the excessive power of the nobility. He was at the same time firmly resolved not to allow Lithuania to be overshadowed by Poland; he resided by preference in the former country and surrounded himself with Lithuanians. When we hear what his attitude toward Bohemia and the Hussites was, how in 1449, in his capacity as Grand Duke of Lithuania, he made an alliance with Grand Duke Vasilij Vasiljewitch against common enemies, — the second treaty of Lithuania with Moscow, made in the spirit of Witold, — how they mutually secured the guardianship of their children and allowed free trading facilities, and how cautious was Casimir in settling the frontier on the side of Moscow, we may fairly suppose that Casimir courted connections with Moscow in order to show a bolder front against the Poles, and then to be able to reform the constitution. He delayed to confirm the Polish privileges, wished to institute a trial for high treason against the cardinal, surrounded himself with younger men

of his own views, and published pamphlets on the necessity of constitutional reform; in fact, he did not shrink from employing the headsman's axe in order to show the great officials that they were not masters of the state. He began by favouring the lesser nobility, in order to pit them against the magnates. This policy led later to the change in the constitution. There was popular talk in Lithuania of conquering Podolia by force of arms, and the bitterness between Lithuania and Poland soon reached such a pitch that an open revolt of Lithuania threatened in 1456.

If Casimir had persevered in his action he would certainly have gained his end. But financial straits forced him to concessions. Poland was confronted with a war against the Order. The Slachta, which met at Cerekwica, refused to take the field before their privileges had been confirmed. Casimir himself required money, since he wished to marry Elizabeth, the sister of the Hungarian king Ladislaus Posthumus; and since according to the laws the country had to furnish the dowry for the queen, the king was forced in 1453 to give way, and at the imperial diet at Piotrkov, in the presence of twelve knights and twelve barons, took the constitutional oath at the hands of the cardinal whom he detested. The regal power was still more restricted by the appointment of four councillors as assessors to the king, without whose consent no ordinance of the king should have the force of law. This first defeat of the crown was followed by others under Casimir's successors.

At the same diet at Piotrkov the further resolution was passed that the diet should for the future conduct its deliberations in two separate groups, one consisting of the great dignitaries (*consiliarii, barones, proceres*), and the other of the remaining nobles. Since that time there were, therefore, two chambers in Poland, — the chamber of the magnates and that of the knights. Casimir introduced a third innovation in the year 1468. In order to keep up the grant of taxes, he commanded two plenipotentiaries to be elected every two years in each province, who as provincial deputies should represent the provinces; but other nobles might voluntarily take part in the meeting of the deputies. The chamber of deputies (*izba poselska*) and the chamber of magnates, also called the Senate, deliberated independently of each other; both together composed the imperial diet (*sejm walny*). Since the deputies had to send home reports of their labours (*sejmiki relacyjne*) and received instructions from the provinces, the whole constitutional power lay there (in the "nation"), — a democracy based upon the most popular element in the Slachta.

From the time of Casimir onwards we can notice two currents in the national life of Poland: the majority of the nobles worked for the enlargement of their privileges, while the second party aimed at strengthening the royal power and a restriction of personal liberty. This division of aims was to be found in every State of Europe. A contemporary of Casimir was the Florentine Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), who in his "Principe," which was addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1514, published a treatise for the guidance of princes, to whom he wished to communicate the art of attaining an unrestricted authority. And at the court of Poland lived a representative of this school, the humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi († 1496; better known under the Latin name of Callimachus Experiens), to whom, together with John Dlugosz, Casimir had intrusted the education of his children. But while in many European countries the imperialistic party won the day, the republican party in Poland continuously gained the upper hand.

(c) *Polish Legislation under the Sons of Casimir IV.* — Casimir's son and successor John I Albert (1492–1501) vigorously prosecuted his father's plan, but in the end, like him, had to acknowledge failure. He is said to have planned nothing less than a *coup d'état* in order to overthrow the nobles and strengthen the monarchical power. He governed without the Senate. When the primate Olesnicki died, John Albert set his brother Frederic on the archiepiscopal throne. He introduced greater magnificence at court and made difficulties, whenever possible, about the admission of the magnates. He concluded a treaty with his brother Vladislav (II) of Bohemia and Hungary († 1516; cf. pp. 265 and 386), in which they pledged themselves to help each other "in case of any rebellion of their subjects or any attempt by them to restrict the monarchical power." The most certain means of increasing his power seemed to him to be a victorious war; he proposed to conquer Moldavia for his youngest brother Sigismund. All the Jagellons, with the exception of Alexander of Lithuania, assembled at Leutschau in Hungary in 1494 to discuss that campaign. They had, besides, every cause to join forces, since the Hapsburgs had concluded an alliance with Moscow against Poland. Preparations were made under pretext of a war against the Turks. Then the same situation came about as under Casimir, — the nobles would not vote any supplies, and Albert saw himself compelled to grant extensive concessions to the nobility at the diet at Piotrkov in 1496. Besides this, he suffered an overwhelming defeat in 1497 at Cozmin in the Bukovina (p. 367).

The new and at the same time monstrous feature of the legislation of John Albert, extorted in 1496 by the Slachta, was that it formally surrendered the peasant population to the nobility. The pressure of the Slachta must have been great indeed when it could be complained in the diet that the country-folk left their fields in crowds and that the villages were empty. On the basis of the enactments of Casimir the Great (who had checked emigration so far that only a peasant who had more than one son should be allowed to send one to school or to business in the town, and then only on a certificate from his lord) it was enacted that henceforward in every year only one peasant might leave his village. This restriction was not modified until 1501. In another article townsfolk were prohibited from acquiring and owning property according to provincial law. Further, the admission of non-nobles into the ecclesiastical hierarchy was restricted. Formerly, indeed, no non-nobles were admitted to the higher offices in the cathedrals at Gnesen, Cracow, Posen, and Plock, but now the superior posts generally, to the exclusion of foreigners, were reserved for natives of noble birth alone. These two provisions were ostensibly designed to increase the military force. If, according to the tenor of the military system of Casimir the Great, only landowning nobles were under any obligations of military service, in the interests of public defence the admission of non-nobles to ecclesiastical offices ought to be prevented, and the sale of "noble" property to them forbidden, because they were exempt from military service. Only certain benefices might be conferred upon "plebeians." Still more unjust were the regulations as to the prices of agricultural produce. Every palatine was to fix in his own voivodship, with the assistance of the starosts, the measure and price of the crops and the industrial products of the peasants, that is to say, of corn, cloth, and other things, — an oppressive rule which goes back to the year 1423. The articles concerning workmen were equally harsh: they were forbidden to go to Prussia and Silesia to work at harvest-tide, in order

that there might be no want of labour in Poland and that the wages might not need to be raised. The destitute were to be employed on the construction of fortresses on the Turkish or Tartar frontiers. The statute of 1496 significantly recounts that there were more beggars in the realm of Poland than anywhere else. The poor population, therefore, took refuge by hundreds in those ownerless districts on the Dnieper where freedom and a less degrading existence were still to be found, and they found a suitable employment in campaigns against Osmans and Tartars. From these people arose the avengers of Polish oppression.

The same characteristics are shown by the laws passed under Albert's brothers Alexander I (1501–1506; see the plate "The Coronation of Alexander I of Poland at Cracow in the Year 1501") and Sigismund (Zygmunt) the Elder or the Great (1506–1548; cf. *infra*, pp. 527–534). The imperial diets were bent on further restricting the royal power. Thus we may call attention to the provision that the king had not to decide anything by himself, but merely to lead the deliberations of the Senate; for "an oligarchical government was better than a monarchical." Further, the famous statute *Nihil novi* declared that the king henceforth might not introduce any new measure without the assent of the Senate and the provincial deputies; this strengthened the provisions of 1453 and 1454.

High offices were to be conferred according to length of service and not at the caprice of the monarch. Grave consequences ensued from the decree of the diet of 1504, by which the king might not pledge or give away crown lands except with the knowledge of the diet and the assent of the Senate. The legislative proposals which aimed at the increase of the defensive powers of the realm are noteworthy, and they would doubtless have achieved their purpose had they been carried out. According to them, not merely were the townsfolk who owned landed property liable to military service, but every tenth man from the country population was to be drafted into the militia (*pospolite ruszenie*), which was then intended to form the basis of the military organisation of the kingdom. The diets under Sigismund frequently occupied themselves with this question. Under him the liberty of the peasants to leave their homes was still more restricted, since they were made solely and absolutely dependent on the lord, while the rights of private jurisdiction were extended. In the legislative enactments of Melnik, of 1501, which, however, are not to be found in the *Volumina legum* of Jan Laski [John a Lasco; 1466–1531], it is laid down that, in case the king should prosecute any innocent person, or not conform to the enactments of the council and act contrary to the well-being of the empire, the whole empire was released from the oath of loyalty and might regard the king as a tyrant and a foe.

Such proceedings could not produce any good impression in Lithuania. When John Albert's brother, Alexander, became Grand Duke of Lithuania, this was done without the assent of Poland. The union, therefore, was formally non-existent. Alexander, in fact, trod in the footsteps of Witold and Casimir, since he similarly entered into alliance with Moscow. Only the war against the Order brought both parties quickly together again.

THE CORONATION OF ALEXANDER I. OF POLAND AT CRACOW

I THE YEAR 1501

The coronation of Alexander I., second son of the Jagellon Casimir IV., took place in the church of St. Mary at Cracow. The artist has skilfully chosen the moment when the crown is placed on the head of the chosen monarch, kneeling before the altar, by the Archbishop of Gnesen. On either side of the king kneel the Bishops of Posen and Cracow, who ranked immediately after the Archbishop in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Poland, and who had to take part with him in the coronation ceremony. At the side of the altar stand three other prelates, perhaps the Bishops of Kujawien, Wilno and Plock. To the right, to the left, and in the centre stands a keeper of the regalia; one holds the sceptre, the other the orb, the third the sword. In the corner to the left stands a young priest with the cross. Further off, on the right side of the altar, stand the representatives of various religious orders. In the nave, in front of the altar, on the right, some ladies of rank are grouped; one, who stands apart, and slightly to the centre, in a separate space, seems to be the queen. The congregation appears below in the corner of the picture.

As the crown here differs from other representations thereof on the Polish monuments, and even on one of this same king, Alexander I., and as the grouping of all the bishops on one side of the altar was very unusual, we may conclude, both on these and on other grounds, that the artist was neither an eye-witness of the ceremony nor a cleric. For artistic reasons, he so arranged his picture that the left side was neglected, and everything was brought to the right. It is only thus we can explain the introduction of a portion only of the iron rood-screen on the right, whereas this must certainly have extended across the whole of the chancel, dividing it from the nave. Nevertheless, this interesting miniature is of great artistic and historic value.

INSCRIPTION.

Incipit ordo ad regem benedicendum consecrandum et coronandum, quando novus a Clero et populo in Regem sublimatur. et primo, antequam exeat de thalamo, induatur vestibus cum orationibus infra scriptis; ante indumentum dicatur prius:

Quare fremuerunt gentes! et timor domini, permanens usque ad finem,

et statim induatur. Primo induatur tunica dicens:

Ut diligam iustitiam . . .

TRANSLATION.

The order begins with the benediction, consecration and coronation of the king, when a new one is raised to the dignity by the clergy and people. But first, before issuing from his chamber, he shall be invested, the while the prayers given below are recited. Before his investiture shall be said:

"Why do the heathen rage" (Psalm ii. 1) and "The fear of the Lord" (Proverbs xiv. 27) to the end, and after this he shall be robed. A tunic shall first be put upon him, and he shall say: "That I may love justice" (Wisdom i. 1).

...pit ordo ad regem
benedicendum conse
crandum et coronan
dum quando nows
a Clero et populo in re
gem sublimatur ⁊ pri
mo antequam exeat de
thalamo induatur ve
stibus cum oracionibus

infrascriptis ante in
dumentum dicatur ps
Quare fremuerunt
gentes et timor
domini permanens
usque ad finem et statim
induatur Primo in
duatur tunica dicens
Ut diligam iustitiam

London: Wm Heinemann. Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

THE CORONATION OF ALEXANDER I OF POLAND AT CRACOW IN 1501.

(From an illuminated manuscript in the Czartoryski Library at Cracow.)

8. RUSSIA FROM 1260 TO HER ADMISSION AMONG THE GREAT POWERS (THE VOLGA AGE)

UNDER the Tartar supremacy the place of Vladimir (in the principality of Susdal) as the residence of the Grand Duke and the capital of Russia, was taken by Moscow, which lay to the west of it on the small river Moskva (*vide* maps in this volume). The Grand Dukes, as Nikolai M. Karamsin justly observes, while assuming the modest title of servants of the Khan, became gradually powerful monarchs. By this policy the way was paved for the rise of despotic power in Russia, and the princely house, in Moscow as formerly in Vladimir, had a definite aim before their eyes. They were responsible to the Khan for the maintenance of public order in Russia, assumed, as general agents of the Khan, the collection of taxes throughout Russia in order to be spared the torment of Tartar tax-gatherers, and thus were able to act unscrupulously towards their own subjects and other princes, and showed no mercy, since they received none themselves in Sarai. The other independent princes lost in prestige, and no less so the popular assemblies and the nobility. Every one from fear of the Mongol bowed before the Grand Dukes of Moscow. They drew from the farming of the revenue not merely financial but also political strength. The Tartar tribute was exacted by Moscow even when it was not necessary to pay it to the Tartars, and the people paid it without murmuring. Thanks to this circumstance, Moscow had always large sums of money at its disposal, and Russia in this way grew accustomed by the fourteenth century to see in it the capital of the country.

These princes of Moscow of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries were unpleasing figures, harsh, selfish, and shrinking from no steps which led to power. It is a repugnant task in these modern times to read the accounts of the degradation and meanness of most of them in their dealings with the Mongols. But it was a political necessity, and we must not forget that feelings are out of place in politics. Lithuania and afterwards Poland were willing to form leagues with the Tartars against Russia, and actually did so. Only such unscrupulous, unfeeling but diplomatic rulers as the Muscovite were could have saved Russia in its helpless and desperate plight from the Mongols and other neighbouring nations.

A. MOSCOW FROM DANIEL ALEXANDROVITCH TO WASILIJ II (1263–1463)

THE first known prince of Moscow was Michael the Bold (after 1248), younger brother of Alexander Nevski (p. 467). The true founder of the princedom was Nevski's son, Daniel (1263–1303), who had received Moscow as an appanage. He increased his territory, founded convents, encouraged trade, and made a good waterway on the Moskva. When he died in 1303 he left to his sons Jurij, Danilovitch (1303–1325), and Ivan (1328–1341) a compact territory, which they still further enlarged. Jurij was the first who, after the death of the Grand Duke Andrej Alexandrovitch of Vladimir, came forward in 1304 as a claimant of the grand ducal title; but his second uncle, Michael of Tver, had, as the eldest of the family, a better claim to it. Both went to their superior lord at Sarai and tried to defeat each other by bribery and intrigues. A civil war thus broke out between Moscow and Tver, which lasted almost thirty years, revealed startling

depths of basenesss, and cost the life of several princes. Moscow eventually won. Jurij, who married in 1315 Kontchaka, the favourite sister of Uzbeg Khan, became Grand Duke. Ivan I, surnamed Kalita, from the purse which he wore in order to distribute alms, knew how to win over the Church and to induce the Metropolitan Peter of Vladimir to settle at Moscow; Theognost, Peter's successor, also resided in Moscow, which ranked as the capital after 1328. No Russian prince made so many journeys to the Horde as Kalita. He so completely won over the Mongols that they entrusted him with the government of the affairs of his kingdom, and even placed an army at his disposal. Peace reigned for years in Russia. The amalgamation of the two nations (cf. p. 469) made rapid strides. This wise policy was the more profitable since the mighty Uzbeg (1312–1340) then sat on the throne of Kiptchak. Kalita was himself a merchant prince and in favour of Uzbeg, and the wide expanse of the Mongol Empire helped the Russian trade. Ivan took upon himself the duty of levying the tribute from Russia.

The same policy was followed by his sons Simeon the Proud (Gordyi; 1341–1353) and Ivan II (1353–1359). Simeon (Semen) even ventured to assume the title "Grand Duke of all Russia." Other times had come. The Grand Duke had formerly been to all other princes "father" or "elder brother," now he was for all his relations "lord" (*gospodin*). All had to feel the weight of his hand. When Novgorod, which had become a dependency of Moscow, tried to gain freedom, it was punished with severity, and the obligation imposed on it that in the future the municipal officials should kneel barefooted before the assembly of the princes and entreat their mercy. We notice here the influence of Mongolian customs. But the necessity for this severity is shown by the reign of Simeon's brother Ivan II, whose weakness rendered insecure all the successes that had been achieved.

The position of Russia had meantime improved. While the Muscovite princes slowly united the Russian countries in their hands, the Mongol state began to break up. Some parts of the vast empire made themselves independent of Sarai under Khans of their own, — the same process which had formerly ruined Russia. The son of Ivan II, Dmitrij Ivanovitch (1362–1389), was soon strong enough to defy the will of the Tartars and to govern in Russia as he thought best; in 1376 he actually made two petty Tartar princes his tributaries. When in the same year he conquered a governor of the able Manaj Khan, he exclaimed "God is with us; their day is over." But that was premature. Manaj collected an immense army, and at the same time concluded a treaty with the Lithuanian prince Jagiello (p. 496). Dmitrij also rallied many princes round him, and strengthened himself by prayer in the Church of the Assumption, before he rode to the battlefield. All felt keenly that a religious war impended. Manaj is said to have threatened to destroy all the churches and bring over Russia to Islam. The battle took place on the 8th of September, 1380, on the plain of Kulikovo (at the confluence of the Neprædva and the Don), and was decided in favour of Russia. Fifteen Russian princes were left on the field. Dmitrij received the surname of Donskoj, the Victor of the Don. On that very day Jagiello of Lithuania had been only a few miles away from the Tartars; his junction with Manaj would certainly have changed the result. The rejoicings at this first great victory were immense; Moscow, the new capital of Russia, thus received its baptism of war. Even if the Tartar yoke was far from being shaken off by this, it was yet seen that the Russians in their long servitude had not forgotten how to draw the sword for freedom and honour. They

had now learnt that the Mongols were not invincible; and their courage and character were increased.

Not the less important for the unification of Russia was the enactment of Dmitrij, by which primogeniture became the law of the land. The eldest son of the Grand Duke, not the eldest of the stock, was henceforward to succeed his father. By this law, of which we have no details, the family disputes of the ruling house were not indeed completely ended, but, happily for Russia, were restricted. The son of Donskoj, Vas(s)ilij I Dmitrijevitch (1389–1425), now succeeded in accordance with this law of succession.

Under Vasilij's successor, Vasilij II Vasilijevitch (1425–1462), a dispute once more broke out between the supporters of the old rule of "Seniority" and the new rule of "Primogeniture." Jurij Dmitrijevitch was opposed to the grandson of Dmitrij Donskoj, the uncle to the nephew (see genealogical table at page 452). The ambassador sent from Moscow saved the cause of his master at Sarai by a speech which throws a flood of light upon the situation. "All powerful Czar," so Vsevoloshkij in 1431 addressed Ulugh Mahmet, "allow me to speak, who am the Grand Duke's slave. My master, the Grand Duke, solicits the throne of the Grand Duchy, which is entirely thy property, without any other claim thereto but through thy good will, thy consent, and thy warrant. Thou disposest of it as thou thinkest fit. The prince Jurij Dmitrijevitch, his uncle, on the other hand, claims the Grand Duchy, according to the enactment and last will of his father, but not as a favour of thy omnipotence." The speech did its work; the Khan commanded that Jurij should henceforward lead his nephew's horse by the bridle. "Thus the prize in this contest of humility was assigned to the prince of Moscow." At Vasilij's coronation (such ceremonies have always taken place at Moscow since that day) a Mongolian Baskak was present. Vladimir, the old capital, now lost the last trace of its glory. The war between uncle and nephew was continued in spite of the decision of the Khan. It was then seen how dependent the people were on their prince. When Vasilij, ousted by his uncle, had Kostroma (Kolomna) assigned him as residence, the Muscovites left their city in crowds and joined him at Kostroma; the uncle, who could not maintain his position in Moscow, now voluntarily withdrew. And when Vasilij II entered Moscow for the second time, the people thronged round him "like bees round their queen," says a chronicler. He died, blinded in 1446 by a son of Jurij (hence called Temnyi), on the 17th of March, 1462.

B. The Unification of Russia under Ivan III to Ivan IV (1462–1584)

The fall of the Tartar power rendered the consolidation of Russia possible. The unerring persistent policy of the Muscovite princes was destined to bear good fruit. Their aim was to shake off the Tartar yoke and to "join" all formerly Russian countries, that is to say, to reunite them in one empire. Ivan III (1462–1505), who now mounted the throne as "sole monarch," his son Vasilij III (1505–1533), and his grandson Ivan IV (1533–1584), surnamed the Terrible (see the plate facing page 519), effected this junction of Russia, although they were the reverse of heroic soldiers.

(*a*) *Ivan III.* — Ivan III, the most important among them, was the model of a Susdalian and Muscovite ruler, a cold, heartless, and calculating statesman. His

policy was markedly influenced by his second marriage with Sophia (Zoë), a niece of the last Byzantine emperor, who had been educated in Rome at the papal court. Cardinal John (Basilios) Bessarion (the humanist and advocate of the union of the churches), had first prompted that alliance. The proposal in question reached the Grand Duke, then twenty years old, in 1469, and had been received by the Boyars with enthusiasm. In the year 1472 Sophia entered Moscow accompanied by many of her countrymen and by the papal legate Antonio, and her arrival brought a new spirit into the Russian court. She it was who realised the humiliation of the Mongol yoke. Moscow regarded itself now as the heir of Byzantium and Ivan adopted the double-headed Byzantine eagle as the new arms of Russia (cf. p. 144). The outlook of Russian policy widened; henceforward Russia was regarded as the representative and seat of orthodoxy. Moscow took up the cause of the Greek Christians in the East and actually waged war in the name of this idea, which was translated into deeds against the Osmans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Pope indeed, when he sent the fair daughter of the Palaiologi to Russia, was intent on the plan of winning the whole of Russia for Rome; but the cunning of the Russian sovereign frustrated such intentions. Ivan derived all possible advantages from that alliance without conferring the slightest benefits in return. The entry of the Roman legate into Moscow was a humiliation for Rome; he was forced to put aside the silver crucifix, which he wished to be borne in front of him, and to face an argument with a learned Russian monk, which only caused him annoyance. Even the young Greek princess, once arrived on Russian soil, seemed to have forgotten her Roman education and her papal benefactor.

It was Sophia also who taught her husband "the secret of despotism." Ivan came forward now in a quite different character from the earlier Grand Dukes. He stood before the eyes of the Russians like an avenging deity, and was called not only the "Great" but the "Awful" (*gnosnyi*; the surname "Terrible" suits Ivan IV better). He inflicted death penalties and martyrdoms lavishly. When he slept after meals, the Boyars anxiously kept watch by him; women fainted at his gaze. He treated foreign potentates with almost Oriental presumption. When the Mongol Khan Ahmed sent envoys with his portrait, in order to demand the tribute, he stamped on the portrait, and ordered all the envoys to be killed except one who was to bring the tidings to Astrakhan. He communicated with the Mongol envoys only through officials of the second rank. In a word, the bearing of the Grand Duke testified to unbounded pride of sovereignty. He governed without the Boyars; when one of them complained that the Grand Duke decided every point alone, he was beheaded. Herberstein (cf. the explanation to Figure 6 of the plate at page 452) asserts that no monarch in Europe was so implicitly obeyed by his subjects as the Grand Duke of Russia. This self-consciousness of the Russian court often, indeed, amounted to an absurdity, and barbarous customs considerably detracted from the magnificence which was displayed at the reception of foreign embassies.

Ivan carried on the work of uniting Russia in the most unscrupulous manner. He began by entering into a series of contracts with his relations, in order to secure to himself the supremacy. He then put an end to the more or less independent petty principalities and lordships which existed round Moscow. Thus in the first years of his reign Tver, Vereja, Rjasan, and then Bjelosersk, Rostow, Jaroslav, etc.,

were placed under the immediate government of Moscow. The union of Novgorod with Moscow cost much bloodshed. This once powerful free city on the Ilmen, the cradle of the Russian State, brought on its own fall by internal factions. The princes of Moscow had long been indignant that Novgorod barred their access to the sea, and also entertained the suspicion that it might join their enemies, Lithuania or Poland. Its freedom must therefore be crushed; it was not enough that, having long recognised the suzerainty of the lords of Moscow, it paid them tribute without difficulty; its self-government was to be taken away. Ivan understood how to form a political party out of the supporters of the Greek faith in Novgorod, and to play them off against the others, who were devoted to the Catholic cause, and therefore to Poland. The Lithuano-Polish party was led by the Borecki family, whose head was Marfa, the energetic widow of a former Possadnik. Ivan waited until Novgorod was guilty of a breach of faith by opening negotiations with Poland, in order to seek protection there against the attacks of Russia. The Muscovite army then entered the territory of Novgorod and defeated the untrained Novgorodian troops, who had been collected with great difficulty, in 1471 at the river Schelona. The Novgorodians submitted, recognised Ivan as sovereign, and actually accepted the jurisdiction of the courts of Moscow. But in 1478 Ivan took from them the rest of their self-government, deported the most famous families into the interior of Russia, sent his governors to Novgorod, and brought to Moscow the bell which for centuries had summoned the people to the popular assembly. The fall of Novgorod has often been sung by the poets and made the subject of drama, Marfa Borecka being celebrated as the heroine. But no one will deny that the republic outlived its day, that it never properly fulfilled its duty as a middleman between the merchants of the East and West, and that it now really stood in the way of the union of Russian countries. The capture of Novgorod and its environs gave Moscow an overwhelming superiority over the other principalities.

Besides this, Ivan conquered Perm, "the land of silver beyond the Kama." The second free city, Vyatka, was conquered in 1489; an advance was made to the Petchora, the Ural was crossed, and the country of the Voguls and Ugrians made tributary. Russia thus expanded as far as the Arctic Ocean, and for the first time set foot in Asia. Vasilij III then subjugated the free state of Pskov, where the dissensions of the citizens had opened the ground for him; many families were sent from thence to other towns. "Alas, glorious and mighty Pskov, wherefore this despair and these tears?" exclaims the poetical chronicler. "How shall I not despair?" answered Pskov. "An eagle with the claws of a lion has swooped down on me. . . . Our land is wasted, our city ruined, our marts are destroyed, our brethren led away whither neither our fathers nor grandfathers dwelt." But subordination to Moscow was for Pskov an historical necessity if the unification of Russia was to progress. When Vasilij had banished the princes of Rjasan and Novgorod Severskij and united their lands with Moscow, the union of European Russia under the leadership of Moscow would appear almost finished. Russia already directed her eyes toward newly discovered Asiatic districts, where the Arctic Ocean formed the frontier. Only the Lithuanians and the Tartars were still left to be conquered.

Ivan III had the good fortune to shake off the Tartar yoke. There were then several Tartar kingdoms, — Kasan, Astrakhan (Sarai), the Nogai Horde, the province of the Crimea, and numerous smaller independent hordes, — who all fought

with each other, and thus lightened the task of the Grand Duke. In the year 1480 Ivan advanced with a strong army against the great horde of Sarai, but could not make up his mind to strike; for months the two armies stood opposite each other in inaction, until at last the Tartars withdrew. It was not therefore a great victory; Russia had only ceased to pay tribute. Once again, in the year 1521, the Tartars of the Crimean horde united with their tribesmen beyond the Volga in the Nogai steppe and in Kasan to attack Moscow. The town was so suddenly invested on all sides that the Grand Duke Vasilij hardly made good his escape. The citizens in their first panic promised to pay again the old tribute. Then discord broke out among the Tartars; they withdrew. From that time the Tartar danger was as good as ended. But another Mohammedan power, Turkey, threatened Russia from the south; in 1475 Mohammed II (p. 145) brought the Crimea under his suzerainty. At the same time a growing danger arose in the union, Poland with Lithuania. How could Russia have withstood this powerful neighbour if she had been still politically divided, and dependent on Tartar hordes? It was the merit of the Grand Dukes of Moscow that a liberated and united Russia could not only defend itself, but could also advance victoriously against the menacing foe.

The prestige of Moscow grew not only in all Russian districts, but also in foreign countries. The courts of Western Europe sought to win the alliance of the Grand Duke. Apart from their relations to Rome, Lithuania, and Poland, Ivan III and his son Vasilij received envoys from Venice, Hungary, the emperor Frederick III and his son Maximilian, Sweden, and Denmark. From the East came envoys from Turkey, Georgia, and Persia.

Russia now found the leisure and also felt the wish to devote time to the work of civilization. Just as when formerly the Grand Duke Vladimir married the Greek princess, Anna (p. 452) the art and religion of Byzantium was transplanted with her to Russia, thus the second wife of Ivan and her Greek suite now called a new age of culture into life. Byzantine scholars brought Greek books with them, which formed the nucleus of the later libraries of Moscow. Ivan III himself took pleasure in distinguished foreigners. Artists and scholars from Western Europe found a brilliant reception at his court. In Aristotele Fioraventi of Bologna he acquired a distinguished architect, artillerist, and tutor for his children. Pietro Antonio built a palace for him. Monks from the famous monastery of Athos came to Russia; amongst them a learned Greek, Maxim by name, was conspicuous. He is said to have been astonished to find such a mass of old manuscripts in the Kremlin at Moscow. The monks were intrusted by the Grand Duke with the translation of Greek books into Slavonic. The Grand Dukes owed their successes against the Tartars and petty princes partly to the artillery perfected by foreigners. The whole system of warfare was revolutionised. At the same time mineral treasures were exploited. Ivan III also devoted attention to the judicial system, which in the Tartar age was often a matter of caprice, and in 1497 caused the common law to be published in the new Russian code *Sudebnik*.

(*b*) *Vasilij III Ivanovitch.* — The question of the succession, that open wound from which Russia so long bled, and to which she formerly owed her subjugation, was at last settled. The testamentary dispositions of Ivan III showed his opinion on the point. After he had long hesitated whether to nominate as his successor his grandson or his son by his second wife, he decided in favour of his son Vasilij,

IVAN III AND IV; THE WHITE RUSSIAN FEDERATION WITH THE EMPEROR MAX

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OVERLEAF

Left above: Ivan III Vassilievitch, the first "High Prince and Autocrat (Gossudar) of all Russia" (1462–1505). From "La Cosmographie universelle" d'André Thevet, cosmographe du Roy; Paris, 1575. Thevet found the portrait in the possession of a Greek at Brussa in Asia Minor.

(From the work of Rovinski, "Portraits authentiques des Tzars Jean III, Basil son fils, et Jean IV le Terrible," in the Royal and Imperial *Familienfideikommiss* Library at Vienna.)

Right above: Ivan IV Vassilievitch the "Terrible" (Grosnyi, 1533–1584).

(From the contemporary woodcut "*Abcontrafactür des Herren Quar und Grossfürsten Iwan Bassilowitz, aller Reusen ein Monarcha, etc.*," in the Royal and Imperial Court Library at Vienna.

Below: The emperor Maximilian I receives the embassy of Vassilie III Ivanovitch (1505–1533). After the woodcut by Hans Burgkmair.

(From "Der Weiss Kunig" (the white king). A narrative of the exploits of the emperor Maximilian I. Compiled from his memoirs by Marx Treitzsaurwein, with specially drawn woodcuts by Hannsen Burgmair; Vienna, 1775.)

probably because his mother was a Byzantine. The other sons received small provinces without monarchical rule; they had neither the right of coinage, nor any higher jurisdiction, and were compelled to recognise the elder brother as their lord. If one of them died without issue, his lands reverted to the Grand Duke. Thus the first hereditary monarchy was instituted in Russia.

An era of renascence now began for Russia, — a restoration of the political independence and union of the empire, an economic revival, an awakening of the national self-consciousness, a renewal of national culture and literature, the dawn of new and greater glory. Russia, by frequently sending embassies to foreign courts entered by degrees into the circle of the civilized nations of the West. In short, fortune once more smiled on Russia.

But the goal was still far away, and serious obstacles remained to be overcome. The people were now the greatest obstacle to themselves. In the long period of Tartar rule they had been warped not merely politically but morally. The Russians had emerged from the Asiatic school, in which they had so long been trained, as Asiatics accustomed to murder and cruelty. The Greek Church in Russia had suffered equally; left to itself it inevitably became stagnant. It is easier to improve the national welfare and culture and to gain victories than to change the nature of a whole people; several generations at least are required for that.

(*c*) *Ivan IV the Terrible.* — The hard fortunes of the country had produced a hard ruling dynasty. The pride and self-consciousness of the sovereign, in whose person the state was bound up, grew with the progress which the union of Russia made under Moscow's supremacy, with the increase of the royal power toward the nobility and the popular assembly, and with the growth in the power and prestige of the nation. In Moscow the contest between the power of the prince and that of the nobility and the popular assembly, which raged throughout Russia, had been decided in favour of the former. It was a soil on which tyranny might flourish. The Susdalian and Muscovite princes had increased the strictness of their government, and while Ivan III had already earned the surname of "Awful," this stamp of sovereign reached the climax in Ivan IV. History calls him the Terrible (see his portrait in the plate facing this page, Ivan III and Ivan IV). A man of unusual gifts and iron will, but of the worst education imaginable, he is one of the most wonderful phenomena in history, in which he has acquired a dark notoriety. It would be unfair to condemn him at once; he is too important to be measured by conventional standards.

When he was only three years old his father died. The government during his minority was taken over by his mother Helene Glinska, a Lithuanian, whose family was originally Tartar. A council of Boyars, in which the first place was ceded to her uncle Michael Glinski, was placed at her side. But it was soon apparent that this ambitious woman would not tolerate any other will by the side of hers. Only her favourite, Count Ivan Telepnev Obolenskij, could exercise any influence over her. A reign of bloodshed began. Her brother-in-law Jurij, her uncle Michael, her second brother-in-law Andrej, and others who seemed dangerous to her, died a cruel death, while the affairs of the empire were not maladministered externally. When she herself died suddenly in 1538 and the Boyar council alone undertook the conduct of state affairs, two families, the Schujskij and the Bielskij, came forward, disputed for precedence, and fought each other. Once more there were scenes of

blood; no quarter was given by either side when it had the upper hand. Russia had now been so long accustomed to self-government, that even in the Privy Council a member would wish to have unrestricted liberty of language. The fact that no regard was shown the successor to the crown in the matter, and that he would have been gladly ignored, shows how untamed the powerful Boyars then were. Even in later years Ivan complained that Ivan Schujskij had not greeted him, and in his bedroom had placed his feet on his father's bed, that the treasury of his father and his uncle had been plundered by the Boyars, and that even the royal service of plate had been marked with their names. Ivan in those days often suffered hunger; even his life was threatened. The Schujskij attacked towns and villages, tormenting and extorting without mercy. They jealously watched that no one else gained influence. One of the privy councillors, Fedor Voronzov, who seemed to rejoice in the favour of the young sovereign, was insulted and cuffed in the presence of the latter; his clothes were torn, and he would have been killed had not the Metropolitan rescued him at Ivan's petition. Prematurely accustomed to barbarity and bloodshed, the twelve-year old boy gloated over the agonies of tortured animals; when only fifteen years old he rode through the streets of Moscow with his young companions and cut and slashed all he met. The Orthodox Greek Church, which might have been expected to exercise a favourable influence on the lawless youth, had sunk into such decay under the Mongol yoke that it had not the strength to interfere. The clergy were almost as addicted to gaming, drunkenness, and other vices as the laity; the darkest superstition prevailed among the common people. Jugglers, robbers, and fanatics roamed the land; murder and brigandage were everyday occurrences. This was the moral condition of the society in which Ivan the Terrible grew up.

At first he submitted, until, in 1543, in blazing fury he had Prince Andrej Schujskij seized in the open street, subjected to gross indignities, and murdered. From that day, says the chronicle, the Boyars began to fear him. He was then thirteen years old. On the 3d of February, 1547, when barely seventeen years old, he married Anastasia, daughter of the chamberlain, Roman Sacharin. It is a proof of his political insight that he assumed the title of Czar, and that he obtained in 1561, through the patriarch of Constantinople personally, as well as through a council expressly called for the purpose, a confirmation of his descent from the imperial Byzantine house and of his right to the imperial crown. Fear fell on all pagan countries, says the Chronicle of Novgorod. All the nations of the Orthodox East began to look to the Muscovite Czar as to the head and representative of their Church and their patron. In the year of his coronation three outbreaks of fire (April and June, 1547) reduced the city of Moscow to ashes. The lives of the Czar and the Metropolitan were in the greatest danger. The Schujskij princes spread the report that the Czar's grandmother, Anna Glinska, had torn the hearts out of corpses, soaked them in water, sprinkled the streets of Moscow with them, and thus caused the fire. The excited populace murdered the uncle of Ivan, Jurij Glinski, in the church, marched to Vorobjovo, where the Czar was staying, and demanded with threats the surrender of his grandmother. The mob did not disperse until Ivan, acting on a bold impulse, had the spokesmen executed. The occurrence is said to have made a weighty and lasting impression on the Czar.

It was then that Ivan drew two new men to his side, the Pope Silvester and a court official, Alexej Adaschev. Silvester governed him completely. Ivan did not

venture on a step without Silvester; he ate, drank, dressed, and lived according to Silvester's doctrines. The influence of the two was very beneficial, and not less so that of his wife Anastasia. An honourable atmosphere prevailed in court circles; in all state business moral and religious aspects came into the foreground. Synods and imperial assemblies were summoned, in order to discuss important business. It was an inspiring moment when the young Czar in the year 1549 asked forgiveness from the assembled people for all injustice and humiliated himself. He showed universal courtesy and commanded men's trust and love. Much good was really done then. In 1556 a new code of civil and canon law appeared, which from its division into one hundred chapters was called *Stoglaw*. Its sixteenth paragraph contained an enactment for the erection of parochial schools in every town.

At the same time the court of Moscow resolved to carry on war against the Tartars on the Volga, who still harassed Russia. Ivan, at Silvester's advice, though reluctantly, placed himself at the head of the army. Kasan was taken in 1552, not so much by the bravery as by the sheer numerical superiority of the Russians. In the year 1557 Astrachan, the old Serai, once so formidable to Russia, also fell. The results of this first conquest at the cost of the Asiatics were far reaching. Not merely was the power of the Tartars crushed and the whole of the great Volga made a Russian stream, but Russian influence now reached into the Caucasus and as far as Persia. Other tribes, such as the Tcheremisses, Mordvins, Tchuvashes, Votiaks, Bashkirs, who had formerly been subject to the ruler of Kasan, now made their submission. The first step toward the conquest of Asia was taken. The Crimean horde alone was left; but it led a precarious existence and sought the alliance of Russia. Ivan returned to Moscow as a hero. His confident attitude toward the Boyars increased. "I fear you no longer," he is said to have exclaimed to a Voivod.

He resolved at this period to disseminate the culture of Western Europe in Russia. Hans Slitte, a German from Goslar, who was at Moscow in 1547, was commissioned by him to bring scholars, artists, physicians, printers, artisans, etc., to Russia. And it was only in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Livonians, who saw in this plan a dangerous strengthening of their neighbour, that Slitte failed to bring to Russia the one hundred and twenty-three persons whom he had engaged. From this moment the dislike Ivan felt for the Baltic Germans grew the more intense, since the Teutonic Order in Livonia barred his road to the sea. From these reasons the determination to conquer Livonia matured in his mind despite the warnings of Silvester and Adaschev. When in 1553, under Edward VI, a British expedition of three ships was sent to explore the route to China and India by the Arctic Ocean, and one of the ships was cast away at the mouth of the Dwina, Ivan seized the opportunity of opening commercial negotiations with England. He conceded to the English merchants highly advantageous trading privileges, and thus secured to his empire a connection with the West. In the war for Livonia, which broke out between Russia, Poland, and Sweden, Ivan obtained only Dorpat (1558), while Poland held Livonia as a province and the duchy of Courland as a fief; Esthonia fell to Sweden.

These events entirely broke off the friendly relations between Ivan and Adaschev and Silvester. The death of his virtuous queen (August 7, 1560) certainly contributed to this result. The guardianship exercised over him by the two had at

last become intolerable. Silvester had tried to make his master quite dependent on him, and had even taken up a position of hostility to the Czarina. When the first son of the Czar died (June, 1553), Silvester declared to him that it was a punishment inflicted by heaven for his disobedience. But a severe illness of the Czar (about the end of the year 1552–1553) had brought matters to a head. Awaiting his end, Ivan called on the Boyars to do homage to his son Dmitrij. But the Boyars refused; Silvester and Adaschev sided with the rebels. The noise of the disputants reached the sick chamber of the Czar. When Ivan, contrary to expectation, recovered, his confidence in his two councillors was gone. Ivan was as yet moderate in his punishments; but little by little the number of executions increased, until his fury against the Boyars knew no bounds. The fallen ministers had many partisans; and when Ivan later scented treason everywhere, and felt himself insecure in his own court, he was to some extent justified. Lithuania-Poland, the most dangerous enemy of Russia, kept up communications with the malcontents, and the party of the fallen made no disguise of their Polish proclivities. Prince Andrej M. Kurbskij intentionally brought about a shameful defeat in the Livonian campaign, and fled in 1564 to the Polish camp. Others actually admitted Tartars into the country. Ivan's anxiety now became a disease; he believed himself to be surrounded by none but traitors.

He at this time received a letter from the fugitive Kurbskij, in which the latter summoned him before a divine tribunal to answer for his cruelties. Ivan sent for the bearer of the letter, drove his iron-shod staff through his foot, leant with all his weight on it, and then had the letter read out. Rarely have more stinging reproaches been hurled in the face of a sovereign. The Czar thought well to answer the letter at length. Both writings belong to the most remarkable documents of Russian history.

Ivan suddenly left Moscow on the 3d of December, 1564, in the company of his family, many Boyars, and an armed force, and went to Alexandrovskaja Sloboda. He took the most revered relics and the state treasure with him. Moscow was wildly excited at it. A month afterwards two missives from him arrived, — one to the Metropolitan, in which he said that he could no longer tolerate the illegalities of the Boyars, especially since the clergy hindered him from punishing them, and that he had resolved to leave the empire and go whither God led him; a second was addressed to the Orthodox citizens of Moscow, in which he assured them that he was not angry with them. The impression produced by these two letters was overwhelming. The people, filled with the fear of falling again under the rule of the nobles, marched with lamentations and threats through the streets of the city, ready to cut down the Czar's enemies, and requested the Metropolitan to propitiate the Czar; whereupon an embassy to the Czar was organised. Ivan came back on the 2d of February, 1565. But a terrible change would seem to have taken place in him. "His mere aspect struck horror; his features were distorted with fury, his sight nearly gone, his hair almost all fallen off. He declared before a great meeting that he needed a body-guard." He then singled out a series of towns and some streets of Moscow, and declared that to be his private property, which was called *Opritshina*, while the rest of Russia as state property was called *Semshtshina*, and was left under the management of the council of Boyars. This was the first separation of crown property from national property, and was important in its consequences. He chose out of his own lands a body-guard of six

thousand men with wives and children, mostly people of low origin, the *Opritshniki*. An axe, a dogshead, and a besom were their badges, signifying that traitors would be beheaded, gnawed to pieces, and swept away. The whole Semshtshina was assigned to them to plunder, and there was no appeal to justice against them. How they wreaked their fury is shown by the circumstance that even now in Russo-Polish countries a vagabond and robber is called Opryszok. Ivan meantime executed the traitors unsparingly, and then retired to Alexandrovo. There he indulged in wild excesses, in brutal man-hunts, murdering, and burning; strangely enough he combined with all this sincere religious observances. He arranged his court as a convent, and formed out of three hundred trustworthy myrmidons a monastic brotherhood, of which he was abbot. He performed every duty and himself rang the bell for service. At midnight they assembled in cowls and black gowns, and Ivan struck his forehead so hard upon the floor that his face was covered with bruises.

This state of things lasted until 1572, for seven full years. Ivan was meantime conscious of the disgracefulness of these proceedings, for he endeavoured to disguise to the outside world the existence of the Opritshnina, and conducted the affairs of state as before. The Metropolitan Philip finally plucked up courage to ask him to abolish the Opritshnina. Ivan, however, summoned an ecclesiastical court and impeached the bold petitioner. While Philip was standing in full robes before the altar on the 8th of November, 1568, a troop of the body-guard rushed in, tore the vestments from him, and dragged him off to a convent prison, where he was strangled in 1569. The public mourning for the Metropolitan reduced Ivan to fury. Hundreds of persons were daily executed, burnt, or tortured to death, and whole communities were annihilated. Ivan lived under the delusion that for the sake of his own and his family's existence he must exterminate the traitors. In the year 1572, tormented by fear and anxiety, the monarch, who in his soul was intensely unhappy, composed his will: "My body is exhausted, my spirit gloomy; the ulcers on my soul and my body are spreading, and no physician is there to heal them. I waited if any would wish to have pity on me, but none came to me. . . . They have returned good with evil, love with hate." These are his words at the opening of this document. We now have an insane person before us. He seems to have been stung by qualms of conscience in his lucid intervals, as is seen from many indications.

A most remarkable and historically unique record of the Czar is left us in the shape of a book of masses for the souls of the deceased drawn up by his own hand, in which he instituted masses for each one of his victims. After several names stands the sinister note, "with his wife, his children and servants," "with his sons," or "with his daughters." Or we read there "twenty men from Komenskoje," "eighty-seven from Matvejschevo," "Lord be gracious to the souls of thy servants, 1,505 persons from Novgorod," and so on. This list alone gives a total of 3,470 victims. There was no one now at court who would have had any influence on Ivan. His second wife, a Tcherkess, who was only baptised just before her marriage, may well have increased Ivan's evil propensities by her barbarous nature. Thus, then, the torrent, having once left its banks, rushed on, destroying all in its course. Since the time of the Roman Cæsars hardly any sovereign can have proved so clearly as Ivan the Terrible the truth of the doctrine that every human being and all earthly power require some restriction if they are to remain within

the pale of humanity. But the Russian people share the guilt with him; more especially are the nobility and clergy to blame, since they did not support the efforts of the monarch in the cause of culture, but by cringing and immorality paved the way for his wicked propensities. The last liberties of the people were destroyed, and the omnipotence of the state established for all future time.

The foreign policy was successful in the East; the Cossack Jarmak laid the crown of Siberia at Ivan's feet. But in the contest with Poland he was worsted, notwithstanding that, under the pretext of wishing to receive the Roman faith, he humbly begged the Emperor and Pope to intervene. The Poles, who were ready to offer him the crown after the death of Sigismund Augustus, were deterred by his untrustworthiness and his avarice.

Fate brought grievous misfortunes on his own house. In a quarrel he struck his son Ivan such a blow with an iron rod that the prince died from it on the 19th of November, 1581. His third son, Feodor, was of weak intellect. Ivan's remorse hastened his end. This unconventional prince, whose crimes are not devoid of some greatness, but whose name must always be mentioned with a shudder, died on the 17th of March, 1584. Ivan IV holds a prominent place in Russian history both for good and for evil.

C. The End of the House of Rurik

Ivan's son Feodor mounted the throne in 1584; but his gentleness and piety would have been more suitable for a convent. The whole power thus lay in the hands of the privy councillors, amongst whom existed a dangerous rivalry between a Schujskij and a Bielskij. The reputation of Boris Godunov at the same time was slowly increasing, more especially since Nikita Romanov, Feodor's uncle, who was at first the most influential regent, had died in 1586, and Godunov had contrived a marriage between his sister and the young Czar; in fact, he aimed at the crown himself. Although he could neither read nor write, he skilfully conducted the business of the nation, won a great reputation for Russia in foreign countries, and appreciated the value of Western European culture. He proposed to found schools and in Moscow a university, and sent John Kramer to Germany to obtain professors for it. He sent young Russians abroad to study, and gladly employed foreigners in his service; began giving an excellent education to his children and supported art and industries. In a word, he was thoroughly capable of performing his task. His name, therefore, had a good reputation in foreign countries, but not so in Russia. There they regarded his innovations with disapproval. The clergy despised the acquisition of foreign languages as superfluous, confusing, and dangerous to the faith. The great nobles muttered against the upstart. Godunov found himself compelled to look for a support in the higher clergy and smaller nobility. Two important innovations owe their inception to this circumstance,—the prohibition on freedom of movement of the peasants, and the founding of the Patriarchate. The Russian peasant had hitherto been allowed to change his master; that alone differentiated him from a slave. But this liberty of migration only benefited the owners of extensive properties, who held out enticing advantages to the peasant in order to be able to cultivate their broad plains. The peas-

antry, therefore, deserted the small proprietors, whose lands became depopulated and depreciated; yet these latter sustained the chief state burdens. Thus in this case the interests of the state coincided with those of the lesser nobility. Godunov, by taking from the peasants the right of movement, saved the lesser nobility from misery and gained it for his purposes. That must have been far from his own interest, since he was himself the owner of extensive landed estates.

What was really for his personal advantage was the founding of the Patriarchate. The Russian clergy had long complained that its supreme head, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was the servant of an infidel monarch and possessed no proper prestige. Moscow regarded herself as the third Rome, just as Byzantium had thought herself the second. Why should Moscow not obtain ecclesiastical independence, now that Constantinople had fallen so low, and Russia was reckoned the protector of Orthodox Christianity? Just then Jeremias, Patriarch of Constantinople, came to Moscow. Godunov seized the opportunity to win him over to his scheme. The other Patriarchs assented, and in 1598 was founded in Moscow the Patriarchate which continued until the end of 1700 (p. 581). The first Patriarch was Job, a favourite of Godunov.

Even now Godunov seems to have made all preparations for gaining the throne after the death of Feodor. But a brother of Feodor, Dmitrij, son of the seventh unlawful wife of Ivan the Terrible (see the genealogical table at page 452), was still living. Although he had been sent in good time to Uglitch with all his relations, there was no room for doubt that he would mount the throne after the death of Feodor. The news then arrived (1591) that the young Dmitrij was no more. Public opinion incriminated Godunov. It is true that he organised an investigation and executed the inhabitants of Uglitch; but the rumour persisted.

Nevertheless Boris Godunov mounted the throne of the Czar after the death of the childless Feodor (January 7, 1598), since the crown was offered him by the patriarch Job, and he had been elected in a sort of imperial assembly. In order to ensure his own safety, he threw Bielskij into prison and banished the Romanovs. One of them, Feodor Nikititsch, was compelled to become a monk under the name of Philaret; his wife, Xenia Schestov, took the veil as the nun Marfa, Boris was at first an admirable ruler. But soon he was overcome by fears; he, too, saw himself surrounded by traitors. He completely lost his balance of mind when the news spread that Dmitrij was still alive, and was preparing to recover the throne. Lithuanian magnates undertook to put a person who styled himself the miraculously rescued Dmitrij on the Russian throne by force of arms. The people believed that Dmitrij was the true Czarevitch. The troops wavered in their loyalty, and in spite of the reverse which was inflicted on the pretender, his adherents increased in numbers. Godunov died in 1605, in the middle of this movement, and the pseudo-Dmitrij became master of Russia. The whole nation shed tears of joy at seeing the son of their prince once more. His behaviour and sympathies showed that he was no Rurikovitch. He doted on the West and on the Roman Church, he associated with Jesuits, and wished to convert Russia to Catholicism. He ridiculed the native customs and the Boyars, and scorned the court ceremonial. The Polish nobles who came to Moscow with their retinue indulged in shameless behaviour toward the Russians. A month hardly had elapsed before Dmitrij fell victim to a conspiracy (May 17, 1606). His

corpse was burnt, and a cannon loaded with the ashes, which were then scattered to the four winds.

The succeeding period was full of disturbances. In a new assembly, summoned by the Patriarch Vasilij Schujskij, who had conducted the inquiry in Uglitch, had struck the pretender, and had the courage to tell him he was an impostor, was elected Czar. Since a new Patriarch had been installed by the pseudo-Dmitrij, a change now took place in this office. The assembly imposed on the new Czar the condition that he was not to punish any offender by death without a trial, nor confiscate the property of criminals, and that false accusers should be liable to penalties. These were *pacta conventa*, such as the Slachta had extorted from the Polish king. Schujskij solemnly swore to it. But Russia saw in it a weakening of the royal dignity. The dominion of the nobility was feared more than the tyranny of the Czar.

Schujskij could not hold his own. Not merely were the nobility opposed to him from jealousy and envy, but new pretenders cropped up who professed to be Dmitrij, or Peter, Feodor's son. A more dangerous symptom was that the king of Poland came forward as a serious candidate for the Russian crown. In 1587 the Swedish house of Vasa reached the Polish throne in the person of Sigismund III. It was wished to procure the Russian crown for his son Vladislav; Sigismund would certainly have liked to have obtained it for himself. The Polish troops, which were already in the vicinity of Moscow, did not wish to leave Russia, since the new Czar had already been elected. Schujskij could not restore order, and was "humbly" begged by the assembly to vacate the throne, since he was unfortunate in his government and could not enforce any obedience to his rule. He abdicated and became a monk. The Council of Boyars now elected Vladislav to be Czar, on the condition that he would accept the Orthodox faith. The Polish troops were already allowed to enter Moscow and commanded the city.

D. The Rise of the Romanovs

Then the Russian people rose throughout the empire, the monasteries also, with the Troizko-Sergievsch at their head. Nobles, merchants, and peasants banded together to save Russia from the foreign yoke. In Nijni Novgorod many, following the example of a meat-seller Kusma Minin, sacrificed a third part of their property. The noble prince Posharskij took the lead, and the Poles were soon driven out of Moscow. In the year 1613 the new assembly was convened. The votes now fell on a step-grandson of Anastasia, wife of Ivan the Terrible, Michael III Romanov, the fifteen-year-old son of the above-mentioned Metropolitan Philaret, who had gone as ambassador to the Polish king and had been kept prisoner by him in Marienburg. Even in 1610 Michael found himself among the candidates for the throne, and had barely escaped Polish plots. With him a new dynasty mounted the Russian throne (see Figure 1 of plate at page 467 and the genealogical tree at page 583).

The state was impoverished and public affairs were in a bad condition. Many towns declared outright that they could pay no taxes. Michael, who had received a monastic education and was physically weak and of small intellectual endowments, was not the right man for Russia at this severe crisis. Even his father, Philaret,

who really governed in place of his son, possessed no talent as a ruler, while able monarchs were seated on the thrones of Sweden and Poland in the persons of Vladislav and Gustavus II Adolphus. Russia thus was forced to endure still longer to be cut off from the Baltic Sea by Poland and Sweden. In the treaties which she made with Sweden at Stolbovo in 1617, with Poland at Deulino in 1618, and then at Poljanovka in 1634, Russia was forced to relinquish all claim on Livonia, Smolensk, and a series of towns. "Russia now cannot launch a single boat on the Baltic without our consent," said Gustavus Adolphus in the Swedish Diet, "and it will be hard for the Russians to leap over this stream." Even against other enemies Russia felt her weakness. When the Cossacks had conquered Turkish Azov, the Czar ordered them to evacuate the fortress. The highest merits of Michael and his father were that they governed without harshness and endeavoured to raise the economic position of Russia. After centuries of oppression from Tartars and Czars the people once more enjoyed more humane treatment. Both rulers held frequent sessions of the Privy Council, which had long been in abeyance.

It was only under Michael's son Alexej (1645–1676) and under the children of Alexej, Feodor (1676–1682), Ivan (1682–1689), Sophia, and Peter the Great, that fortune once more smiled on Russia, first in consequence of the weakness of Poland under John Casimir, and then from her own increased strength. The Ukraine (pp. 162 and 564) then submitted to the Czar; in 1667 Poland in the treaty at Andrussov was obliged to cede the Ukraine, on the left bank of the Dnieper, with Kiev; this was finally ratified in 1686 in the peace of Grzymultovskij by Sobieski, when Sophia reigned in the name of her infant brother. Russia also in 1667 recovered Smolensk and other territories, which had been the cause of wars for centuries. Peter the Great first began the war with Sweden on account of Livonia. It was still more important for Russia that with the Romanovs Tartar Russia ceased and its Europeanising began.

9. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE POWER OF POLAND

A. The Final Direction of the Polish Policy in 1515

When Sigismund, Casimir's son, mounted the throne of Poland in 1506 (p. 512), Eastern Europe presented a very different political picture from that of a hundred years before. The hardest task of Poland in the course of the three last centuries, the suppression, that is, of the Teutonic Knights in order to occupy the coast of the Baltic, had been performed in 1466. It was high time for Poland to do so; a few decades later that would hardly have been possible.

Threatening clouds gathered in the east and west of Poland just at the close of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. On the one hand Moscow was arming for an attack on Poland-Lithuania, on the other side the Osmans were pressing with increasing power. Poland had long enjoyed tranquillity on the side of Moscow, which, groaning under the Tartar yoke, had been unable to move. But when Ivan III had shaken off the Tartar yoke and had his hands free, he formed comprehensive schemes. He worked for the unification of Russia with skill and good fortune. One district after another was brought over

to him. When he married in 1472 the Byzantine princess Sophia (Zoë), daughter of the despot Thomas of Morea, the last of the race of the Palæologi, he assumed the Byzantine imperial arms, the double-headed eagle, and claimed from Rome the title of *Imperator Russiæ*. He also laid claim to the Russian districts of Poland. The current of anti-Polish feeling in Lithuania was perceived by Ivan III. He therefore came forward as the champion of the Orthodox population of Poland. The Russian party in Lithuania was always strong; and capable men, such as Michael Glinskij, stood at its head. Even in Casimir's days the political conditions in Eastern Europe seemed to have shifted in favour of Moscow. Since the year 1481, after the Tartars had been beaten, the Lithuanian princes, hitherto friendly toward Poland, began one after the other to go over to the side of Moscow. Alexander, while Grand Duke of Lithuania, was openly pro-Russian. A *rapprochement* between him and Ivan took place in 1494. Alexander married the Princess Helene and waived his claim to a series of towns in favour of his father-in-law. In the marriage contract he pledged himself not to force Helene to go over to the Catholic religion, and in fact not to allow her to do so "voluntarily." He built a chapel for her in Wilna, and surrounded her only with people of her own creed. We learn from these stipulations that the detrimental influence of the Roman Catholic Church on public policy, against which a stand was being made in Poland, was already recognised in Moscow. Alexander confirmed in 1499 the old rights of the Orthodox Church. Ivan also knew how to stir up hostility on every side against Poland, and to organise a menacing league against it. He married his son Vasilij to a daughter of Stephan the Great (p. 366) of Moldavia, and thus drew this country into the sphere of his interests. He was allied with the Teutonic Order and friendly with the Tartar Khan Mengli Giray I (1469–1474 and 1478–1515); he observed an amicable attitude toward Turkey, and would not entertain any notion of a league with Poland and Hungary against Turkey. His son Vasilij observed the same policy. In this attitude toward Poland the Russian princes were met by the German emperor Maximilian, who, as an opponent of the Jagellons in the contest for the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, found a welcome ally in the Muscovite Grand Duke. This was the first time that Germany entered into relations with Moscow (cf. above, p. 265, etc.).

Equally threatening was the attitude of the Sublime Porte (cf. Vol. VII, pp. 216–219, 221 *et seq.*). It was the zenith of Osman power. Moldavia and Wallachia already wavered in their loyalty as allies of Poland; if they were lost, it would be the turn of the Dniester district. Finally, it lay with the Jagellons to defend the Hungarian crown. This state of things drove Poland also toward the south and provoked hostilities with Germany. The Hapsburgs, therefore, were eager, in league with Moscow and the Teutonic Order, to close the circle of the enemies of Poland; besides the above-named, Maximilian won over the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Duke of Saxony, and the king of Denmark for the combination against Poland, as well as a distinct party in Poland itself.

It thus was high time for Sigismund to act. He had concluded an alliance with Hungary in 1507, had renounced Moldavia in favour of Hungary, and married Barbara, sister of John Zapolya, besides winning over Mengli Giray, the Tartar Khan, by "yearly presents" of fifteen thousand gulden, — everything in order to show a bolder front to Maximilian and others, — when he suddenly changed his views. Sigismund could not, of course, wage war with all his enemies at one and

the same time, and was forced, therefore, to decide whether to turn toward the West or the East. But Maximilian also had cause to seek a peace with Poland. The epoch-making struggle between the Hapsburgs and Valois then began (Vol. VII, p. 230). The succession in Milan and Naples aroused this struggle, and both antagonists fought in every part of the world where they could inflict damage on each other. Sigismund decided for the contest with the East and for the alliance with Maximilian. His brother Ladislaus (Vladislav) II of Hungary (p. 386) was the intermediary. Thus, on the 22d of July, 1515, that memorable treaty between the three monarchs as to the succession, which was decisive not merely for the history of Poland, was arranged in Vienna. The granddaughter of the emperor, Maria, was to marry Lewis, the son of Ladislaus, and Anna, his daughter, was to wed one of the two grandsons of the emperor, Charles or Ferdinand; the emperor went through the form of betrothal with Anna in the name of the not yet selected grandson, in the church of St. Stephen. It was further decided that, in the event of Lewis dying without issue, the Hungarian crown should devolve on his sister Anna. This treaty meant the renunciation by the Jagellons of their claims to the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, and therefore to any power in the West, and founded the world power of the house of Hapsburg, just as it laid the foundations of the later empire of Austria, The day which saw the last Hungarian Jagellon fall at Mohâcs, the 29th of August, 1526, was the birthday of the Austrian monarchy.

But this treaty, on the other side, brought advantages to Poland. The emperor no longer supported the Teutonic Order, and did not aim at an armed alliance with the Grand Duke of Moscow, but left Poland a free hand. The situation that had been prepared and created by the battle at Tanenberg was formally recognised and confirmed by Germany so far as such treaties can be binding. The year 1515 forms the last stage in the development of the conditions created by the year 1410.

Poland thus entered upon a new chapter of her historical development. The empire, which had hitherto turned its face toward the west, now turned toward the east, namely, toward Moscow. The contest with this power fills the pages of the history of Poland for the succeeding centuries and decides her fate. Poland, indeed, only gradually recognised the necessity of this struggle. Even Sigismund did not keep this goal steadily before him, even though he wavered in his loyalty to Germany.

The Poles, whose country lay on the upper courses of the Oder and the Vistula, must have always struggled to reach the Baltic. This motive, indeed, led to the union with Lithuania, which equally was drawn toward the Baltic. For this reason the Lithuano-Polish union was maintained in the face of all hinderances. In the second treaty of Thorn of 1466 the Poles had reached the goal which the course of their rivers clearly indicated. The same physical necessity caused the change of front in the year 1515. Poland never found the partnership with Hungary profitable; the connection was physically impossible, since a chain of mountains raised a barrier between them. Bohemia and Hungary especially had greater interests in common with Austria than with Poland, which lay on another line. There the Danube created out of all the surrounding regions a new state, Austria, the necessity of which was proved by the joint wars against the Turks, who wished to dispute with it the possession of the Danube. The

influence of geography therefore kept Poland aloof from Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, and dictated to her that abandonment of all interests in Hungary which forms the one side of the treaty of 1515.

But the other side of the treaty, the advance against the East, was qualified by physical conditions. While Western Europe is divided by mountain ranges into many distinct and separate parts, in which individual states could develop apart, since they were protected from their neighbours by nature, East Europe forms one gigantic plain which, in spite of its expanse, must have favoured the formation of a homogeneous political structure on its whole surface. The waves of nations continually swept on and broke one on the other; the weaker tribes were subjugated, until at last only the strongest survived. Nowhere perhaps has the ethnographical picture changed so often as here — on the seacoasts if anywhere. Many centuries elapsed before a homogeneous political structure arose in this gigantic basin. There were countless tribes there, and countless tribes were fated to fall, until finally, on the question who was to rule over the whole of East Europe, only two nations could come under consideration, — the Poles and the Russians. And as soon as they recognised each other as rivals they rushed at each other, just as when in the desert one wild beast crosses the path of another. Properly speaking, the two kindred stocks, since they had similar economic, political, artistic, and even national interests, and to some degree the same enemies, could have quite well united, as was the case with Poland and Lithuania. But it was shown once more how powerfully an idea dominates man. The two races, educated in different schools, worshipped quite different ideals. It was not the Poles that were fighting against the Russians there, but the Catholic Church against the Orthodox, republicanism against despotism. Hence the bitterness of this East European war; it was a war of two conflicting principles.

Moscow had emerged from the Tartar school hard and barbarised. An implacably stern absolutism had saved Russia from destruction. How therefore, after this experience, was she to give up her own form of government and join the Western current of ideas? People and prince alike in Russia were so convinced of the blessing of absolute monarchy that they were readier to go further in that direction rather than to abandon it; especially since in the impending war all the resources of the country stood at the absolute disposal of the despotic ruler, and the nation was so devoted to him that it hardly ventured to murmur under the heaviest oppression. A glance at the development of things in Poland could only strengthen Moscow in this conviction. Just when the struggle between these two nationalities began, the royal power in Poland had gradually sunk into a phantom monarchy; the king and the nobility seemed to constitute two hostile opposing parties. The nobility would not undertake anything unless they received in return some concession or other from the king. The Slachta decided on war and peace, and obtained pay for the campaigns outside the borders of the empire. The ravages and losses in war had to be made good to them, and their prisoners of war ransomed by the king. The nobility was desirous of paying as few taxes as possible, and of lightening the burden of their other state duties, and naturally saw with pleasure when the king was freehanded. The kings bore the whole load of responsibility, and often rescued the realm from distress merely by the weight of their personality and with their own means. These nobles, again, cared nothing for economy or work; work was the concern of the peasants. These

latter therefore and the king were the martyrs of the commonweal. And the class which possessed the most power in the state regarded the highest interests of the kingdom as something almost foreign. How could Poland under such conditions be a strong state? These weaknesses came to light in all the wars which Poland waged in the fifteenth century. The whole management of the war against the Teutonic Order, which after the year 1410 was enfeebled, was a discredit to Poland as a state; and all the more so since there were brave soldiers and competent officers enough in the country. Nevertheless the Polish nobility was proud of its imperial constitution and its personal privileges. Its freedom appeared to it in a peculiarly brilliant light when it saw how in the neighbouring kingdom the intellectual life was stunted under the oppression of the despotic Czar.

We see here the strange phenomenon of two nations alarmed at the defects which each noticed in the other, and driven to exaggerate their own good qualities. The Russians enlarged the despotic power of the Czar to a monstrous degree; the Poles strengthened the freedom of the individual so greatly that the unity and liberty of the kingdom were destroyed. The two countries, apart from isolated personalities, who wished now and again to stay the evils, but could not carry their purpose through, did not adopt a middle course between the two extremes or any other solution of the problem.

Let us consider other circumstances in order to determine what were the intentions of each of the two opponents in the impending struggle. Although Poland was weaker as a state, yet it was benefited by the higher civilization and the support of Rome, so that it came forward in the contest with the East as the representative of Europe in the interests of culture and religion. It could boast also of the sympathies of Europe, which did not, however, go beyond wordy agreements, and did not prevent the Western Powers from attacking Poland itself on a favourable occasion. Poland at first made great progress. But then only too soon the difficulty of her task was apparent. If Poland was resolved to carry Roman Catholicism to the East, she was destined to learn that Greek Orthodoxy was being organised and grouped round Moscow as its representative. And even those aristocratic liberties which the Poles thought to disseminate in the East were accompanied by conditions which were fatal to them, since a heavy oppression of the country population went hand in hand with them. These two movements, the religious and the social, could not but cause widespread agitation among the population, which led to revolts and the ultimate loss of the Ukraine. The Poles finally became conscious that a concentration of all their energies was necessary in order to face the hard struggle. But it was at this point that the capabilities of the highly gifted and patriotic people failed. The old proverb, "*Rzecz pospolita cnotą stoi*" (the republic exists by virtue), was no longer applicable, since civic virtue had disappeared from Poland.

B. The Last Two Jagellons

Sigismund and his son Sigismund Augustus, the last two Jagellons, clearly perceived the root of the malady from which the Polish nation suffered. The period of their reigns is therefore an unbroken series of attempts to change the constitution, to stem the arrogance of the nobles, to strengthen the monarchy, and pass wise laws, and we must admit that they showed abundant proofs of good inten-

tions, energy, perseverance, and self-sacrifice. We see them and their successors continually at war with the disorder and anarchy in the country, but also notice how they uselessly spent their efforts in this unequal contest and were unable to check the universal progress of decay.

Sigismund (1506–1548) soon showed his incapacity for the weighty task. Even before 1515 he was involved in war with Moscow and gained some successes; but the war could no longer be prosecuted energetically. It was the same in the second war, which broke out in 1533. Moldavia was already on the side of Moscow. Sigismund here displayed marked feebleness toward Germany. When in 1518 he married as his second wife Bona Sforza of Milan, the daughter of Giovanni Galeazzo (died 1494), and thus became nephew of the emperor Maximilian, he seems to have let himself be influenced by Germany, as Jagiello once did. The brilliance of the imperial title induced him to form a friendship with Ferdinand I and to ask the hand of Elizabeth, the emperor's daughter, for his son Sigismund Augustus. But he did not make full use of this alliance with Germany. Thus he did not declare war, for example, against the Order, whose Grand Master persistently refused to do homage until after the death of Maximilian in 1519. But even then he did not understand how to retain his advantage. In 1521 a truce for four years was concluded by the good services of the emperor Charles V, who once more tried to play off the Teutonic Order against Poland.

The Reformation made nowhere such rapid progress as in Prussia under the rule of the monastic knights, and at Luther's advice it was resolved to change the lands of the Order into a secular duchy. The Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, a son of Frederick of Ansbach and Sophia, Sigismund's sister (died 1513), and therefore a nephew of Sigismund, entered Cracow at the beginning of April, 1525, laid aside the dress of the Order, and did homage to the king on the great square at Cracow as a secular prince and hereditary duke of Prussia. The duke pledged himself to be a loyal vassal to the king, and to aid him in war with a hundred knights, and renounced his right of coinage. He received in return the first place in the Senate at the king's side. On the extinction of his descendants in the male line Prussia was to fall to Poland. There was little cause for Poland to rejoice at this conclusion of the matter. For now the place of a periodically elected Grand Master was filled by a hereditary German duke, and, what was a far weightier matter, the country, owing to the Reformation, assumed a thoroughly German character. The old enemy reappeared in a form still more dangerous to Poland. So weak and shortsighted was Polish policy, that even after the death of Duke Albert II Frederick (August 27, 1618), the fief was not resumed according to the meaning of the compact, but was transferred to the Kur-Brandenburg elder line of the Hohenzollerns. The complete severance of Prussia from the Polish crown could only be a question of time; it was destined to take place in 1659, when Poland, completely surrounded by enemies, was in the greatest straits, and a formidable danger was threatening from the East. Even now Moscow and Prussia united against Poland, and their friendship soon became traditional.

It was but a slight compensation that Sigismund united the western Masovian principalities with his own crown after the extinction of the Piasts in those parts. It was fortunate for Poland that with true discernment he maintained friendly relations with Turkey.

In spite of his circumspection and foresight Sigismund, though personally an

efficient ruler, who reduced to order the chaos of the imperial finances, did not achieve a complete success in any direction. How could the vast empire make a bold show when the nobility evinced no patriotism, but were bent on their own advantages and the increase of their privileges, and only too often prejudiced the respect due to the crown? Even under Jagiello the Slachta, when the king had refused to cede some privilege, had hacked in pieces before his eyes the deed of acknowledgment intended for them. They had threatened Casimir, the son of Jagiello, with deposition. The same scenes were repeated now. Maximilian, since even before 1515 he stood in strained relations with Sigismund, succeeded in bringing over a part of the nobles to his side; the Slachta refused the king the supplies for the war against Moscow. Christopher Szydloviecki, one of the most influential ministers of Sigismund, prided himself on having received from Maximilian eighty thousand guldens, without being conscious that he was guilty of high treason. For the same reasons Sigismund was unable to carry on the war against the Order with the necessary vigour. When he summoned in 1537 the nobility to a campaign against Moldavia, and some one hundred and fifty thousand men assembled at Lemberg, these masses would not march to the war, but became rebellious and demanded legislative reforms. An attempt on the king's life was actually made in the diet of 1523. But when in 1538 it was proposed to punish severely the crimes of public outrage and *lèse majesté*, recourse was had to Roman law, since the national code was deficient. It deserves to be specially noticed that the custom now began to develop of allowing no law to pass without the common consent (*communis consensus*). This fundamental principle led untimately to the *liberum veto* (pp. 541 and 564).

This state of things lasted under Sigismund II Augustus (also called Augustus I; 1548–1572), son of Sigismund I. He was much wiser than his father, so that he accomplished notable results, both in foreign policy and in the field of internal reforms.

Sigismund Augustus was able to make an important conquest on the Baltic Sea. The Livonian section of the Teutonic Order was then approaching its dissolution, and Poland required to keep watch on the forthcoming negotiations as to the succession. The Order had never reached such power and prosperity in Livonia as in Prussia. For one thing, the stream of immigrating Germans was less full there; for another, the continual struggle between the Order and the archbishopric of Riga prevented any close amalgamation of the estates of the realm. The provincial bishops did not shrink from looking for outside aid. Thus the last archbishop of Riga allied himself with Poland, and put himself formally under the protection of the Polish king, conduct intensely exasperating to the Order, which had always shown a national spirit. Poland and Russia had a keen interest in the decision of the Livonian question. The possession of this rich and populated country, and through it of an important position on the Baltic, was worth the greatest sacrifices and exertions. The supremacy on the Baltic simply depended upon the sovereignty of the old German colony. Russia was still more interested; although in spite of the "historic" rights put forward by the Czars, no Russian prince ruled on these coasts until 1721. Russia was pressing forward in the sixteenth century with redoubled strength; access to the ocean was essential for her, if she wished to become a great power in Europe. But Sweden and Denmark had an equally marked interest in the solution of the Livonian question; the

former, because she had planted foot on the north and east shores of the Gulf of Finland, and found the advance of Russia a menace to these possessions; the latter, because since the days of Waldemar II she raised claims to Esthonia. If we reflect that the empire with which Livonia was politically united, and from religious reasons Rome also, must have had interests at stake, we shall comprehend how the Livonian question might grow into a European one.

The prospects of Poland were the most favourable, and the Polish king adopted the most practical measures. Not only had Sigismund I (who was still on the throne) always opportunity as patron of the archbishopric of Riga to interfere in the internal affairs of Livonia, but he had also a loyal ally in Duke Albert of Prussia, his Hohenzollern vassal, who, as former Grand Master, exercised a great influence on the Order in Livonia, and was willing to employ it for the benefit of Poland. He succeeded in raising his brother William to be coadjutor, and in 1539 to be archbishop of Riga, and thus strengthened his influence in that direction. The Curia supported the Polish king in everything; and for this reason Sigismund Augustus was obliged to proceed cautiously in matters of reformation in his empire, and to try and hinder any general defection from Rome. Poland, as well as William himself and his brother Albert of Prussia, entertained the idea of secularising the archbishopric of Riga, as had been the case with Prussia. William selected as the heir to his plans his kinsman, the young duke Christopher of Mecklenburg, formerly bishop of Ratzeburg, who was also nearly related to the king of Poland. Thus the most powerful princes of Northeastern Germany now made common cause with Poland. Christopher, in spite of the protests of the Livonian States, was elevated to the post of coadjutor of the archbishop.

Moscow also had achieved some success. In the year 1554 the Livonian Order had concluded a treaty with Ivan IV (p. 522), in which it agreed never to enter into an alliance with Poland and to remain neutral in case of war, besides paying a contribution from the bishopric of Dorpat of one mark per head.

The outbreak of war was brought on in 1556 by an intercepted letter from the bishop to his brother Albert of Prussia, in which there was mention of his plans directed against the Order. The archbishop was arrested as a traitor, his castles and seats were occupied, the archbishopric confiscated and the management of it handed over to the bishops of Dorpat and Oesel. The outbreak of the war, which, in distinction from that of 1700 to 1718, is usually called the First Northern War, was accelerated, since on the death of the Grand Master, Heinrich von Galen, Wilhelm von Fürstenberg, a man of warlike propensities, was elected Master (1550). But it was now seen that the days of the Livonian Order were numbered. While Sigismund Augustus stood with one hundred thousand men on the frontier of Courland, the Knights were hardly able to put ten thousand men, including landknechts and peasants, into the field. Internal feuds broke up the forces of the country. The Order was compelled, therefore, to yield without a struggle, to ask the Polish king for forgiveness, and to reinstate the archbishop with his coadjutor. The declaration of war by Moscow was made in November, 1557. And now the general war began. The Knights of the Order and their vassals performed many heroic feats in it, but confusion, discouragement, and treachery prevented the classes agreeing on united action.

As once before in the hour of need in Prussia, so also here a movement was made against the Order, and once more the intrigues were due to the Polish party,

who raised their supporter Gotthard Kettler to the Mastership; Poland thus immediately gained a great advantage from the election. Kettler, it is true, wished to preserve his independence, and sought help from the Holy Roman Empire, the Teutonic Order, and other powers, but, as he himself said later, found no consolation from any one, while the disturbances in the country grew worse. The Grand Master and the archbishop, weary of the disorders, soon surrendered to the Polish king. The treaty was signed on the 28th of November, 1561. The territory of the Order was secularised. Gotthard Kettler returned to secular rank, and received Courland as a fief with the title of duke of Courland and Semgallen, and also a seat and vote in the Polish Senate. Mitau, not Riga, was assigned him as residence. All the country beyond the Dwina, Riga included, was incorporated in the Polish Empire, while the king at the same time confirmed all the privileges of the country, secured to it a German government, German language, and the freedom of the Augsburg Confession, and also promised to obtain the sanction of the German Empire to these treaties, by which Livonia was separated from the empire. The government of Livonia was intrusted to the duke Kettler. On the basis of this *Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti* the territory of the Order was able to maintain its German character for three hundred years. In the year 1562 all the estates of the realm and, twenty years later, Riga agreed to the treaty.

Poland gained a further advantage by the friendly overtures of Sweden. John (III), brother of the Swedish king Eric XIV, married in 1562 Katherine, the daughter of the Polish king; the son of this marriage became king of Poland as Sigismund III in 1587. Sweden came into the possession of Reval and Esthonia with the consent of Poland. But even Denmark gained some advantages, for the Danish prince Magnus obtained the bishopric of Oesel by treachery. Moscow, which imperturbably continued the war and made devastating inroads, was obliged to be content with Dorpat. But this was ceded to Poland in 1582.

Attempts had been made at numerous imperial diets to reform the judicial system, the common law, the system of taxation, and the constitution of the army, but almost fruitlessly, since often what had been once accepted was again rejected. If we cast our eyes over the legislation of Poland from 1500 to 1560 or so, we are astonished at its sterility; so little was passed, so much was merely discussed. Sigismund Augustus only succeeded in effecting some improvement toward the close of his reign. Even under his father, the nobles in the imperial diets of 1535–1536 had demanded and agreed to a revision of the statute-book. In the course of time resolutions had been passed by the imperial diets which were contradictory to each other; thus, for example, the privileges of the monasteries and the clergy, as well as the jurisdiction of the bishops or the immunity from taxation enjoyed by the clergy, were inconsistent with the laws of the country affecting the taxation of property, and with the military constitution connected therewith, as well as, on the other hand, with the statute *Neminem Captivabimus* and with the sovereignty of the nobles generally. Even under Casimir III the Slachta had opposed the privileges of the clerics, and the king thus succeeded in breaking down the excessive power of the Church. The tendency everywhere was to abolish all privileges, whether belonging to classes or individuals. There was also a general wish to abolish the *Incompatibilia*, or questionable concentration of several offices in one person. It was further important from the standpoint of the royal treasury and national taxation to organise and classify the crown

lands which had been pawned or given away in large quantities, and were held on illegal titles. Their occupants were now forced to give them up, and thus a fund was created which was large enough to cover the most necessary outgoings of the kingdom and by which the nobility could be relieved of their burdens. But the most important reform was to abolish the privileges of individual provinces and to bring them under one law, in order to put an end to their efforts for independence and to the lawless state of things. To these belonged in the first line Lithuania, then Masovia, Prussia, Livonia, and finally Zatov and Oswieçim (Auschwitz in Galicia), which John Albert had acquired. All these legislative labours were comprised under the name "execution of the laws" (*egzekucya praw*), and the nobility at every opportunity noisily clamoured for their acceptance.

(*a*) *The Treatment of the Religious Question.*—The future political and social structure of the kingdom was dependent on this reform; so was the solution of the religious question; for Protestantism at that particular time had received a great stimulus in Poland. The freedom which Poland enjoyed was favourable to the spread of various doctrines. Humanism had found a great response in Poland; and with it the Hussite movement, which it fostered, was so widely spread that the Hussites were supported in the towns and even among the nobles. The Lutheran teaching found the ground still better cleared, because the old Hussite doctrine had not yet died out, the power of the clergy was limited, and freedom of conscience was now traditional. Lutheran ideas were disseminated in Poland as early as the year 1518. In Dantsic the monk Jacob Knade successfully raised his voice against the abuses of the Church. Even in Great and Little Poland and in other provinces preachers came forward. Only in ultra-conservative Masovia did the new doctrine find no followers. The nobility greedily grasped at the new teaching, and not less greedily the citizens of the towns. We soon find followers of the Calvinistic teaching, which in Poland was spread perhaps still more successfully, besides Anti-Trinitarians, Socinians, Bohemian Brethren, Arians, and others. Powerful noble families joined the new doctrines and took them under their protection; for example, the Firlej, Zborovski, Leszczynski, Olesnicki, Górka, Tomicki, Ossovski, and many others. They raised centres of the new teaching on their estates, as in Radziejov, Pinczov, etc. Many priests and monks, and even bishops, opposed the Catholic Church. Religious innovations found patronage even at the royal court, and secret meetings were held at the house of the queen's confessor, a Franciscan. The court preacher was a friend of the movement. The heir to the throne, Sigismund Augustus, at that time still Grand Duke of Lithuania, was considered a supporter of the new teaching; it was only toward the end of his life that he came forward as a zealous Catholic. The king, under the pressure of the bishops and the Curia, was at first moved to adopt severe measures. In the years 1520, 1522, and 1523 he forbade the dissemination of Lutheran books on pain of confiscation of property. The synod in Lençzyca published in 1523 the bull of excommunication issued by Leo X against Luther, excommunicated for its own part all heretics, and introduced a clerical censorship by giving priests the right to institute searches in private houses. The king was petitioned to renew the old Hussite statute of Wielun dating from the year 1424, according to which heresy was to be punished as *lèse majesté* and to be subject to episcopal jurisdiction. The inquisition was introduced in the year 1527, in 1534

it was forbidden to attend the University of Wittenberg, and in 1541, on pain of loss of nobility, to keep priests who were independent of Rome. And later the episcopate, consolidated by the exclusion of its doubtful members, developed a successful energy, especially when the energetic bishop of Ermland, Stanislaus Hosius, took the lead in the Catholic reaction.

But all these measures against the new doctrines bore little fruit. King Sigismund had only acted with severity in Dantsic, when he went there in March, 1526, to suppress heresy, and ordered thirteen citizens to be executed in the market place without a trial; and that though he had earlier sworn "by the king's honour, helmet, and sword," and under letter and seal, to shed no blood, but to establish peace and concord. This was indeed of small avail; Prussia remained the first country where the Lutheran doctrine was promoted to be the national religion. But then the king relaxed in his zeal. When Dr. Johann Eck challenged him to proceed in the spirit of Henry VIII, he answered him in 1528: "The times are changed, and with them the rulers and the spirit of the legislators; sciences decay and others blossom. King Henry may write against Martinus — you will allow me to be king of the sheep as well as of the goats." So he adopted mild measures. His son Sigismund Augustus did the same. One case only is known where Sigismund allowed the burning of a woman, Katharina Malcher; otherwise the bishops at most let some innovators die in prison without a trial. So under Sigismund Augustus only once was a woman burnt at the stake.

The prohibition on visiting foreign universities was removed in 1543, since it was totally impossible to enforce it. Sigismund Augustus, who often asserted he would be no judge over men's consciences, acted with equal or perhaps greater leniency. The bitterness between the nobility and the clergy meanwhile grew more intense, since the former would not recognise the episcopal jurisdiction. "We only wish," said Jan Tarnovski, "to submit to the king's court, and if the king merely executed the will of the bishops, our slavery would be worse than the Turkish; for the least suspicion would suffice to stamp any man as a heretic. No injustice is done to the bishops, for as members of the Senate they will be, in some sort, judges with us in matters of heresy." And when the bishop of Cracow, Er. Andr. Zebrzydovski, answered him, "What shall I be, if I am not to be judge over heresy, — beadle or bishop?" Tarnovski remarked to him, "It is better for you to be a beadle than for me to be a slave." It is exhilarating to hear with what manly courage the nobles defended their freedom. The young Rafael Leszczynski once, during mass in the cathedral, while the king and bishops were kneeling, put his cap on his head. This breach of decorum was aimed at the bishop, not the religion. In Poland freedom was prized beyond everything, while earthly honors were despised. Things went so far that full liberty of conscience was demanded for the serfs. The Poles showed that they were truly a nation of free men. The young Rafael was then chosen marshal of the imperial diet, in defiance of the bishops who had impeached him before the king. It was wished to abolish the episcopal jurisdiction, in order to bring the clergy under the laws of the country. This was intended to be decided at once as a main feature of the programme of legislative revision. The matter was not easy, and the king long hesitated. If he decided in favour of the bishops and recognised their jurisdiction, dangerous results would follow; on the other hand, no right of deciding

religious questions could be conferred with propriety upon the secular judges. The king, therefore, postponed the decision and resolved to temporise, although he in principle, according to the sense of the old laws, recognised the episcopal jurisdiction. Possibly the Livonian question deterred him from breaking off with the Curia, whose help he required.

In spite of, or rather on account of, this great freedom Protestantism could not strike root deeply in Poland. In Germany it was a reaction against the encroachments of the Church; there it had sprung up out of the existing conditions, like a wild plant. In Poland the Church could not allow herself any great abuses, and Protestantism was accordingly regarded as an imported luxury. Most people played with it, to show that they were at liberty to hold different views. When then the Catholic Church renewed her vigour at the Council of Trent and clearly proclaimed her object, the Counter Reformation in Poland had an easy task. While in the West the Reformation had been mostly suppressed with bloodshed, in Poland the Counter Reformation was carried out almost unnoticed; even such influential opponents as Stanislaus Orzechovski went over again to the Catholic Church. Only the animosity between the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodoxy grew more bitter.

A side movement, started by the Reformation, deserves our notice, — the wish for a national church. The preachers employed everywhere the popular dialect in spreading their teaching, and thus revived the national languages. This had already been done to some degree in Poland by Hussitism, and Protestantism now developed the Polish language to higher perfection. If the Polish language ousted Latin in Poland in the sixteenth century and created a national literature, this golden age, as elsewhere, was primarily inaugurated by the Protestant movement. The dialects now awakened to fresh life forced their way into the church services. While in the West the opponents of the Catholic Church aimed at extending the independence of their own national churches, while in France the Gallican national church and in England the Anglican national church were founded, Poland also wished for the establishment of a national church with a Slavonic liturgy and more or less complete independence from Rome. And the opposition wished to win the king over to this plan.

(*b*) *The Treatment of the Legal Questions affecting the State.* — But since this would have necessarily brought with it a change of the constitution, this point also formed part of the programme of the Revision or "Execution of the Laws" (*vide supra*). Finally the king in 1562, soon after the acquisition of Livonia, determined in favour of the Execution. A start was made with the easiest part of the demands, namely, the crown lands and the *Incompatibilia*; the Slachta understood originally by this the abolition generally of all special privileges. But by the influence of the queen the question of the confiscation of the mortgaged crown lands was first dealt with; she wished by the multiplication of crown lands to found a dynasty, as had been done in the case of other royal families. As under Sigismund, a resolution passed by the imperial diet in the year 1504 was chosen as the starting point, by which the pledging of crown property was made dependent on the sanction of the Senate (p. 512). Some grandees under Sigismund had torn their grants of privileges in pieces and thrown them at the king's feet, and there were now some such who resigned their offices if they

filled two or more. But when a serious attempt was made to confiscate the crown lands, such difficulties cropped up, that the whole scheme melted away. Sigismund Augustus himself showed the greatest self-sacrifice, since he agreed that a fourth part of the revenues of all the crown lands should be applied to cover the expenses of the army, and took for his share exclusively those estates about which it had not been decided whether they would be confiscated. In the future the management of the army was often assigned to this royal fourth. The army, which was paid from it, was then called *wojsko kwarciane* (from *kwarta* = a quarter). This quarter, indeed, was estimated at so low a figure that it had later to be doubled.

The question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction then came up. After great discussions the king decided in favour of a compromise, which recognised the jurisdiction of the Church, but withdrew from it the secular arm (*brachium seculare*). This law was so formulated in 1565 that municipal starosts could not be made responsible by the ecclesiastical authorities for the execution of commands. But the party of reform demanded that the clergy and nobility should be placed on a precisely equal footing with regard to the burdens of taxation and military service. Only the presence of the papal legate Francis Commendone, a skilled diplomat, who knew how to smooth the ruffled waters, spared the Catholic Church in Poland new humiliations. He was vigorously supported by Bishop Hosius of Ermland, who had represented Poland at the Council of Trent in brilliant style, and had composed a new *confessio fidei* adopted by the whole Catholic Church. Commendone recommended the clergy, in order to preserve their other rights, not to evade the duty of paying taxes; the Church tithe was therefore a tax. The attempt of the legate to introduce into Poland the resolutions of the Council of Trent met with great difficulties; a part of the clergy opposed several of the enactments. Thanks only to the good offices of the king, who declared he wished to live and die a Catholic, the Catholic Church finally conquered her opponents, who were in a more unfavourable position from the very first, since they were split up into many parties. All the plans of the opposition — the national church, the national synod, and the complete abolition of clerical jurisdiction — remained unfulfilled, although it tried to win over the king to its cause by meeting his wishes in all his private affairs. On the contrary, he accepted from the hand of the legate the resolutions of the Council of Trent, gave them validity in Poland, and published an ordinance which banished foreign religious innovators from the country; indeed, he even wished, in concession to the wishes of the legate, to allow no religious discussions between the Catholics and the zealous reformers. The Catholic Church did not approve of disputations, judging correctly that they could not be profitable to the faith.

The law as to the *Incompatibilia*, as well as that touching the duty of an official to reside on the scene of his duties (*residentia loci*), were once more strictly enforced, both for secular office-holders and, in the meaning of the resolutions of Trent, also for spiritual dignitaries.

But the revision affected also the privileges of the towns, since the export of goods to foreign countries was prohibited, — a prohibition which was certain to undermine the welfare not only of the towns, but also of the whole empire. The nobility alone were to be permitted to export raw materials. Since the importation of foreign goods was still allowed, it will be understood how the develop-

ment of home industries was thus sapped. Poland never understood how to honor sufficiently this important branch of human energy and national prosperity. The prejudiced notion that work is unworthy of a nobleman, and that trade and industrial undertakings are ignoble, has survived there until modern times. In Poland the value of the towns and their importance for culture and industry was recognised too late. In a dialogue, written about this time by Lucas Gornicki, between a Pole and an Italian, the Pole will not allow himself to be convinced of the necessity for towns, which became everywhere the centres of political and social life and of culture, and points to the Tartars, who indeed had no towns. Towns and the citizen class were never able to develop in Poland. Owing to the depression in trade and industries which then set in, wealthy citizens began to have recourse to agriculture. Poland did not rise beyond an agrarian standpoint, and was therefore exploited by Italian, English, and Scottish traders. No sufficient use was made of her position on the Baltic. Instead of favouring the Baltic trade, the Poles burdened Dantsic with taxes, and brought matters to such a pitch that this busy town often looked round for other patrons. No one in Poland took any interest in commerce.

All these enactments, by which the privileges of the magnates, the bishops, and the towns were partly limited, partly abolished, made the chamber of provincial deputies the most powerful institution in the state, — a circumstance which, in view of the low education of the Slachta and the one-sided representation of their class rights, could not conduce to the national prosperity. In 1563 an important ordinance was passed by which the Orthodox Greek nobility in Lithuania were conceded the same rights which the Catholic possessed; henceforward any Boyar was admissible to any office. The nobility, incensed at the connection of the king with the Catholic Church, refused other important proposals of the king, such as the reform of the army and finance, the order of the election to the throne, and others.

A complete unification of the empire in place of loosely compacted unions was the more urgently demanded; the king, with the prospect of a dangerous war with Moscow before his eyes, was himself in favour of the scheme. But the Lithuanians offered a stubborn resistance. Their embassy, with Nicholas Radziwill the Black at its head, after pointing to the independent position of Lithuania and the previous measures of union, declared for a personal union, even if a restricted one, demanded diets of their own, a revision of the frontiers of Lithuania and Poland, and a special coronation of the king as Grand Duke of Lithuania. The king stood on the side of the Polish crown, and was resolved to incorporate Lithuania with it. To facilitate the execution of this plan, he cleared away the last legal obstacle by waiving his hereditary rights in Lithuania, and thus placing both parts in equal relations to his person. When the Lithuanian deputation left the Polish diet, in order in this way to prevent the incorporation of their country, the king nevertheless declared his intention to carry it out. The entreaties of the envoys, who implored the king with tears to protect them, were unavailing. On the Polish side there was talk of war if Lithuania offered resistance. Thus in 1569, at the imperial diet at Lublin, the "union," which was in fact an incorporation of Lithuania, was definitely carried. Podlachia, Kiev, and Volhynia, districts which had originally been Lithuanian, and for a long time a disputed possession, were first united with the Polish crown in a special act. Only the use of the

Russian language in law courts was granted them. Lithuania lost its richest provinces. Any man who refused to recognise this act was held to have forfeited his titles and property. There was no idea of serious opposition, since the lesser Lithuanian nobility, who were jealous of the magnates, remained loyal to Poland, in order by the closer union with Poland to obtain the same rights which the lesser nobility in Poland possessed. Thus on July 1, 1569, the union was proclaimed, and both sides swore to it. Lithuania only retained its own officials, and therefore ceased to be an independent State. Both parties shed tears when the oaths to the treaty were administered, only with the distinction that in the case of the Lithuanians they were tears of sorrow; in that of the Poles, tears of joy. What the first Jagellon, Vladislav II, in 1386, 1401, and 1413 had, so to say, merely promised, the last really accomplished.

After this the union of Prussia, Livonia, and the other provinces was carried through, and the amalgamation was complete. Poland now was united. This was a great political and economical gain. Nothing now stood in the way of Polish colonisation in the vast Russo-Lithuanian regions; and the stream of German and Polish colonists to the eastern provinces swelled from year to year.

But the chief source of weakness to the empire was not thus removed. This lay not so much in the constitutional relations of individual parties as in the impotence of the crown, that is to say, in the Polish constitution, which threatened to degenerate into an anarchy. This evil was bound to spread over every province equally. Nothing occurred to strengthen the central administration; on the contrary, the Slachta, in view of the king's being childless, of the question of succession and of the election to the crown, feared to lose in power, and to have diminished rights even in the religious question. The future of the religious parties depended to a great extent on the attitude of the king toward this question; and both parties, the Catholic no less than the united non-Catholic, cherished the idea of choosing a king after their own heart by an electoral compact. Since for the moment the non-Catholics were in the majority (including the influential writer A. F. Modrzevski), there were thus many among the minority to whom the principle of a majority in the resolutions of the parliament seemed dangerous. They demanded the legal introduction of "unanimity" (*consensus communis*). They clearly saw the necessity of a strict government, but liberty was more valuable in their eyes than order. The same Modrzevski, led by the same sense of freedom, had espoused the cause of the country people and demanded privileges for them. The dangerous weakness was far from being overcome; on the contrary, the state of anarchy continued. Since a general assent was necessary in adopting resolutions, the *liberum veto* now really existed, although it was first claimed as a right in 1652 (cf. below, p. 564). After the reign of the two Jagellons the constitution of Poland as a whole remained unaltered; the task of reform was virtually concluded.

Sigismund and Sigismund Augustus failed therefore in their efforts to strengthen the power of the sovereign. The fate of the empire was thus settled. The small results achieved by Sigismund Augustus were due to his personal conditions. By nature weak, sensual, and good-tempered, he did not possess the requisite energy. While still Grand Duke of Lithuania, he married, after the death of his first wife, without the consent of the Senate, Barbara, the daughter of the Castellan Radziwill. His father and the Slachta disapproved of that; the nation was

reluctant to recognise Barbara as queen. In order that his bride might be crowned, the king adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the nobles. After the death of his deeply loved Barbara, he married the second daughter of Emperor Maximilian II, Katharina, a sister of his first wife, Elizabeth. Since he had no issue by her, he wished to be divorced from her and to marry again. But Rome and the clergy, whom the king tried equally to propitiate by concessions, were opposed to his wish. He thus did not face either one or the other Order with firmness. Overwhelmed by cares, Sigismund II Augustus died on July 14, 1572.

C. Poland as an Elective Monarchy to the Year 1648

After the death of the last Jagellon, whose reign seemed in the memory of the nation a period of power and glory, a period of decay set in, which ended with the political downfall of the country. The constitution was, in isolated points, logically completed, according to the principle of the almost absolute authority of the individual, and was used to the full by every individual in his own interest without regard for the common good. After the extinction of the Jagellon dynasty Poland was proclaimed an elective monarchy. The primate of the kingdom, the archbishop of Gnesen, obtained thereby wide privileges. The conduct of state affairs during the interregnum — the summoning of the elective diet, the acceptance or rejection of candidatures, and the proclamation of the name of the elected — devolved upon him. Catholicism in Poland was thus once more greatly strengthened.

(*a*) *Henry of Anjou.* — There was no dearth of candidates, and the political situation might well be learnt from the promises of the representatives of the European sovereigns. Above all, on this occasion the hostility between France and Austria, the pivot on which the diplomacy of Europe then turned, cast its shadow on Poland. Both opponents brought forward their candidates and fought each other with traditional bitterness even on Polish soil. France relied on her friendship with Turkey; Austria offered an alliance with Spain and Denmark against Turkey; both held out the prospect of further advantages. France promised the formation of a fleet and the organisation of the finances and army; Austria, a favourable solution of the Livonian, Prussian, and other questions; both powers threw money by handfuls among the senators and the Slachta. But the king of Sweden also announced his candidature as husband of Katharina, one of the Jagellon stock, and promised an alliance against Moscow. There was, however, among the Slachta a strong party (that which under Sigismund Augustus had deserved the greatest credit for the reform of the legislature) which recommended the candidature of the Czar of Moscow, and laid stress on the great benefit for Poland which would proceed from this course, as formerly from the union with Lithuania. But Ivan the Terrible seemed devoid of ambition; he sent his embassy and courteously announced the conditions on which he would accept the crown of Poland. Once again native candidates, from envy and unpopularity, were insufficiently supported by their countrymen.

Prince Henry of Anjou, of the house of Valois-Angoulême, was elected in the middle of May, 1573, not merely because French diplomacy was clever, but because his Catholicity found favour with the high clergy. He was also supported

by the papal legate, who henceforth intervened at every election of a Polish king in the interests of the Church, and always with success. This success was aided by the circumstance that royal elections henceforward were held in the fields near Warsaw, where many of the strictly Catholic Masovians could take part. Ten thousand of them appeared at the election of Henry.

The Slachta once again had an opportunity of imposing conditions on their king which were as humiliating as possible. The king could only more or less maintain his position by three means: first, he had the right when confronted with conflicting resolutions of the diet to make one of them law or to "conclude;" secondly, to confer the vacant offices of state, with which he could reward his adherents and create a party for himself; finally, he had the right to call out the militia (*pospolite ruszenie*, p. 512), and therefore often decided upon war and peace. The new king, on the contrary, was no longer to possess the right of "conclusion"; the Senate was to decide on war and peace, and the Diet was to summon the army. The freedom of denominations was proclaimed, and the title "heir to the empire" was erased from the royal title. Should the king act contrary to these terms the nation was justified in refusing him obedience. Besides this, Henry pledged himself to build a fleet at his own cost, to keep up four thousand soldiers, and to pay the debts of the empire. However suspicious these *pacta conventa* (*articuli Henriciani*) were, the new king subscribed them and took the oath to the constitution.

If the people did not see in the king the first power in the empire, but almost an enemy to their liberties, they still regarded the crown as a brilliant post, for which there were always candidates, of whom indeed nothing more could be expected than that they wished to gratify their pride. It goes without saying that many candidates put themselves to great expense, that other countries had a welcome plea for intervention, which Poland bought by her moral degradation, and that a double election threw the land into civil war. But the Slachta was still lulled in the sweet dream of liberty and security. The connection with France might perhaps have been profitable to Poland; but Henry fled on the 17th of July, 1574, in order to place on his own head the crown of France after the death of his brother Charles IX. His reign left behind no traces beyond those of the resolutions adopted at his election.

(*b*) *Stephan Báthori.*—Even at the next elections the candidates of the Roman Catholic party came to the front: thus, Stephán Bathori, Prince of Transylvania, who reigned 1576 to 1586; then Sigmund Vasa of Sweden, the son of John III and of Katharina the Jagellon (p. 535), from 1587 to 1632; he was followed by his sons, Wladilaus (Vladislav), who ruled till 1648, and John Casimir, who in 1668 resigned the crown and went to France. Then two natives (Piasts) were elected,—Michael Wisniowecki (1669–1673), of a rich and respected family; then John Sobieski. A double election then followed. The one party chose Stanislas Leszczynski, a native, who was supported by Sweden and France; the other, the elector Frederick Augustus of Saxony, who held his own after many contests until 1733. This occasion was the first on which Russia actively interfered in the Polish disorders. She declared for Frederick Augustus, and helped him in the (Second) Northern War to drive out all enemies. After that time the Russian influence in Poland was preponderant. Frederick Augustus II, the son of Augustus the Strong, mounted the throne, with the help of Russia, as the Polish king

Augustus III; he died in 1763. Similarly the last Polish king, Stanislas Poniatovski (1764–1795), was a candidate of Russia.

Of this whole series two kings, Stephan Báthori and John Sobieski, stand out conspicuously, and to a lesser degree Wladislaus. But while Sobieski, the liberator of Vienna in the year 1683 (p. 551), was merely a military hero, Báthori, a no less able general, distinguished himself by his skilful administration and his statesmanlike insight. If any one could have lifted Poland out of the political and social slough, it would have been Báthori. After he had by his manly attitude defeated the rival candidate, the emperor Maximilian, who had already taken an oath to the *pacta conventa* at Vienna, he waged an obstinate struggle with the Slachta about the restrictions dating from the year 1573. He was required to renounce the right of distribution, that is to say, the right to grant imperial offices; these, so soon as they became empty, were to be filled by election in the respective voivodships. The king then made at the diet of Thorn the famous declaration that he had no intention of being merely a king in a picture.

While he still, as elective candidate, waged war against the imperial party, but especially against Dantsic and other German towns, which took Maximilian's side, Ivan IV the Terrible conquered almost all Livonia, with the exception of Reval and Riga (cf. Vol. VII, p. 49). Báthori's immediate goal was, therefore, war against Moscow. After he had secured himself against the Turks and Tartars, and had raised a loan from Frederick George, margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, he began the war in 1579. In spite of superiority of numbers Ivan's armies were beaten everywhere, and Polock and many other towns and fortresses were captured. Ivan, hard pressed, looked round for help, sent an embassy to the Emperor and the Pope, professed that he wished to join the Russian Church closely with the Roman, complained of Báthori's "unchristian" procedure, and begged for intervention. Rome was not in a position to resist such tempting prospects. In 1581 the papal legate Antonio Possevino appeared in Poland and went forthwith to Moscow. His conversation with Ivan on religious questions is interesting. Ivan showed himself well read in the Scriptures, perhaps more so than may have been agreeable to the legate; on the whole, he developed such amiable traits that Possevino, doubtless to the amazement of all, styled him a sweet ruler who loved his subjects. The upshot of the legate's exertions was that Ivan obtained comparatively favourable terms of peace. At Kiverova Horka in 1582 he merely renounced his claim to Livonia, Polock, and Wieliz; he received back the other places which had been conquered by the Poles. The favourable opportunity of subjugating Moscow and proceeding to the conquest of all Eastern Europe had thus been let slip; so, too, the advance of Rome in that quarter was checked. Once more it was the Slachta which by its shortsightedness and selfishness had hindered the king in the execution of his plans. It haggled with the king over every penny, reproached him for showing favour to Zamojski, a general who had distinguished himself in the war with Moscow, and for his non-fulfilment of the electoral capitulation, and always at the most unfavourable moment, in order to compel the king the more certainly to comply. Indeed, it forced him into negotiations with Moscow and refused the supplies for the war, so that the king was driven to incur debts with foreign countries. When Ivan died in 1584, Báthori contemplated a renewal of his plans against Turkey, but he died unexpectedly on May 2, 1586, at Grodno.

The reign of Stephan Báthori was in many respects profitable to Poland. Not merely was the glory of the Polish arms revived by his martial deeds, and the Muscovite lust of conquest quenched for long years to come, and that semi-Asiatic power driven back from the Baltic Sea, but he left other noteworthy traces of his energy. Thus he devoted his especial attention to the important religious question. It could not escape him that the religious disputes led to no union, crippled the power of society and the realm, and at the same time appreciably checked the development of culture and civic virtues. Starting from this practical standpoint of attention to the general welfare of his country and his subjects, he threw himself, though formerly a Protestant, definitely into the Catholic cause, and was thus the first who, with all the means standing at his command, was resolved to carry through the Counter Reformation without giving an exclusively Catholic direction to his policy.

Nevertheless, in his reign the Order of Jesuits gained great influence in Poland. The Jesuits had already moved into Braunsberg in 1565 at the invitation of Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, the greatest Roman Catholic champion of Poland, and under Henry and Báthori they increased greatly. They founded schools everywhere, and won over the rising generation for their purposes. However successful their pedagogic labours were in many respects, especially in the field of classical philology, they did much to disintegrate the structure of the state, as became evident under the weak successors of Báthori.

A particularly favourable light is thrown on Báthori by his friendly feeling toward the peasants. He regarded the patent of nobility merely as a distinction for services to the country, and is said to have raised fifty-five peasants to the peerage. He protected the peasants everywhere, for example in Livonia against the German knights, summoned them to military service, and organised a corps of those who were settled on the royal estates, the first regular infantry. Out of every twenty small farmers one was chosen for military service; this corps was called the chosen or farmer corps (*piechota wybraniecka* or *lanowa*); it acquitted itself well. He introduced a better organisation into the imperial militia; he improved the artillery, and created for himself an efficient staff.

It was further important that Báthori completed the organisation of the Cossacks in the Ukraine. Even in the fifteenth century there was in the unclaimed regions on the Dnieper, which had been ravaged by the Turks, a large population, which, fleeing from Poland and Russia to escape intolerable oppression, gradually settled in those parts, and soon did good service as a bulwark of Christianity against the Tartars. It was a vigorous, warlike people, which only needed military organisation to become a formidable power. Báthori now adopted them in the name of the empire, drew up lists of the able-bodied soldiers, but limited their number of conscripts at first to six hundred. By this means he obtained new forces for the empire against Russia.

It was a fresh reminder to the Slachta that the laws must be regarded, when Báthori had one of the unruly members beheaded. He held the reins of government with a firm hand. Under his direction a much-needed reform in the judicial system was carried out. He abandoned, indeed, his old right of the last instance, which from various reasons was no longer enforceable; law courts were thus instituted for separate groups of provinces in Lublin, Piotrkov, Wilna, Grodno, and Luzk. In spite of his high ideals, this king was the object of the meanest attacks. The

Slachta accused him of despotic aims and threatened him with deposition. Stephan did not allow himself to the very last moment to be deterred from his goal.

(*c*) *The House of Vasa.* — After the death of Báthori the situation grew worse. The election of Sigismund III Vasa and the alliance with Sweden had not proved beneficial to Poland, first, because this house made the newly acquired state serviceable to the strict Catholic interests, and, secondly, because it only furnished incompetent rulers.

Poland was at first by its new dynasty drawn into the vortex of Swedish troubles. Sigismund and his two sons naturally tried to retain the Swedish crown, their paternal inheritance. But the empire had not the slightest interest in this purely dynastic question, since Sweden had quite other political and economic aims; Protestantism, too, was the state religion there. But the Catholic Church, to whom primarily the election of Sigismund was due, since she thought to bring the Swedes back to her bosom, contrived to interest the realm in the dynasty by the promise which the king made to cede Esthonia to Poland. Supplies were granted to the king for the journey to Sweden. He was crowned there on the 19th of February, 1594, and subscribed, actually with the knowledge of the papal nuncio, a declaration which excluded the Catholics in Sweden from all offices, while he intended to exclude in Poland the heterodox; so deceitful and dishonourable was the policy of the Catholic prelates. But this was all that Sigismund did in Sweden. His uncle Charles of Südermanland placed himself at the head of the Protestants, drove out the royalists step by step, and was able by the year 1604 to be crowned king under the title of Charles IX. The long war which broke out over this brought Poland, in spite of occasional successes and deeds of valour, to the verge of destruction by the terrible losses and humiliations which it sustained; it ended finally (1660) in the treaty at Oliva with the resignation by the king John Casimir of all claims to the crown of Sweden, and with the exhaustion of the Polish Empire, which had been obliged to neglect and abandon its most important interests.

It was further of the greatest consequence to the empire that Sigismund became the willing tool of the Jesuits. Thus a flood of Catholicism poured into the country, which disregarded religious liberty; a policy that could only create misfortune in Poland, where there was such diversity of creed. The neighbouring powers, shielding religious interests, took, as might be expected, now the Protestants now the Orthodox under their protection, merely in order to interfere in the affairs of the empire. The very first appearance of the king on the scene showed that he was entirely in the hands of the Catholic priests. At a hint from Rome he was willing to abdicate the Polish crown in favour of the house of Hapsburg, and himself to retire to Sweden, a proposal which evoked general consternation and ill feeling. The Jesuits in the interests of the Church negotiated the marriage of the king with Anna, and after her death with Constantia, daughters of Archduke Charles of Styria (p. 387) and of Mary of Bavaria. The privileges which the Orthodox Church had acquired at the time of the Hussite and Protestant movements were removed, and there was a reversion to the ideas of union as in the palmy days of the papacy.

The attempts at union in 1415 and the Florentine union of 1439 had proved abortive. The Hussite movement and then the Reformation strengthened the

Orthodox Greek world in its resistance to the Roman Catholic Church. The union only split up the Russian society into two camps, which fought against each other more bitterly than the Orthodox and the Catholics. A union of the Greek Orthodox Church with Rome is nowadays usually disparaged. The Slavonic liturgy, which would not have been tolerated by Rome, was of inestimable value to all the Slavs; they are indebted to it for their oldest literature. But, on the other hand, the Orthodox Church, except in the first centuries of its spread among the Slavs, was nowhere an engine of civilization. It was rather the cause why the Slavs and other nations of the Greek Church remained backward. Their clergy felt that most deeply in places where they lived side by side with the Romans; for this reason the Orthodox bishops were mostly those who first espoused the cause of the union. If some such union had been introduced, with a set purpose and yet in a conciliatory spirit, among the Russo-Polish provinces, the success would have been irresistible. But what the Roman priests now undertook under the spiritual guidance of the Jesuits and the protection of the Polish king was almost an insult to Christian charity. The majority of Orthodox bishops and the most influential laymen, such as Constantin Ostrog(ski), were for the union; at their head Archbishop Michael Rahoza of Kiev. But the pride of the Catholic prelates, their selfishness and ignorance of the existing conditions, ruined everything. The earlier champions of the union, therefore, drew back, among them the powerful prince Ostrogski. When, besides this, the patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople came personally to Poland in order to organise the resistance, only a handful of partisans of the union were left. Both parties met for a final discussion at Brest in 1596. They soon divided into two groups, and banned each other; only a few bishops, with the Metropolitan Rahoza and their small following, declared for the union. Two of them, Hypatius Potij, bishop of Wladimir, and Cyryl Terlecki, bishop of Luzk, went to Rome with the charter of union, and took the oath of obedience in the name of the whole Russian Church. Thus the famous union of Brest was effected. The Uniate bishops were immediately to receive seats and votes in the Polish Senate. This union brought no gain to the Catholic Church and the Poles in the future, chiefly because the animosity between the two Russian parties increased and they fought against each other still more obstinately.

At this same time a meeting of the heterodox, or Dissidents, as they were called in Poland, assembled at Thorn to discuss how the swelling tide of Catholic influence might be stemmed. They sent a deputation to the king, but he did not receive it. The union of Brest could not, however, hold its own; for the king and the Slachta did not wish to fulfil the conditions of union. The Uniate bishops were not introduced into the Senate, nor were the privileges of the Church observed; in this way the whole work of union was made ridiculous in the eyes of the non-united Orthodox. The persecution of the Greek Orthodox, who had not joined the union, became more and more severe; they were hindered in their performance of divine worship; their priests were publicly insulted and outraged; their churches were leased by their patrons to Jews, who then demanded money payments for the opening of the churches. Many towns expelled the Orthodox from the town council, and even from the body of citizens. Their churches and church property were taken from them; in a word, the oppression became intolerable. Hatred of Poland increased throughout the East, and the masses were

stirred up by the non-united priests. The Cossacks in the Ukraine were especially active, and came forward as protectors of the Orthodox faith. They demanded with threats rights for their Metropolitan and their bishops, and for themselves equal rights with the Slachta; but the old respect for the freedom of all had been lost under the influence of the Catholic reaction.

There was no longer any place for the heterodox in Poland. The Orthodox, therefore, organised their forces and attempted to do something for the improvement of culture. Prince Ostrogski founded in Ostrog an academy and a printing-office; presses were started in other places also. The gulf between the two camps, which cleverly strengthened themselves, grew daily wider.

All this was done by Poland in her blind infatuation at a time when the faintest prospects in the East were opening out to her. The house of Rurik in Russia was extinct (p. 513), and Lithuanian magnates placed at that time a false Demetrius on the throne of the Czar. This Demetrius, about whose real family, in spite of searching investigations, nothing can with certainty be said, was a friend of the Poles and of European culture, possibly a Pole himself. There was actually in Poland a party which entertained the plan of deposing Sigismund and offering the Polish crown to Demetrius. When this plan miscarried, Poland was still offered an opportunity of getting a footing in Russia, since after the deposition of the Czar Vassily Shusky (Vasilij Schujskij; p. 526) the Privy Council in Moscow chose as Czar Wladislaus, son of Sigismund. Polish troops under Sholkievski (Zoltkievski) held Moscow in their power. An agreement was so far made that Wladislaus should pledge himself to protect the Greek faith and the Greek Church, to allow the Boyars to retain their privileges, to grant them the Polish privilege of *Neminem Captivabimus* (pp. 508 and 535), and to conclude an alliance with Poland. But the narrow-mindedness of the father, who, probably at the instigation of the Church and the Jesuits, wished to acquire the crown of Russia for himself, and the rebellion of the Zebrzydovski family, which broke out at the most critical moment, frustrated all the great plans regarding a union with Moscow once and for ever. When Russia, therefore, was being consolidated at home under the new Romanov dynasty, Poland and Russia once more faced each other with the old hostility. Poland resolved on war in order to bring Wladislaus to Moscow by force of arms; but at the same time the folly was committed of binding the king even then to incorporate any future conquests with the Polish crown. Wladislaus was forced in the year 1617 solemnly to resign Smolensk, Starodub, and a series of other countries in favour of the Polish crown, as if this resignation of Russian provinces would be a recommendation to the Polish candidates in Russia. For the favourable peace at Deulino near the Troizkaja Lawra (1618), which secured to them Smolensk, Dorogobush (Dorohobuž), Czernigov, and several other towns, the Poles are indebted to the Cossack Hetman Konaszevicz (p. 555), who came to their help with twenty thousand picked troops and enabled them to march on Moscow, as well as to the pacific nature of the Czar Michael Romanov and the Russian desire for tranquillity. Soon afterwards Poland was entangled in a war with the famous Swedish warrior Gustavus II Adolphus and with Turkey, which cost her great sacrifices, in spite of the heroic deeds of their generals Stanislas Koniecpolski and Chodkievicz. The Cossacks, which since 1596 had already come forward openly as protectors of the Orthodox faith, now assumed a menacing attitude.

EXPLANATION OF THE DOUBLE PLATE OVERLEAF

After the death of Sigismund III, the first Vasa, a stormy interregnum was followed by the accession of Vladislav IV, Sigismund's son, to the throne of Poland (1632–1648). In 1633 he sent an embassy to Rome; the entry of the ambassadors was drawn and etched by Stefano della Bella (1610–1664). The first two leaves of the series are reproduced overleaf. The etching is dedicated to Prince Lorenzo de' Medici.

INSCRIPTION.

Al Ser[enissi]mo Principe D[omino] Lorenzo de Medici.

Non debbo aggrandir un picciol dono con molte parole; percio semplicem[en]te suplico V[ostra] A[ltezza] ad aggradire il testimonio della mia obligatiſſima divotione eſpresso in questa povera carta humilm[en]te me Le inclino

D[i] V[ostra] A[ltezza] Ser[enissi]ma
Humiliss[imo] et oblig[atissimo] ser[vitore]
Stefano della Bella
D[icat] D[edicat]

A. 2 Corrieri Pollacchi veſtiti di raso con giubbe di velluto.
B. 22 Muli guarniti a varie foggie.
C. Cavalleggieri della Guardia di S[ua] Santità.
D. Mule de Signori Cardinali.
E. Dieci Camelli con ſuperbissime valdrappe di velluto rosso ricamate con ferri testiere e tortori d'Argento guidati da Persiani e Armeni con diverſe foggie.
F. Quattro trombetti || con giubbe di velluto verde.
G. Trenta Arcieri vestiti di raso rosso Con archi in mano e carabine pendenti.
H. Paggio d'Arme vestito di Broccato d'oro alla Persiana.

TRANSLATION.

To his Serene Highness Prince Lorenzo de' Medici.

I ought not to increase a small gift with many words: hence I simply ask your Highness to accept this testimony of my most grateful devotion as expressed in this poor sheet, and I beg to subscribe myself

the most humble and obedient servant
of your Serene Highness
Stefano della Bella.
(Latin:) He devotes and dedicates.

A. Two Polish couriers, dressed in satin and velvet jackets.
B. Twenty-two mules, with various trappings.
C. Knights of the body-guard of his Holiness.
D. Mules of the cardinals.
E. Ten camels, with magnificent housings of red velvet embroidered, with iron head-pieces and silver plumes, led by Persians and Armenians in different coloured cloaks.
F. Four trumpeters, with jackets of green velvet.
G. Thirty guards, dressed in red satin, with bows in their hands and carbines at their backs.
H. Squire, dressed in Persian gold brocade.

(From the original etching in the royal cabinet of engravings in Dresden.)

ENTRATA IN ROMA DELL' ECCEL.mo AM
A. Sett.mo Principe D. Lorenzo Altobello
Non debbe ingannare
Non dubbi ingannare
C. Cavalleggieri della Guardia di S. Santità D. Mutio de Signori Cardinali

ETCHING BY STEFANO DELLA BELLA

THE POLISH EMBASSY WHICH

The Slachta, when it met after the death of Sigismund in 1632 to elect his son Wladislaus IV Sigismund (died 1648), restricted still more the power of the crown. The king was in the future not to be allowed to begin a war without the consent of the imperial diet, or to enlist soldiers out of his privy purse; he was required to confer the vacant offices within six weeks after the diet, to cede to the country the profits of coinage, to build a fleet on the Baltic, and to contribute two quarters instead of one quarter of the royal revenues to the war with Moscow. Besides this, the old tax of two groschen from the hide of land was abolished as "a survival of the old serfdom." According to these provisos the king was more restricted in his liberty than the ordinary noble, since the latter might keep troops; Zamojski Wisneovecki and others were able to put ten thousand men into the field. Wladislaus was compelled to accept these stipulations, and in the course of his reign had to submit to still further curtailment of his freedom. As he once went to Baden to take the waters, the diet of 1639 passed a resolution that the king could not leave the country without the consent of Parliament. Later the king was prohibited, and this time with more justice, from incurring debts in imperial affairs.

Wladislaus was obviously forced to try and improve this untenable position of the crown in regard to the estates, and to strengthen the central power. His whole reign is a covert struggle against the existing constitution. Above all, he wished to withdraw himself from the excessive influence of the Catholic Church, which had already inflicted deep wounds upon the country. The Church, dominated by Jesuits, encouraged men to enter their community, conceded no privileges to the Uniates, and thus rendered the whole work of the union void. The Jesuits in Poland, as in other countries, searched for Protestant and other heretical books and destroyed them. The schools came gradually into their hands; they founded their own academy in Cracow, in order to enter into rivalry with the one already existing (see pp. 488 and 502). They accumulated immense fortunes, and finally watched every step which the king took. Wladislaus, who in May, 1624, at his father's instructions, had undertaken a long journey to several courts, and finally to Rome, at last ventured to take up a bold attitude against the predominance of the Church. He, like Casimir IV, previously (p. 509) endeavoured to make the influence of the crown felt in the election of the bishops, and negotiated with Rome on the subject with some success (see the accompanying plate, "The Polish Embassy which visited Rome in the Year 1633"). He wished that the papal consent to the founding of the Jesuit academy in Cracow should be recalled. He instituted in Thorn, certainly to the indignation of the Catholics, a discussion between the different confessions, which, however, like others previously, remained unsuccessful. He protected the non-united, and, disregarding the union at Brest, left them their own bishoprics in Lemberg, Przemyšl, Luzk, Mohilev, and the archbishopric in Kiev, without troubling himself about the protest of Rome; in fact, he actually permitted the return of Uniates to Orthodoxy, and treated the Greek Orthodox with justice. The success of his exertions was considerable. In consequence of this the eastern provinces, and above all the Cossacks, the champions of Orthodoxy, remained true to the king, although they were aware that they could not expect any just treatment from their enemy the Slachta.

In an equally decisive manner he broke away from the foreign policy of his father. He strove for an alliance of Poland with Russia, carried on war with

great energy, and obtained in 1634 at Poljanovka (p. 527) a favourable peace, which brought to the Poles the possession of Sieviersk, Smolensk, and Czernigov. His intention was now to wage a joint war on a grand scale against Turkey; he therefore yielded in the Swedish question, and in the truce at Stuhmsdorf on the 12th of September, 1635, in return for the restoration of Prussia, renounced all claim to Livonia, which was conquered by Sweden. From eagerness to attain his purpose he made overtures to the house of Hapsburg, and married Cecilia Renata, an Austrian archduchess. When on her death he married a French princess (Marie Louise of Nevers-Gonzaga), he did so probably in order to fit out troops against Turkey with her money.

If Poland then achieved successes, she owed them only to the circumspection and self-sacrifice of her king. In return she was not even willing to pay the debts incurred by him in the war against Moscow, and after great efforts a tax was granted the king only as "gratitude." In one single point did the king allow himself to be carried away by the Slachta to take a step momentous for Poland, in the legislation concerning the Cossacks. At the close of the sixteenth century a great economic and social revolution had been completed in Poland. The colonisation of the eastern provinces had made unsuspected progress. Red Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia had been long occupied by the Polish lords; now the stream of colonists flowed into the Dnieper region and swept along with it the inhabitants of the above-named regions. Even nobles who, in consequence of the civil wars and also of the struggle with Russia, were at the end of their economic resources marched under the protection of mighty lords to the eastern provinces, and there became Cossacks. Small landowners in the western provinces could not hold their own from want of hands; equally in the east the uncertainty and the exhausting work of colonisation rendered the development of small farms impossible. The consequence was that the petty nobility, especially in the east, became dependent on the large landowners; by this step their influence in national life would naturally sink, while that of the magnates rose. If in the fifteenth and also in the sixteenth century the petty nobles had exercised such power in the state that they could pass even the great legislative Revision, and if the constitution had stood under the banner of democracy, the centre of gravity was now shifted once more to the Senate, which, by economic pressure, ruled the chamber of provincial deputies. The development of Poland from the close of the sixteenth century lay, therefore, in the hands of the magnates; the oligarchs dictated to the crown; with them originated the first of those revolts so disastrous to the state, which were destined to lead irresistibly to the downfall of Poland. Side by side with the formation of the large landed estates in the eastern provinces went a movement of the population from west to east, which shifted the economic and also the political centre of gravity of the empire toward the eastern frontier. The great nobles of the east guided the state according to their own will.

In addition to this a social transformation took place. Among the Cossacks a party was slowly developing which aimed at freedom and wished to be on equality with the nobles. But nothing was more dangerous for the great landowners of the eastern marches than this movement, by which they ran the risk of losing the whole peasantry, the one support of their farms. All who were oppressed and wished to live a life of freedom joined the Cossacks. The peasant

population could only be held back by force from running away and migrating to the Ukraine. The number of the Cossacks increased from year to year with great rapidity. To remedy this evil, measures were taken that only six hundred Cossacks should be admitted, and registers were drawn up for inspection, while all others had to remain peasants (pp. 545 and 553). The threatened oligarchs now thought of applying an efficient remedy. At their instigation the diet of 1638 resolved to place the registered persons under a Polish commissary; all who later acquired privileges were to forfeit their rights, liberties, and incomes. Their possessions were confiscated by the lords, and they must immediately pay taxes on them. This resolution of the diet kindled a revolt of the Cossacks which was destined to result in the loss of the Ukraine.

10. THE COSSACKS

A. The Beginnings of the Cossacks as Guards on the Tartar Frontier

After the conquest of Kiev and the subjugation of Russia by the Tartars, Moscow on the one hand and Lithuania on the other had grown into new political centres. But in Kiev all culture and political life were dying out. The country gradually became a desert; the survivors left by the sword of the Tartar were dragged away into captivity or emigrated, while the few who remained behind, living in perpetual danger, sank into barbarism and took refuge in the forests and fens. It was only when these districts were conquered by Lithuanian princes that the fugitives came back and the country was once more populated. Princes of the Olgerd stock, such as Korecki, Lanc(z)koronski, Czartory(i)ski, Ružynski, Wisniowiecki, Olelkovicz, received large tracts of this unowned land and introduced settlers. Their primary duty was always, however, to ward off Tartar attacks, and the military organisation had therefore first to be taken in hand. Thus in course of time a kind of military frontier against the Tartars was developed. The first step was taken by the frontier *starosties* (districts governed by starosts); the resident landowners also fought the Tartars on their own account. Owing to this duty of defence free companies were formed, which stood in very loose relations with their princes and starosts. After the beginning of the fifteenth century they bore the name of Cossacks.

The whole institution, like the name, is of Tartar origin; but the Slavonic Cossacks developed quite differently. In any case a direct connection with the Kirghiz (cf. Vol. II, p. 196), who call themselves Kasaks (according to Russian spelling = Cossacks; also Kassaks, Khazaks) is not demonstrable. It is also better to separate them entirely from the Casoges on the peninsula of Taman (Tcherkesses in the Caucasus, who were subjugated in 965 by Sviatoslav (p. 450). Among the Tartars those persons were called Cossacks who made raiding exhibitions without the permission of their chiefs. Russian and Lithuanian princes, such as Vasilij IV Ivanovitch and Sigismund I made formal complaint to the Tartar Khans that the "Cossacks" invaded their territories. In Russia people were originally called Cossacks who, in contrast to the settled population with their burden of taxes, were engaged in trade and commerce, exporting salt in particular (p. 430), or served on board the shipping on the Volga, or were occupied with fisheries on the

Dnieper and brought fish to the market at Kiev, — people, in short, who were not fettered to the soil. But by the beginning of the sixteenth century there were Cossacks whose duties were exclusively military, although they were not free but were the subjects of various princes. They may have been the descendants of those free itinerant traders who must have been familiarised with every sort of danger on their journeys. Citizens and peasants who found their burdens intolerable flocked to them. These Cossack bands often bore the names of their lords; thus we find "Cossacks of Prince Demetrius Wisnioviecki," or, according to the names of the starosties and towns, Cossacks of Kan(i)ew, Bar, Winnica, Bilacerkov, and Kiev, of Smolensk, Riasan, and Putvol. The Cossacks of Czerkasy were so renowned that the Cossacks were later called generally Czerkasy. The greatest services in the organisation and development of the Cossack system were performed by the frontier starosts and by the princes, notably Preclav Lanckoronski, Eustafij Ruzynski, and Eustafij Daszkovicz.

Daszkovicz, starost of Czerkasy on the Dnieper, went to Poland and demanded in the diet at Piotrkov that these free companies should be recognised as an imperial army, whose duty was to guard the frontier; he showed also how important that might be for the empire. His request was not granted; and when the government proposed to restrict the Cossack right of settlement they withdrew behind the rapids (*porohy*, Poroges) south of Czerkasy. Here the free Cossack race, which recognised no sovereign, made its home. We find the first traces of these Saporoska Sjetsch (Sjitsch of the Saporoges) in an edict of King Sigismund Augustus of 1568. They are more precisely described to us in the documents of the end of the sixteenth century. Their strongholds were the islands in the Dnieper, such as Tomakovka, Khortiza, Myky vnroh, Basavluk, Czortomlyk, and others, where they had their forts. Their organisation was that of the orders of [illegible] in Western Europe. Implicit obedience, piety, chastity in the camp absolute equality, these were the conditions of life among the Sjetsch. The assembly was the only authority; it elected the chief, the Ataman or Hetman, who held his office only for one year, and then was brought to account for his actions, and could even be punished by death; the Asavul, or second in command, and a chancellor (*pisar*). The assembly possessed also the only judicial authority. Quarrels were strictly forbidden; theft and the plundering of Christians were punishable by hanging. The Sjetsch lived according to the precepts of the Orthodox Church and strictly observed the fasts. Their most honourable task was war against the infidels. They lived in fenced enclosures (*kurenj*) which were covered with horse skins, one hundred and fifty in each. Married men could be received into the company, but their wives might not be brought with them. Their food was a sort of yeast (*solomachia*), fish, and fish soup (*schtscherba*). A new institution thus began to flourish in these parts; indeed it seemed as if a new state would spring up there, on a new non-European basis. While in Poland and the rest of Europe the freedom of individual classes alone was known and preserved, here the very lowest stratum demanded for itself the same freedom; there was to be there no class distinction, but merely a free nation. Independently of the Sjetsch, free companies also were formed which, when they planned a raid, chose a commander (Ataman) for themselves. But everything later was concentrated in the Sjetsch, which formed the rallying point of all the Cossacks of the Ukraine. So far as we know, the noble John Badovskij was elected Ataman over all the

Cossacks for the first time under Sigismund Augustus in 1572. The same king put all the Cossacks under the jurisdiction of one judge, who had his residence at Bilacerkov. After this time captains or Hetmans who were recognised by the Polish government appeared at their head.

The Cossack life possessed an irresistible charm; and when the news spread of this fairyland where every man could live as free as a bird, and received a solemn consecration as a sworn foe to the infidels, it was gradually populated with fugitives and deserters from Poland and Russia. The country on both sides of the Dnieper round Kiev, as far as the Tartar frontier, became a paradise for all the poor and the oppressed, not less than for those who thirsted for glory and feats of arms. The Little Russian race seemed qualified to put into practice the idea of universal equality and freedom. The science of war was here brought to high perfection. At the same time a literature was produced which glorified the Cossack life in attractive ballads and tales. All the Slavonic world might well be proud of this free State. Of course this people, which regarded war as the object of life, could not fairly be expected to cultivate a higher civilization.

The Cossacks might have brought incalculable advantages to the country and the whole empire of Poland, if the Poles had understood how to fit this new member into the organism of the state. But the democratic spirit of the Cossacks did not harmonise with the aristocratic constitution of Poland. There were in Poland after the Union of Lublin (1569; p. 541) only three sharply divided classes, — the Slachta, the citizens, and the present serfs. There was no place for the Cossacks among these three classes, and instead of any advantages, the Cossacks therefore presented to Poland a social and political problem, as important as it was dangerous, which in its subsequent shape became predominantly an economic question.

The Cossacks exercised on the peasantry in Poland and Lithuania such a strong attraction that only the severest penalties could restrain the people from fleeing by crowds into the Ukraine. The Cossacks seemed, therefore, to the Slachta to be a revolutionary influence which disturbed the order of the state, and, by encouraging the exodus of the labouring country population, threatened every farm with desolation and ruin. But the economic stability of the Polish state depended on the serfdom of the country population; this had been a main object of the legislature. For as in the ancient world the prosperity of the state had depended on slavery as a legal institution. It is therefore intelligible why the Slachta persecuted with deadly hatred and deep contempt the Cossacks, those runaway peasants who ventured to put themselves on a level with their betters. They staked everything on reducing the Cossacks again to the position of peasants. The division of interests was not to be healed, and war was inevitable. It was an almost hopeless task to find a means of arranging the dispute and solving the social problem.

B. The Prosperity of the Cossacks in the Polish Period

Apart from Sigismund I, who had quietly promoted the organisation of the Cossacks, Sigismund Augustus was the first who attempted to link the Cossack element with the organism of the Polish state, since he placed them under the

authority of the starosts, restricted their numbers, and fixed their pay. Báthori had only taken in his pay six hundred Cossacks, and those for the war against Moscow. It was only under Sigismund III that the diet of 1590 determined to pay six thousand Cossacks. They were entered upon a list and called "registered." Their commander-in-chief was the Polish Crown Hetman for the time being, so that the Cossacks were intended to compose only a part of the Polish army. The "registered" received grants of land, a court of justice of their own at Baturin, and the right of electing superior officers. All the others, by far the majority, were intended to revert to the status of peasants. Sigismund thus found a way out of the difficulty, which only satisfied a very small proportion of the Cossacks. But the Slachta did not wish to admit even these six thousand into the state, and treated them merely as mercenaries. This provoked new strife. The "registered" combined with the non-registered Cossacks and rebelled against the government, attacked the Slachta on their estates, and under leaders of their own choice made raids upon Turkey and the Tartar territory.

Through this state of affairs a new difficulty sprang up for the Polish government; for this arrogance of the Cossacks threatened every moment to bring on their heads a dangerous war with the Porte, and injured Osmans were continually lodging complaints against insolent Cossacks. All commands were as useless as the execution of several Atamans. What did the free Cossacks care about the national interests of Poland? They loved liberty and war above everything else; they went as gaily to battle as to a dance. Often, imitating the intrepid Varangians, they sailed in their little skiffs (*czajki*) from the Dnieper to the Black Sea and plundered the suburbs of Constantinople or the towns of Kilia Akkerman (p. 366), Ismail, Sinope, and others. Sigismund built the fortress of Kremenczug on the Dnieper in 1591 to hold one thousand men, whose task it would be to keep the Cossacks in check. But even these standing garrisons were unable to restore order.

(*a*) *Peter Konaszewicz.* — In the year 1592 the first revolt of the registered Cossacks broke out, under the leadership of the Ataman Christopher Kosinski. Prince Constantine Ostrogski (p. 547), himself Orthodox, suppressed it at the head of the Slachta. The Cossacks were forced to surrender Kosinski and elect another Ataman, to give up the booty, and to bind themselves not to undertake any raids without the knowledge and consent of the government, and not to receive any deserters. But a second rising followed in 1596, under Loboda and Severin Nalivajko. The first revolt may have had a more social character, but now there was a religious element added, since the Cossacks rose to protect the Orthodox faith, which was threatened by the union of Brest in 1596. Ostrogski, the antagonist of the union, now himself fanned the flame, since he wished to wreak vengeance on Alexander Siemaszko, the castellan of Braclaw, and on the bishop Cyryl Terlecki (p. 547). The rebels assembled in his territory; they were joined in Ostrog by Damian Nalivajko, a brother of Severin, the chaplain of Ostrogski; many nobles, even the non-registered, took their side. The best generals, Zamojski and Sholkievski (p. 548), were sent against the insurgents and forced them to surrender. The two Atamans were given up and were beheaded at Warsaw. Treated with great harshness, the Cossacks now fled in masses to the left bank of the Dnieper, to Saporoshje, where they established their head-

quarters. Their numbers grew so rapidly there that they were able once more to undertake raids; they surprised Varna in 1605, and destroyed in 1607 Oczakov and Perekop.

The Saporogi became especially formidable when the Ataman Peter Konaszevicz Sahajdacznyi, a bold and skilful strategist, placed himself at their head in 1612. He plundered in 1612 the coast of the Crimea as far as Eupatoria, took Kaffa, destroyed Sinope in 1613, pillaged in 1614 the coast of Asia Minor, and in 1615–1616 Trebizond, and burnt the Turkish fleet. It was he who supported the Polish campaign against Moscow (p. 548). The name of Saporogi was soon universally used for the Dnieper Cossacks. Konaszevicz assumed the title "Ataman of both banks of the Dnieper and of the Saporogi," and placed himself over the "registered"; in fact he entered into alliance with the Czar and with Turkey. He is also the first Ataman who openly protected the Church and organised it, since he demanded an Orthodox Metropolitan with suffragan bishops for Kiev, and carried his point. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophan, came to Russia and consecrated Jov Borecki as Metropolitan and six other bishops; Konaszevicz assigned them estates. He founded many churches, renewed the monasteries, opened schools, and was thus the first who laid stress on the improvement of culture. He also called upon the Polish government to confirm his position; this was done when his help was required against the Turks. But he was always endeavouring to emphasise his independence. When Poland in the treaty with Turkey of 1621 promised to keep the Cossacks in check, he immediately organised an expedition into the Turkish territory, by way of registering his protest against that stipulation. Strangely enough this man of iron, who, for instance, ordered the Ataman of the "registered" Borodavka to be beheaded in sight of the Polish camp, and seemed to love war and war only, retired after the battle of Khotin, where he was wounded in the hand, into a monastery, and there occupied himself with the composition of a book, to which even his enemies gave unstinted praise. Konaszevicz died on April 5, 1622, an extraordinary character, bold to foolhardiness, a clever statesman, a patron of culture and freedom; in short, one of the greatest Slavs in history. He founded the national independence and spread abroad the fame of his native Ukraine; among the Cossacks themselves he roused a deep love for the mother-country. He is still celebrated in song.

In three years after his death the Cossack country sank from the pinnacle to which it had been raised by Konaszevicz. The Cossacks had been welcomed everywhere as mercenaries; Loboda and Nalivajko had fought under the emperor's banner in Transylvania, and others, like Lisovski, in Germany itself. The Polish government now sent the Hetman Koniecpolski to the Ukraine, on the right bank, under the pretext of preventing Cossack inroads into Turkish territory. The Cossacks were unexpectedly surrounded by his forces on Lake Kurakov, misled by false promises, and compelled to surrender. They were forced to accept the following terms on the heath of Medveshi Lozy in 1625. Six thousand "registered" were to be retained, sixty thousand guldens in gold paid to them, and the register kept in the imperial treasury; the Ataman was to be confirmed in his appointment by the Polish Crown Hetman; inroads into Turkish territory were to be discontinued; the boats (*czajki*) were to be burnt and no new ones built. A thousand of the registered Cossacks were to be on garrison duty in the country of the Saporogi. The non-registered were to serve their lords and sell their goods within twelve

weeks. Michael Doroszenko was then chosen Ataman, and confirmed in his post by Koniecpolski. Some years afterwards a Polish army came again into the Ukraine, and under its protection the Slachta indulged in acts of the greatest injustice and violence. Murders, outrages, and confiscation of property were the order of the day. If we reflect that hardly one in twenty could be entered on the register, we shall realise how great a mass of inflammable material was collected there. There was equal danger seething among the Saporogi, who had their own Atamans.

On the election of Wladislaus IV the representatives of the Cossacks also appeared in the imperial diet. They asked for electoral rights, abolition of the union, increase in the numbers of the registered, and the confirmation of the privileges of the Orthodox Church. They received the answer that the Cossacks certainly formed part of the body of the Polish republic, but only as the hair and nails, which could be cut off. In order to emphasise his demands, Petryzcky, Ataman of the "registered," marched to Volhynia and ravaged the property of the Slachta. The Cossacks were not admitted to full electoral privileges; but the rights of the Orthodox Church were confirmed and its Metropolitan, Peter Mogila, was recognised. Wladislaus IV promised to restore the Orthodox dioceses and to found new dioceses for the Uniates, and allowed them to build some churches and to set up printing-presses. But there was little talk of the freedom of the Cossacks; on the contrary, he ordered the new fortress of Kudak to be built on the Dnieper, which was intended to keep the Saporogi in check. The Ataman Sulyma destroyed this fortress, for which act he was impaled in Warsaw, and an army was sent against the Cossacks; these, under Pawluk, who already contemplated the autonomy of the Ukraine, were ready for a desperate resistance. The Cossacks fought at Kumejki and Borovitza with a bitter animosity, but were forced to give in. Pawluk, Tomilenko, and other leaders were beheaded. The Cossacks had to ask for pardon; all who went to Saporoshje were to be sent back to their lords. The preparation of the register was for the future intrusted to the royal commissaries, and the people were robbed of their goods. The diet of 1638 (cf. p. 551), rendered arrogant by its last victory, now had recourse to the severest measures. The "registered" were put on a level with the peasants, declared to have forfeited all rights and deprived of their goods. Henceforward the Polish commissary resided in Trechtemirov. The Polish armies encamped in the Ukraine and mercilessly wasted the country.

But people were much deceived in Poland who expected that the Ukraine would be finally pacified by the enslavement of the Cossacks. As an answer to the resolutions of the diet a new revolt broke out under Hunia, Ostrjanycia, and Filonenko. But this also was suppressed. In a camp which had surrendered unconditionally every single person was massacred. Among the Polish magnates who took the greatest interest in the enslavement of the Ukraine, Jeremias Wisnioviecki (a Voivod of the Jagellon stock) distinguished himself by his barbarity; at the head of his own troop he burnt, beheaded, impaled, or blinded all the Cossacks who fell into his hands. The rebellion was crushed by the weight of numbers. Many fled to Saporoshje and wandered about in the steppe. The idea of gaining support from some foreign power now gathered strength. Ostrjanycia and Filonenko went to Moscow; some six thousand are said to have entered the service of Persia. The Slachta now ruled absolutely in the Ukraine; the Cossacks were forbidden even to fish and to hunt. The Jesuits, too, came there

before long. Many magnates, such as Wisnioviecki, Konicepolski, Kalinovski, Potocki, acquired huge tracts of lands. The district which Wisniovecki now possessed was greater in size than many a German principality. A deputation of the Cossacks (Roman Polovetz, Bogdan Chmelnicki, Iwan Bojaryn, Iwan Wolezenko), which demanded from the king the restoration of freedom, of the right to own property, and of payment for service, could not effect anything. There was tranquillity in the Ukraine only for ten years; it seemed as if the country only wished to try to what limits the oppression of the Polish Slachta could go.

(*b*) *Peter Mogila.* — To this period belong the meritorious exertions of the famous Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mogila. The family of Mogila (Movilă, Mohyla; cf. pp. 359 and 369) gave some able rulers to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; it was connected by many matrimonial ties with the foremost families of Poland. Peter received his education partly in the school of the Stauropigian Fraternity at Lemberg, which was intimate with his family, and partly abroad. In 1625 he entered the most celebrated monastery of Russia, the Peczerskaja Lavra at Kiev, of which he became abbot at the end of 1627. In this capacity he went in 1632, at the head of the Cossack deputation to Poland, to the Reichstag and petitioned the king to grant rights to the Orthodox Church (p. 556). The consecration of Jov Borecki as Metropolitan of Kiev by the Patriarch Theophan of Jerusalem, at the request of the Ataman Konaszevicz, had taken place without the king's knowledge; the office of Metropolitan and certain bishoprics were now intended to be recognised by the state. After the death of Borecki Peter Mogila was recognised as Metropolitan in 1632.

Mogila's first and most important task was the improvement of secondary and elementary schools. While the Catholic priests, the Jesuits in particular, founded and supported scientific institutions on every side in order to fight the Evangelicals with spiritual weapons, the Russian clergy at the period of the Tartar dominion had sunk very low. The majority of the priests were illiterate. Even the most bigoted supporters of Orthodoxy could not fail to see that, if they wished to save their church, they ought not to neglect culture any further. Ecclesiastical brotherhoods were founded, and printing-presses and schools were set up for the protection of the Church in the most important sees, such as Lemberg, Kiev, Luck, Wilna. The first Orthodox school with a press was founded in 1580 by prince Constantine Ostrogski in his town of Ostrog. A school with a press was next founded in 1586 at Lemberg by the Stauropigian fraternity; another in 1588 at Wilna, when the Patriarch of Constantinople stayed there; a third in Luck, in 1589; a fourth in Kiev. Books in defence of their church now began to be published by the Orthodox party. The danger was the greater since King Sigismund III, an enthusiastic Catholic and patron of the Jesuits, aimed at the extirpation of the church and schools of the Orthodox party. When Theophan, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, appeared, he was announced to be a Turkish spy, and the bishops consecrated by him were brought before the courts. In spite of all this they held their own, and the schools increased in number.

Mogila was especially desirous of founding in Kiev a university, like those of other countries, in which instruction could be given in Latin, Greek, and Polish. He sent young persons abroad for some years to study the higher branches of education, and then installed them as professors in his school, which bore the

name of a "college," and was subsequently raised to the rank of a university. He sacrificed all his property to this end. He was soon in a position to send exemplary monks and efficient teachers to the prince of Wallachia and to Moscow. A vigorous intellectual movement now began. An apologetic Orthodox literature appeared; the Greeks could now vie successfully with the Roman Catholics. The school had good teachers, and it educated famous scholars, such as Silvester Kossov, Sofronij Poczaskij, Epifanij Slavineckij, Simeon Polockij, Innoc. Gisel, Baranovicz, S. Kozlovski, Galatovski, and others. Mogila himself was conspicuously active in the literary field. He wrote a series of the most necessary church books for the people and for teachers, emended the text of the translation of the Bible, and composed apologetics, especially the "Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East" (the *Confessio Orthodoxa* of 1643). Russia was able for centuries to find sustenance in the intellectual products of this man and his school. In the year 1640 Peter Mogila proposed to the Czar Michael to found a monastery with a school under the direction of Little Russian monks, in which the instruction should be given in the Greek and Slavonic languages. Two of the learned Kievans, Epifanij Slavineckij, at the recommendation of the Patriarch Nikon, and Simeon Polockij, entered into closer relations with the Czar Alexej (p. 572). Polockij in particular was both a prominent preacher and a poet, whose dramas were produced at court; he was also (after 1670) manager of the royal printing establishment. He it was who drafted the first scheme for a university in Moscow with faculties in Slavonic, Greek, and Latin, — a magnificent conception, which can be traced back to Mogila himself. The sons of Alexej, Feodor and Ivan, were patrons of the Kievan scholars. Peter the Great invited the teachers of this school to his court, and formed out of them a staff of savants, to whom he confided the intellectual regeneration of Russia. The pupils of the Kievan school bore the torch of culture everywhere, and filled the highest offices in the Church.

Mogila died in 1647, barely fifty years old, worn out by his restless energy. As Konaszevicz aroused the pride and the independence of the inhabitants of Southern Russia, so Mogila, a kindred spirit, awakened the culture of the Ukraine, covered it with the glory of science, and promoted the self-consciousness of the Orthodox Church. It must be confessed that even thus the old defects of the Greek Church could no longer be made good; the richest and most conspicuous families (for example, B. Jeremias Wisniovіecki), to whom nearly half the Ukraine on the left bank belonged, gradually went over to the Catholic Church. Almost the only adherents of the Orthodox faith were the poor, and in the towns the few citizens who were persuaded by spiritual brotherhood to continue in the Eastern Church.

C. Bogdan Chmelnicki; the Submission to Moscow

In the year of Mogila's death there was already great excitement in the Ukraine, and at the beginning of 1648 the Cossacks defeated a Polish army. This time Bogdan Sinovi Chm(i)elnicki, son of a Sotnik from Tchigirin, had placed himself at the head of the insurgents. He had studied in the Collegium Mogilanum and then in the Jesuit school at Jaroslav, and had the reputation of

being a well-read man. He fought in the Polish army at the battle of Cecora, where his father fell; he himself was taken prisoner and detained for two years in Constantinople. There he learnt the Turkish habits and language, a knowledge which proved very useful to him. Returning home on the conclusion of peace he went, discontented, to the Cossacks, shared in all their revolts, and was nominated chancellor (*pisar*) by them. His was a kindly, peaceable nature; it would never have occurred to him to stir up a rebellion, had not the arrogance of the Polish Slachta and the prevailing anarchy in Poland driven him to it. His estate of Sobotovo was taken from him (he was not a noble) by the under-starost Czaplinsky; his wife was carried off, his son killed, and when he demanded justice he, like all other injured persons before him, failed to find it. He then turned to the king. The latter had then received humiliation upon humiliation from the Slachta; there was reluctance to pay even his war debts, and his personal liberty was restricted; as just at this time his only son had died, his sorrow knew no bounds and his temper was greatly excited. He is said to have hinted to the Cossack who now lodged his grievance before him that he had a sword with which he could procure justice for himself. In any case, there is little doubt that Wladislaus gave some encouragement to the Cossack; the whole subsequent attitude of Chmelnicki shows it.

On the way back from Warsaw Chmelnicki stopped in every village, complained everywhere at the injustice done to him, and asked if the people were ready to take up arms against the Poles; all were only waiting for the right moment. Having reached the Ukraine, he took counsel in the forest with his friends who had grown gray in campaigns; they all thought that no help could be looked for except from themselves. An order for his arrest was issued, but he escaped to Saporoshje (towards the end of 1647). After having secured the assistance of the Cossacks in an assembly, he went to the Tartars to ask their help. His proceeding got wind in Poland, and at the beginning of 1648 two army corps were sent to the Ukraine, one overland, the other down the Dnieper; in the latter were embodied the "registered" under the Ataman Barabasz. Chmelnicki advanced to meet them, and when they came to shore they went over to him. Chmelnicki called on them to protect their life and liberty, their wives and children; a shout of joy greeted his words; Barabasz was thrown into the river. Thus the Ukraine on both sides of the Dnieper was in a blaze. The clergy preached the war everywhere and encouraged the revolt. But the bitter feeling was intense enough without this. Not merely the people in the Ukraine, but also those of Red Rùssia and even the country folk in the Western provinces of Poland, rose up and helped the Cossacks. If they murdered the Slachta and the Catholic clergy, pillaged their property, and burnt their churches, they only requited them for what they themselves had already suffered. Every discontented spirit hurried into Chmelnicki's camp, knowing well that the hour of reckoning was at hand.

Chmelnicki soon defeated one Polish army at Shovti Wody, another at Korsunj. At the news of this Wladislaus IV started to go to the Ukraine, but died on the way, at Merecz, on March 20, 1648. Another large army was put in the field, but this, being surrounded on the river Pilavka, took to flight under cover of darkness, and the whole rich camp fell into the hands of the Cossacks. Confusion and perplexity now prevailed in Poland. The Cossacks wished to be led to Warsaw. But Chmelnicki hesitated, probably because there was no reliance to be

placed on the Tartars. He only marched to Red Russia, besieged Lemberg, took two hundred thousand gulden as ransom, invested Zamosc, received there twenty thousand gulden, and awaited the result of the royal election. His embassy worked for the election of John Casimir, brother of Wladislaus, who was eventually elected. Chmelnicki now began his homeward march, made his entry amid the pealing of bells and the thunder of cannon into Kiev, where he was solemnly received by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, by the Metropolitan, the clergy, and the citizens. There now appeared in his camp ambassadors of the Sultan from Moldavia and Wallachia, from Transylvania and Moscow, all with offers of alliance. Chmelnicki played the part of an independent sovereign. Ambassadors also came from the newly elected king, at their head Kisiel, an Orthodox noble. But Chmelnicki rejected all proposals for peace, and marched for the second time to the Polish frontier, since he knew that only the sword could decide. The king in person now took the field against him. A battle was fought at Zborov. John Casimir had almost been taken prisoner when Chmelnicki gave orders for the slaughter to cease; he wished, he said, to extirpate the Slachta, but not fight against the king. New terms of peace were put forward by him. He demanded that forty thousand should be put on the list of the "Reserved," and that the voivodships of Kiev, Tchernygov, Poltava and Podolia, should be given to the Cossacks; abolition of the union of Brest, a seat for the Orthodox Metropolitan in the Polish Senate, and the expulsion of the Jesuits and the Jews from the Ukraine. Poland would not listen to these conditions, and preparations were renewed for war. The people now began to mutter that Chmelnicki was deserting them and would not win freedom for them. But this time the Cossacks, although Chmelnicki is said to have had three hundred and fifty thousand men with him, were beaten at Beresteczko in Volhynia, through the treachery of the Tartar Khan, who, having made an agreement with the king, left the field of battle at the decisive moment and carried off with him as prisoner Chmelnicki, vainly urging him to turn back. The latter regained his liberty after much trouble, and when he came back all was lost. He was now forced to accept unfavourable conditions. Chmelnicki still persevered, and even won some victories; but he saw that the country could not hold its own without foreign aid. At the assembly specially convened for the purpose some declared for Turkey, others for Moscow; there were a few voices in favour of remaining with Poland. The masses were for Russia, with which the common faith formed a link. Chmelnicki himself preferred Russia. He sent in 1653 a solemn embassy to the Czar Alexej, who had hitherto maintained an unfriendly attitude toward the insurgents, and this time the Grand Duke decided to accept the Cossacks. In the next year Muscovite commissaries appeared in the Ukraine and took possession of the country. An army under Doroszenko submitted some years later to Turkey.

In the centuries of struggle between Poland and Russia for the sovereignty in the East, the year 1654 forms the turning point. Poland had been driven into the background by her own fault, while the power of Russia was from year to year extended at the expense of Poland. It might now be said that the game was lost for Poland.

But the democratic Cossack community was as little adapted for the arrogant Muscovites as for the aristocratic Polish republic. Absolutism cannot brook national forms of liberty in its own domain. Moscow was otherwise, with its rude

Boyars and its low culture little adapted to benefit a people like the Cossacks, who, accustomed to freedom, stood on a higher plane in politics and culture. The position of the Cossacks, however, became more endurable under the Muscovite sceptre, since definite laws were enforced there ; all subjects were equal, and even those outside the Boyar class were not treated more indulgently. The weight of the government was, therefore, felt less acutely.

An independent existence for the Cossack State was impossible. The Cossacks received their material as well as spiritual requirements from Russia. They bought their weapons in Russian marts, and they owed their very moderate degree of intellectual development to the Orthodox clergy, whose patron the Russian Czar was. Chmelnicki alone with his sound common-sense recognised this. A bold and skilful soldier, he was hardly competent for his great task as a statesman ; he was no born ruler, but always regarding himself as a servant of the crown, he only thought how to find out another master for himself. He showed superficiality in his grip of the national and the social questions. He owed the successes which he achieved more to accident and the universal hatred of the Slachta than to his genius. The people did not notice these defects in him ; and when he died, on the 25th of August, 1657, at the age of sixty-four years, a Cossack ballad sang that it was not the wind that groaned and howled in the trees, but the nation bewailing its father Chmelnicki.

D. The Russian Age of the Cossacks

It was not long before the Muscovite administration in the Ukraine caused a bitter disappointment. The Polish party therefore grew again, especially among the upper classes, while the people mostly remained loyal to Moscow. There was still vacillation ; at one time there were fresh submissions to Poland, as, for instance, in the case of Jurij, Chmelnicki's own son, at another time there were reversions to Moscow. But there were always the three parties existing in the Ukraine, the Polish, the Turkish, and the Russian, which fought each other with renewed vigor. Soon there was evidence of a deplorable split between the Cossacks and the population which was excluded from the military service. The Cossacks, who acquired large estates, began to separate themselves more sharply as an aristocracy from the lower stratum, over which they wished to rule, like the Slachta in Poland. The democratic spirit, which had formerly worked wonders in the Ukraine and had inspired and morally elevated the whole people, gradually disappeared. Soon the hate of the people turned against the Cossacks themselves, who became their oppressors.

When the reorganisation of the government and the army was completed under Peter the Great and a standing army was raised, the Cossacks no longer fitted into the new political and military structure. But Peter still spared them. It was only when Hetman Ivan St. Mazeppa [1] had attempted in the Northern War (1707 ; Vol. VII, p. 510) to emancipate the Ukraine with the help of the Swedes, and had entered into secret negotiations with Charles XII, that Peter struck about

[1] This man, once (1663) bound to a wild horse and carried into the wilds of the Ukraine, has been immortalised by a poem of Lord Byron, as well as by two paintings of Horace Vernet.

him with his usual cruelty; he took no further consideration for the separate interests of the Cossacks, instituted in Moscow a special "Chancery for Little Russian affairs," and abolished the office of Hetman. Menschikov (p. 581) captured the Sjetch of the Saporogi on the island of Chortiza, and they now emigrated to the Crimea. They were recalled to the Dnieper under the empress Anna in 1737. They did not recognise their country again. Southern Russia had become quickly settled after the subjugation of the Tartar Khanates and was covered with towns. The steppe, through which the Cossacks had roamed like the Arabs through their desert, had been transformed into a populous land. Discontented with this, they wished their old land to be restored to them and changed back again into a waste, — a further proof that they, the knights of robbery and plunder, were no longer suited to the new age and an organised government.

Once again in the time of Catherine II a savage social and religious war against Poles, Jews, and Catholics blazed forth, when the Cossacks, together with Haidamakes and every sort of riffraff, wreaked their fury and pillaged whole towns like Umani. Gonta and Selisnjak were the ringleaders; the Greek clergy once more added fuel to the flames. At last in 1775 Potemkin, by Catherine's orders, took the Sjetch and destroyed it. One part of the insurgents emigrated to Turkey; the rest remained as Cossacks of the Black Sea, they received the southern shore of the Sea of Azov and the island of Fanagoria as their homes, with a special constitution. This was the end of the free Cossack life; it only survived in songs. Catherine II, being alarmed by revolts, especially by that of J. Pugatschev (1774; p. 600), and also indignant because her new settlements and towns in the south were injured in their development by a population of born robbers, declared, in the decree of May 3, 1783, in spite of her liberal views, all the crown peasants of Little Russia, and therefore the peasants among the Cossacks, to be serfs, — a measure by which a million and a half peasants were presented to the nobles. When in the same year she united the Crimea (the Tartar Cossacks) with the empire, "the old life of those semi-nomads, semi-robber knights, with all its romance and adventure, ceased for ever in the south, and the stillness of the grave sank over that country where for centuries a noisy life had pulsed." A similar phenomenon came to light in the territory belonging to the state of Moscow, and to some extent in the adjoining districts. The peasant population was no better treated there than in Poland; the treatment of the serfs became more and more oppressive, only with the distinction that it was not so much the Boyars here, as the state itself and the magistrates, who ill-treated the people with true Oriental brutality, and extorted from them the uttermost farthing. Whole districts became depopulated. According to the official report there were in one region of 460 square miles (German) only 123 inhabited settlements and 967 deserted ones; the reason often given for this was "the Czar's taxes and imposts." The people emigrated by thousands; the limitation and the subsequent abolition of the right of emigration proved ineffectual. Vast numbers of those who suffered from the misgovernment tried by flight to save their lives at any rate. Many went into the steppe districts on the Don and the Volga as far as the Ural River and the Caucasus. There, too, Cossack bands were formed, such as those of the Don, the Volga, the Ural, etc. They were usually hostile to the state and were often the cause of serious disturbances.

All the pretenders to the Russian crown found supporters among the Cossacks

or started from that country. Among the more famous chieftains we may mention Bolotnikof, who encouraged the bands to murder the Boyars, to appropriate their goods, their wives and daughters, to plunder the warehouses of the merchants and divide all state offices among themselves; then the dreaded Ataman Stenka (Stephan) Rasin in the time of the Czar Alexis (1667–1671); Kondratij Bulavin under Peter the Great (1707–1708); Pugatchef, who gave himself out to be Peter III; further two pseudo-Demetrij; they were all supported by these bands. This was the harvest which the state of Moscow reaped from the Asiatic brutality of its policy. But among the Cossacks also arose Jarmak Timofejef (cf. Vol. II, p. 218), who became famous by the conquest of Siberia, and then Deschnef, the discoverer in 1648 of the strait between America and Asia which was later rediscovered by Behring and called after him (Vol. II, p. 220). Cossacks conquered Azov and wished to surrender it to the Czar (p. 575). Nevertheless the revolts of these Cossacks gave the Russian government much trouble. It was only after the defeat of Pugatchef under Catherine II that their wide domains became gradually reduced to order.

11. THE LAST CENTURY OF THE POLISH EMPIRE

A. Poland from John II Casimir to John III Sobieski; the Liberum Veto

The loss of the Ukraine was not the sole disaster which befell Poland in 1654. The war for it with Moscow and Turkey was almost worse. But the Swedish king Charles X Gustavus, against whose accession John II (Jan) Casimir (1648–1668) raised a protest, also declared war with Poland. In addition to these Prince Georg Rákóczy II of Transylvania (p. 391) attacked Poland in 1657. For many years Poland had not been faced by such great danger. Warsaw (Vol. VII, p. 480) and Cracow were in the hands of the Swedes, the Great Elector of Brandenburg took Prussia; Wilna and Red Russia were occupied by the Russians and Cossacks, and Rákóczy was committing the most terrible ravages; the king fled to Silesia. The saddest feature was that the Slachta joined the Swedes, and that there were traitors who roused rebellion against their own sovereign. The nobler minds formed a league, at whose head the king placed himself; and an alliance was concluded with Austria and Denmark. In spite of some successes to their arms the Poles were forced to submit to great sacrifices. In the treaty of Wehlau (29th September, 1657) it renounced the suzerainty of Prussia in favour of the Elector Frederick William; by this concession the duchy of Prussia was definitely lost. By the treaty with Sweden, concluded on the 3d of May, 1660, in the Cistercian monastery of Oliva near Dantsic, Poland had to cede Elbing and Livonia; besides this, John Casimir abandoned his rights of inheritance in Sweden, and was only allowed to assume for his life the title of King of Sweden. The Polish arms were comparatively most successful in the Ukraine, where the Poles succeeded in winning over to their side a part of the Cossacks under Wyhovskij. Even the son of Chmelnicki (p. 561) submitted to Poland. Nevertheless the latter was compelled by the truce of Andrussov (20th January, 1667) to cede to Moscow Smolensk, Severien, Czernigov, and the Ukraine on the left

bank of the Dnieper for thirteen years, and Kiev for two years (see the "Maps illustrating the History of Poland"). The war with Turkey, which had been brought about by the defeat of a part of the Cossacks under Doroszenko, similarly ended with a humiliating peace for Poland at Buczacz (Budziek), which was concluded eventually under Michael, the successor of John Casimir, on the 18th of September, 1672. According to its terms Poland ceded part of the Ukraine to Doroszenko, Podolia with the fortress of Kamieniec (Kamenez) to Turkey, and consented to pay an annual tribute of twenty-two thousand ducats.

Still more unfortunate for Poland were the moral degeneracy of its Slachta and the general corruption of public life. Each group concluded peace on its own account with the enemy; the parties were hostile to each other and stirred up ill-will against the king; even individual officials carried out an independent policy. Many were in the pay of foreign powers, among them, for instance, the primate of the empire and John Sobieski, the subsequent king; the high dignitaries publicly taunted each other with venality. It was in the year 1652 that a single deputy from Troki in Lithuania, Wladislaus Sicinski by name, dissolved the Reichstag, which had been summoned at a dangerous crisis, by interposing his veto. That the validity of a resolution of the Reichstag depended on the assent of each individual member was of the essence of the constitution; each individual was the embodiment of the majesty of the empire. Unanimity in all the resolutions of the Reichstag had already been demanded (p. 541), and minorities had before this dissolved the Reichstag. But it was unprecedented that an individual should have dared to make the fullest use of the *liberum veto*. Foreign interference and the exercise of influence on the imperial policy were henceforward much simplified, since all that was now required was to win over one single individual.

But then as formerly, as if that was the obvious course, the blame was laid on the king. John Casimir was cautious and bold, but nevertheless the Slachta hated him. He was accused of indifference, no regard was paid to him, and his deposition was discussed. He anticipated this last proceeding, as he resolved to lay down the crown voluntarily. There was still much haggling about the annuity payable to him, just as he had formerly been forced from motives of economy to marry his brother's widow, Marie Louise (p. 550), in order that the country might not require to keep up two queens. The abdication took place on the 16th September, 1668. The Senate and the Chamber of Provincial Deputies met in a joint session. With touching words of farewell the weeping king laid on the table of the house the deed of abdication, and the whole assembly wept with him. But the whole state, as it were, abdicated in the person of the king; his retirement was the most tangible proof of the impossible position of public affairs in the Polish Empire.

The ex-king revisited Sokal, Cracow, and Czenstochau; he learnt of the election of his successor, the feeble Michael Thomas Korybut Wisnioviecki (1669–1673), and went to France, where he died at St. Germain on the 16th of December, 1672. Shortly before that, King Michael had been forced to conclude the shameful peace of Buczacz. He was the son of that Voivod, Jeremias Wisnioviecki of Reussen, who had once vented his fury on the Ukraine-Cossacks (p. 556); but he had not inherited the warlike abilities of his father. Under the prevailing republican conditions the kingship in Poland of the seventeenth century meant

MAPS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF POLAND AND WESTERN RUSSIA.

compiled by Karl Wolf.

POLAND AND WESTERN RUSSIA in the year 1000.
POLAND, LITHUANIA AND WESTERN RUSSIA at the beginning of the 16th Century
POLAND before the Peace of Oliva (1660) and Andrussowo (1667)
POLAND after the delimitation of 1772
1772 ceded to Prussia to Russia to Austria
1793 ceded to Prussia to Russia
1795 ceded to Prussia to Russia to Austria
GRAND DUCHY of LITHUANIA
MONGOLIAN KHANATE of the GOLDEN HORDE (KIPCHAK)
KHANATE of the CRIMEA
KING.OF HUNGARY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
BALTIC SEA
GERMAN EMPIRE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE

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New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

little more than a superfluous ornament, and this was exemplified in Wisnioviecki with peculiar force.

Contemporary Polish literature, which is characterised by the same shallowness as the political life, is a true mirror of the faults and vices of the Slachta. There were few exceptions. We find an apt criticism of it in the small Elzevir compilation, the "Respublica Poloniae" (Leiden, 1627), in "Joannis Boteri Poloniae descriptio:" "The king can do as much as he can personally effect by good fortune and cleverness. The nobles do what they like; they associate with the king, not as peers, but as brothers."

In the person of John III Sobieski (elected after the death of Wisnioviecki on May 19, 1674), who had distinguished himself as a general against the Turks (p. 162), Poland obtained a king who would have been capable of retrieving the losses of recent years and of winning fresh glory for the empire. He clung with the full force of his soldierly nature to the plan entertained by the greatest kings of Poland of opening the decisive campaign against Turkey in alliance with Moscow and Austria, since he rightly saw that the future of Poland depended on it. This idea led him in 1683 to the walls of Vienna, where he defeated the Osmans. This brilliant victory, which made him celebrated in the whole Christian world (p. 163), and further successes in Hungary were the last rays of sunlight in which the fame of Poland shone. A thorough statesman, he treated also the religious question from the political standpoint, and thought that he could end the disputes between the Roman Catholics and the other confessions by a synod, which he convened at Lublin in 1680 and then at Warsaw. From this higher point of view he organised the Ukraine, adopting just and lenient measures, and in this way he won over a large part of the Cossacks.

He did not hesitate at great self-sacrifices in order to attain his purpose of annihilating the Turks. At the beginning of 1656 he sent Christopher Grzymultovski to Moscow to conclude an alliance with the Czarina Sophia. Poland ceded, on the 21st of April, in perpetuity, Smolensk, Czernigov, Dorogobush, Sterodab, and Kiev, with the whole of the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper. Moscow was to pay one hundred and forty-six thousand roubles and to wrest the Crimea from the Tartars. The Polish hero, with tears in his eyes, took the oath to this "eternal peace" with Russia, in the hope that he had won this state for his great plans. But Moscow was then still too barbarous to entertain such noble ideas and too weak to be able to carry them out. Sobieski saw himself thrown on his own resources. But in his noble efforts he, like his predecessors, was always hindered by that social and political corruption in his own country which rendered every great undertaking abortive. At the beginning of his reign he was full of ideas of a *coup d'état*, but was compelled, like all the others, to give up every hope. The actions of this monarch furnish a proof that even capable men may become the slaves of circumstances. For this reason it is not exclusively those men who have attained considerable results that we should call great; to their number we should add those also who have made high endeavours.

The Slachta did not even allow him to nominate his son Jacob Lewis as his successor; they felt indeed a malicious joy when the latter did not receive the promised hand of an Austrian princess, and they tried to thwart even his marriage with a rich Lithuanian. Filled with mortification and weighed down by

care, John III sank into his grave on the 17th of June, 1696 (for his daughter Theresia Kunigunde, mother of Emperor Charles VII Albert, see Vol. VII, p. 525).

B. The Age of the Saxon Electors.

The reign of Sobieski was the last flickering gleam in the life of the Polish republic. The terrible times of John Casimir now seemed to have come back; party feuds began afresh and with redoubled fury. Hitherto individuals or parties had betrayed and sold their country, but now kings did the same; foreign countries had hitherto made their influence felt in Poland only by residents and money, but now they did so directly by troops, which never left the borders of the realm and enforced the orders of their sovereigns by the sword. The Slachta formerly, loving freedom beyond all else, had refused to make any sacrifices to the dictates of sound policy or to listen to any reform, but now foreign countries were eagerly desirous of maintaining the existing conditions and admitted no reforms. Foreign mercenaries took up their quarters in Poland, established arsenals, fought each other, and traversed the territory of the republic in every direction without asking any leave. Even before this time the neighbouring powers had entertained no great respect for the sovereignty of the Polish state. In 1670 the Great Elector had ordered a Prussian nobleman, Chr. Ludw. von Kalkstein, to be forcibly seized from the very side of King Michael Wisnioviecki and led away to Königsberg. John Casimir himself, even in the reign of his brother Wladislaus, while travelling in the west of Europe and being driven by a storm on the French coast, was kept two years in imprisonment without any special feeling being caused in his country at the incident. Poland was now treated with undisguised contempt. In the old days when, according to the ancient custom at a coronation, money was scattered among the crowd, no Pole ever stooped to pick up a coin; now they all clutched with both hands at doles from whatever side they came. Formerly the Slachta had imposed harsh conditions on foreign candidates for the throne, and had stipulated for the recovery of lost provinces, but now no king could be elected without the consent of foreign powers, obtained by humiliating promises. National and religious intolerance grew in consequence stronger. Rome and the Jesuits had great influence, and indefatigably carried out their task of forcible conversion and merciless oppression of all who were not of their creed.

The Elector Frederick Augustus (the Strong) of Saxony, or as king of Poland Augustus II (1697–1733), owed his election partly to the money which he distributed, but mostly to the circumstance that he had adopted the Catholic faith on June 1, 1697. In the year 1733 the Reichstag had declared heterodox persons to have forfeited all political rights and offices, and by this action had given a new pretext to foreign powers for interference in the affairs of the empire. The sudden dissolution of the diets was now the ordinary course of things. Under Augustus II, out of eighteen diets between the years 1717 and 1733 only five brought their deliberations to a close; under Augustus III, only one. Even the law courts were often hindered in their duties by party contests and were compelled to suspend their sittings. And since the state machinery was stopped recourse was had to alliances and armed combinations which led more certainly to the goal. But it was not difficult even for a foreign power to call into life, to

suit their own purposes, some such "confederation." They grew up like mushrooms, fought against each other, and increased the confusion. Together with political disorganisation, the impoverishment of the Slachta made alarming progress. Destitute nobles, who now lived only on the patronage and favour of the high nobility, crowded in masses round the rich magnates, whose numbers also steadily decreased. As a natural consequence, the peasants were inhumanly oppressed. The towns, more and more burdened by the national needs, were equally impoverished, especially since they never enjoyed the favour of the crown. The Jesuit schools now only fostered a specious learning, and only educated soldiers of Christ, who were intended to set up in Poland the Society of Jesus rather than the kingdom of God. Even the Piarists, an order established in 1607, who founded schools in rivalry with the Jesuits, were more solicitous for their own popularity than for the diffusion of true knowledge. The morality and culture of the Slachta were on a disgracefully low level; and their condition was the more repellent since it bore no proportion to their ambition, their pretensions, or position in the realm. The empire had thus been engaged in a deadly struggle for a century. If its neighbours allowed it to last so long, the only reason was that they were not themselves ready and strong enough to swallow Poland up. They jealously watched and counterbalanced each other. It was with good reason that the saying "*Polska nierządem stoi*" (Poland stands by disorder) now became a current proverb.

Frederick Augustus of Saxony and Poland, physically so strong that he could bend a thaler between his fingers and a thorough man of the world, seemed, as a Polish writer aptly puts it, to have been chosen by Providence to punish the nation for its sins. Frivolous in private and often also in public life, he introduced immorality and political corruption into his surroundings. In 1699 he had just reaped the fruits of the campaigns of his great predecessor by the treaty of Karlovitz (p. 166), through which Poland recovered from Turkey Podolia and Kamieniec, when in the very next year he plunged Poland into a fatal war, which almost cost him the throne. He made friendly overtures to Peter the Great of Russia and planned with him a campaign against Sweden; Livonia was to be the prize of victory. The Danish king Frederick IV was then drawn into the alliance, and the Saxon troops, which Augustus always kept in Poland, began the war. But the allies had grievously deluded themselves in the person of the youthful king of Sweden. Charles XII struck blow after blow with crushing effect (Vol. VII, p. 501). While Russia by her natural weight and not by her warlike skill was finally able to conquer the little country of Sweden, Augustus II and Denmark could not make any stand against it. Charles XII demanded from the Slachta the deposition of the king, and ordered the election of Stanislaus Leszczynski as king on the 12th of June, 1704. Augustus II tried in vain to win over Charles XII. He repeatedly offered him, through secret emissaries, a partition of Poland, but was obliged, on the 24th of September, 1706, when Charles had also conquered Saxony, to renounce the crown of Poland by the treaty of Altranstadt, and did not recover it until Charles XII had been decisively defeated by Peter the Great at Poltava on the 8th of July, 1709. The only power to benefit from this second Northern War was Russia, which finally acquired Livonia Esthonia, and Ingria, and so set foot on the Baltic.

From the beginning of his reign Augustus II entertained the idea of strengthening the monarchical power; he kept Saxon troops in Poland and did not consult

the Reichstag. But although he possessed considerable talents as a ruler, the various schemes which he evolved all turned out disastrously for Poland. The opposition against him daily grew stronger, and the followers of Leszczynski, who was deposed on August 8, 1709, increased in numbers; confederations were formed on both sides. Russia brought matters to a head. Rapidly and with astonishing astuteness Peter the Great found his way in the Polish difficulty, and knew how to act. He came between the parties as a mediator, but took the side of Augustus as the least dangerous; he sent, as the "Protector of Poland," eighteen thousand men into the country, and negotiated an agreement between the rival parties in Warsaw. Augustus II promised to withdraw his Saxons from the country within twenty-five days; all confederations were broken up and prohibited for the future, and the constitution was safeguarded. In a secret clause the number of troops in Poland was limited; Poland was not to keep more than seventeen thousand, Lithuania not more than six thousand men. The Reichstag of 1717 was forced to approve of all these points without discussion, for which reason it was called the "Dumb Diet." This was a master move of Peter's, and all the more so since he succeeded in inducing Turkey to recognise this agreement. Since that date Russian troops never left the soil of Poland, a policy which was observed up to the last partition.

Another neighbour had to be considered during the dispute for the Polish succession, in the person of the Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg. He retorted to the promotion of the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland by crowning himself as King of Prussia on the 18th of January, 1701. This action of his meant that he withdrew from the federation of the German Empire with one part of his territory, and shifted the centre of gravity of power as a sovereign to Prussia, which was not indeed subject to the suzerainty of the emperor; attention was at the same time called to the fact that he claimed the other part of Prussia, which still was subject to Poland. The far-sighted policy of the Prussian king and his successors is shown by their unwearying solicitude for the organisation and strengthening of their army. The numerical superiority of the Russian and other troops was intended to be balanced by the efficiency of the Prussians. Frederick I was also approached by Augustus II with the plan of partitioning Poland. Thus he, the king of Poland, was the first to suggest to his neighbours the idea of its partition. The third occasion was in the year 1732, when he hoped by this offer to win over the Prussian king for the election of his son Frederick Augustus as king of Poland.

The Reichstag, it is true, after the death of Augustus II (February 1, 1733), elected with unusual unanimity Stanislaus Leszczynski on September 11, for the second time. But the Slachta forgot that their resolutions were meaningless against the will of a stronger power. Forty thousand Russians entered Poland, and Russia's *protégé*, Frederick Augustus II of Saxony, was elected king on the 17th of January, 1734, with the title of Augustus III. France was obliged to acquiesce in the defeat of her candidate, Leszczynski. He received Lorraine and Bar as a solatium (1735–1738). He was occupied to the day of his death (February 23, 1766) with the thought of his unhappy native land, and ultimately collected round him at Nancy and Lunéville the youth of Poland, in order to educate them as reformers.

It was now perceived, even in Poland, that the catastrophe could not be long

delayed. The voices that demanded reform grew more numerous. It is a tragic spectacle to see how the nobler minds in the nation exerted themselves vainly in carrying reforms and saving their country. Two great parties (at the head of the one was the Czartoryski family, at the head of the other the Potocki) were bitter antagonists. The former wished to redeem Poland with the help of Russia; the latter, with the support of France. Both were wrong in their calculation; for the salvation of Poland was not to be expected from any foreign power, but it depended solely on the unanimity and self-devotion of the nation itself, and this was unattainable. The whole reign of Augustus III (he died on the 5th of October, 1763) is filled with these party feuds.

C. The End of Polish Independence

The evil star of Poland willed that in the second half of the eighteenth century Prussia and Russia should possess, in the persons of Frederick the Great and Catherine II, rulers who are reckoned among the greatest in history, while Poland herself was being ruined by disunion. In 1764, soon after the death of Augustus II, both the adjoining states came to an agreement as to an occupation of parts of Poland's territory. Stanislaus II Poniatovski, a relation of the Czartoryski family, who had been elected king on the 7th of October, 1764, had lived hitherto in St. Petersburg and had been, as a favourite of Catherine, intended for the throne of Poland. This circumstance in itself gave grounds for supposing that this king, in spite of his amiable nature, would be a tool of the Russian policy. The Czartoryskis indeed wished to use the opportunity and introduce useful reforms, and took up a strong position against Russia; but confederations were soon formed for the protection of the old liberties, and these received the support of Russia, whose interest it was to keep up the lack of central authority in Poland. All the European powers then showed a singular eagerness for expansion; the idea of partition seemed to be in the air. The Emperor Charles VI and Frederick William I of Prussia had already inquired, through their representatives in Russia, what attitude the Czar would adopt on the fall of the Polish Empire. Later, as is well known, the plan of a partition of Prussia cropped up; Austria, Russia, Sweden, and France gave it their consent. But when Frederick showed his loving neighbours how hard he could strike, they left him and immediately devoted their attention to the weaker Poland, which was not in a condition to keep off her enemies. Poland is alone to blame. On the 17th of February, 1772, at the beginning of 1793, and on October 24, 1795, Poland was partitioned between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and the Polish Empire disappeared from the map of Europe (see the map at page 564). The people of Poland had also to endure the mortification of seeing their own diet concur in these outrages of the great powers.

Thus the Polish state, after lasting eight hundred years, ceased to be. The cause was the *morbus nimiae libertatis* (the disease of unbridled liberty). Poland, in the search for the solution of the main constitutional question, went to excess and was choked by the exuberance of individual license. We therefore learn an unusual amount from the history of Poland; it is of great importance for the world's history, since it offers us something new. Apart from this, Poland did

much for culture and progress. Civilization, indeed, if we leave out of account Copernicus, who after all enjoyed a West European training, was never higher there than in the West; but Poland carried the culture of the West to the East.

After this date there were frequent rumours of efforts to be made by Polish patriots, especially by those who had emigrated to France, to recover political independence; European diplomacy has often been occupied with the Polish question. But beyond friendly encouragement the Poles found no friend who with powerful hand could and would have reversed the momentous events of the last decades of the eighteenth century. The Polish emigrants threw in their fortunes with France, and formed legions which fought under the eagles of Napoleon I, in the hope that he would help them to set up their kingdom once more. Such sentiments were foreign to the Corsican tyrant; the Poles, like other nations, were to him mere pawns on his chessboard. It is true, that after the peace of Tilsit on the 21st of July, 1807, he created the Grand Duchy of Warsaw under the Saxon king Frederick Augustus I, which comprised Warsaw and Cracow, but he only did that to weaken Prussia and Austria. The Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) "regulated" the Polish question so far that Prussia recovered Posen, and Austria, East Galicia.

The noble-minded emperor Alexander I consented that a constitutional kingdom, under a Russian Grand Duke as governor, should be created out of the Warsaw district ("Congress Poland"), and a republic out of Cracow, under the protection of Russia, Austria, and Prussia (1815). But the Poles once again failed to champion their cause. In the Cracow district a new revolt was planned against Russia, and, in the event of success, naturally against Prussia also. The revolt broke out on November 29, 1830, in Warsaw. The moment selected was unfavourable. Russia, just after her victory over Turkey, was in a better position. The Polish troops were defeated (cf. Vol. VIII), the constitution repealed, and the Polish territory henceforward was incorporated with Russia. When a new rising, in the spring of 1846, caused disturbances, the free state of Cracow was occupied in November by Austria. The insurrection of 1863 had from the first still less prospects (Ibid.). The Polish question thus temporarily disappeared from the chessboard of European diplomacy.

12. RUSSIA AS A EUROPEAN POWER

A. The Struggle between Progress and Reaction down to 1680

The Tartar dominion was the greatest calamity that befell the Russian state in its entire historical development, not merely because it lost political independence for nearly three hundred years, and was treated with barbarity and became impoverished, but in a still higher degree because the people were nearly five hundred years behind Western Europe in the progress of civilization. A despotic government, which treated its subjects like Asiatics, a taxation which emptied the pockets of the people, a brutalisation of habits, a growth of servility among the population, and, as a consequence, a disparagement and even a contempt for culture, an Asiatic arrogance, and a tendency to aloofness from the West European world,—all this was the fruit of the long Tartar thraldom. And can any one assert that even now Russia has entirely outgrown these characteristics?

It was only toward the end of the fifteenth century that more frequent tidings of Russia reached Western Europe. On the other hand, Russia had a keen interest in the latter. The Florentine Union (p. 509) might be regarded as the first step towards closer intercourse between East and West. But the reign of Ivan III in this as in many other connections marks a real epoch. Ivan III made himself famous by his marriage with the house of the Palæologi (p. 516) and also by the fact that he finally shook off the Tartar yoke. The Hapsburgs were the first to wish to enter into relations with Russia. Nicholas Popel von Lobkovitz (1486) and George von Thurn appeared there as the envoys of Frederick III and Maximilian. The Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol (died 1496) sent Michael Snups with the order to learn Russian, and inquire into all the chief points of interest in the country. Ivan himself instituted embassies to Hungary, Germany, and Italy (cf. p. 518). He asked King Matthias Corvinus to send him skilful miners (1482). He made the same request to the emperor Frederick III, asking at the same time for an artillerist, a builder, and a silversmith. He summoned painters and architects, goldsmiths and bell founders from Italy; among the engineers the most famous was Aristotele Fioraventi, a Bolognese, who cast cannon and created the first artillery in Russia. An Italian Giambattista della Volpe (or, in Russian, Iwan Frjasin) was director of the Mint in Moscow after the year 1469. The Greek diplomatist, Trachaniotes, in the year 1489, conducted negotiations for the marriage of a daughter of Ivan III with Maximilian. In the year 1520 Paolo Centurione, a Genoese merchant, came to Moscow with a papal letter of introduction. He was ostensibly commissioned to find a new route from Europe to India, but assuredly received other secret instructions. Important results followed the diplomatic labours of the Austrian ambassador Siegmund Herberstein, who visited Russia on two occasions (1516–1518 and 1526–1527) and wrote a much read book, "Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii," about the results of his investigations (cf. the explanation to Figure 6 on the illustration at page 467). A Corinthian by birth he knew Slovenic, and could therefore with great facility learn the Russian language and collect news. Nevertheless, he relates many fabulous stories of wonderful human beings and beasts in Russia. The Venetians and English being excited by the discovery of America, like the Genoese by their merchant Centurione, wished to find a new route through Russia to India.

Sir Hugh Willoughby in the reign of King Edward VI (1553) fitted out an English expedition; but instead of finding the northeast passage to India Richard Chancellor, the captain of one of the three ships, was driven by a storm to the mouth of the Dwina. Ivan the Terrible (p. 521) received him very graciously and gave the English merchants special privileges. After that time a brisk trade developed between England and Russia; in fact an English trading company for Russia was founded with headquarters at Moscow, and several branches, which became a formidable rival of the Hansa. Ivan, a friend of the British, was nicknamed by the anti-progressive Russians "the English Czar," and even contemplated the idea of marrying an Englishwoman. The English merchants soon aimed at monopolising the trade and industries of Russia; they started factories and prepared accurate maps of separate districts. Their trading-agent, Giles Fletcher, wrote in 1591 a detailed account of Russian trade. This first discovery of Russia, as the people of England called Chancellor's journey, brought a rich

harvest to the English and produced a large output of rather valuable literature on Russia. The Dutch, here as in many other parts of the world, followed in the footsteps of the English. They too equipped several expeditions in order to find the northern passage to China and India, and their trade soon outstripped the English. Isaac Massa, their agent, who made several journeys in Russia and Asia, collected important information, studied cartography, and was the first to bring home trustworthy accounts of Siberia. Hessel Gerritsz, a Dutchman, published in 1614 a map of Russia (the first, by Anton Wied, dates from the year 1542). Even the French and Germans took steps to open commercial relations with Russia.

But the Russian nation thought otherwise. Instead of seizing the opportunity and learning as much as possible from the foreigners, they offered energetic resistance to foreign influence; only some few persons tried to bring Russia into closer relations with Western Europe. A feud broke out between the conservatives and the party of progress, between darkness and enlightenment, which characterises the inner life of Russia after its emancipation from the Mongol dominion. It still continues with undiminished force and persistently demands immense sacrifices of blood, wealth, and the most valuable possessions of mankind. The future of Russia depends on the decision she takes to oppose or to encourage progress.

In Russia as a despotic state the decision ought in the first line to come from the rulers themselves. But the education which always fettered the Russian Czars to the palace and its environs and tied them with innumerable formalities, was ill adapted to make clear-sighted level-headed men of them. The Orthodox Church in her ignorance supported the policy of resistance to Western culture. Such harmless innovations as shaving the beard, bathing on certain days, killing vermin, or wearing European clothes, were, in the eyes of the uneducated clergy, who could hardly read or write, regarded as treachery to their nationality and the Church.

It is, therefore, no mere accident that Boris Godunov (p. 525), having been brought up far from the court, was the first Czar who could be called an Occidental friend of civilization. Not only did he invite foreigners to his country, but he sent young men to study in Lübeck, France, and England, founded schools, and wished even to endow a university at Moscow, and for this purpose obtained professors from Germany. He had his children taught by strangers, and ordered a map of Russia to be prepared for his son, which was afterwards used by the Dutchman, Hessel Gerritsz, for his edition. He was, therefore, compared by foreign nations to Ptolemy (cf. the Bulgarian Symeon, p. 332) or Numa Pompilius. But he roused antagonism in Russia; representations were made to him through the Patriarch. Even Dmitrij the Pretender was a friend of culture, and for this reason could not hold his own. Schujskij (p. 526), a thorough-paced Muscovite, repealed the innovations of Godunov and Demetrius.

The first Romanovs were friends of European culture. Michael summoned scholars to Russia; Arsenius, a Greek, set up a Greek and Latin school in Moscow. A still greater patron of foreigners was Alexej (1645–1676). He was devoted to hawking, although it was forbidden by the Church; he brought foreigners in numbers to Russia, protected them from the hatred of the people, and assigned them a particular quarter in Moscow, which was called the German suburb or

Sloboda. Previous Czars had not even known how to write; we have many letters written by Alexej, a treatise on hawking, and memoirs of the Polish war. It was he who fetched the Little Russian scholars Slavinecky and Polocky (p. 558) to Moscow and established the first postal communications with the West. He also first established a court theatre. His son Feodor, a monarch of kindly disposition, governed on the same lines. Now at last private individuals and ministers were found who were zealous advocates of West European culture. The enlightened chancellor Alexejs, Ordin-Nashtshokin, and the Boyar Matvejev were Westerners; they lived in civilization, and were students of learning without paying any attention to the prejudices of their countrymen. Vasily W. Golizyn, who was minister 1680–1689, and favourite of the regent Sophia, was especially praised and admired by the foreigners. Neuville, the Franco-Polish diplomatist, wrote of him that he was one of the most intellectual, magnificent, and courteous princes of his time; his palace conveyed the impression of the court of an Italian prince. Golizyn's house was splendidly furnished. He planned, so Neuville tells us, to emancipate the peasants, to introduce complete liberty of conscience, to make the beggars rich, and to populate the deserts.

Even in the bosom of the Church there appeared, under Alexej, a man who ventured to meditate ecclesiastical reforms; this was the patriarch Nikon. Among other things, he ordered a revision of the service books, into which many errors had been introduced by copyists. But the success of his efforts was trifling. The emendations of Nikon produced, far from a reform, a schism in the Russian Church. The priests refused to accept the revised books, and regarded them as heretical. This division (*raskol*) still estranges millions of subjects, who embody Old Russia, from the Russian Church. From the bosom of the Raskolniks came, for example, Pugatchef. After postal communications with Western Europe had been instituted, a Russian wrote, "The foreigners have knocked a hole between our country and theirs; the post, which possibly is financially advantageous to the Czar, only harms the country. The foreigners know at once whatever takes place in our land."

And yet what would Russia have been without the foreigners? Everything had to be brought in from abroad; architects, engineers, painters, artists, officers and military requirements, cannon founders, bell founders, miners, silversmiths, goldsmiths, doctors, chemists, actors, teachers, and so on. It was only under the direction of the English, Germans, and Dutch that industries, mines, glass manufactories, powder mills, etc., were started. For all military successes the Russians are thus indebted to the outside world. Foreigners conducted the defence of the towns. Even agriculture was ennobled by them. An Austrian monk planted the first vineyard near Astrakhan. Foreigners introduced decency into the customs of the country. But instead of founding as many schools as possible and a national learning, the Russians were satisfied to import their intellectual supplies, and were thus always dependent on that foreign civilization which in their hearts they despised with an Oriental arrogance.

On the other hand, even the slight progress made by Russia provoked uneasiness abroad. The emperor Maximilian I wrote to the Master of the Teutonic Order that the greatness of Russia was a danger. The attempt to acquire Hans Schlitte of Goslar (cf. p. 521) failed, owing to the protest of Hasenkamp, Provincial Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia. He obtained the order to arrest Schlitte,

and the artisans whom he had engaged dispersed. King Ferdinand I issued a proclamation forbidding the export of arms. Sigismund Augustus of Poland raised a protest in the name of Christianity that Russia, the enemy of every free nation, was attracting immigrants who disseminated useful knowledge in the country, and expressed a fear lest this custom would become the ordinary policy of European nations. German master-tradesmen were no longer willing to initiate their Russian employees into the course of business, and German engineers in Moscow sent away their apprentices during certain operations, that they might not acquire the secret of the process. The English, too, threw hinderance in the way of Russian merchants in order to secure for themselves the trade monopoly.

B. Peter the Great

It was the greatest good fortune for Russia that in the long struggle, affecting all the aspects of Russian life, between light and darkness it possessed such a ruler as Peter the Great, the son of Alexej by his second wife, a lady of the house of Naryszkin (cf. genealogical tree on p. 583). Peter, a man of rare gifts, with a marvellous memory and an indomitable will, placed himself most emphatically on the side of the party of culture; he overthrew with a strong but rough hand the enemies of European civilization and refinement, brought Russia suddenly nearer to Europe, and procured her an honourable place among the great European powers. Like Godunov, he had not been brought up in the stifling atmosphere of the Czar's court, but in the country, since his sister Sophia wished to keep him far from the throne. A rough child of nature, with keen mother wit, he rode rough-shod over all meaningless tradition, and while thus arousing the horror of his countrymen he excited the admiration of the outside world. He was the first Czar who left his palace, laid his own hand to every sort of work, travelled everywhere, and performed the hitherto unprecedented feat of a journey to the West.

Peter became absolute Czar in 1689, after his half-sister Sophia the regent, who had even plotted against his life, had been placed in the Convent of the Muscovite Sisters (died July 14, 1704). His brother and co-Czar Ivan V took no share in the government, but was merely named with Peter in all state documents down to his death on January 29, 1696. By the year 1725 Peter with restless energy had accomplished a vast number of works, for the completion of which the Russians with their natural lethargy would have otherwise required centuries. One goal shone before him and led his steps; he wished to make Russia great and strong by culture. And since he was not for one moment in doubt that much must first be learnt from Europe, he twice journeyed westward to study, and was always eager to bring his country nearer to the Western nations and to pave the way for a systematised commerce with them. Just as his plans were diametrically opposed to the views of the Russian conservatives, so his life was an uninterrupted and bitter struggle against Old Russia, against all the dark forces which openly and in secret tried to preserve the old order, — in a word, against the past.

This explains his enthusiasm for the sea and the navy, which might become the connecting links with Western Europe. Russia was an inland empire, on every side somewhat remote from the sea, and her neighbours jealously watched that she should not set foot on it. This unfavourable geographical position has coloured the

MAPS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

compiled by Karl Wolf

Arctic Ocean
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
REPUBLIC NOVGOROD
GRAND DUCHY OF MOSCOW
KINGDOM OF POLAND
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
TARTARY OR THE CRIMEA
KINGDOM OF ASTRAKHAN
KINGDOM OF KAZAN
PERSIAN EMPIRE
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Principality of Moscow at the death of Vasilii II 1462
Expeditions under Vasilii II Vasilievitch 1425-62
Ivan III Vasilievitch 1462-1505
Vasilii IV Ivanovitch 1505-34
Ivan IV Vasilievitch 1534-84
Feodor I Ivanovitch 1584-98
Alexis Michaelovitch 1645-76
For the situation of the Russo Polish Frontier in the XIII-th Century see the maps of Poland.
Russia at the accession of Peter the Great 1689
Expeditions under Peter the Great 1689-1725
Anna Ivanovna 1730-1740
Elizabeth Petrowna 1741-62
Catherine II 1762-1796
Paul I. 1796-1801
Alexander I. 1801-1825
Nicholas I 1825-1855
Alexander II 1855-1881
Districts afterwards reorganized are outlined in colour.
Government of Archangel
Government of Siberia
Government of Kazan
Government of Astrakhan
Government of Orenburg
Government of Kiev
Government of Volhynia
Government of Podolia
Government of Tauris
Transcaspian District
Orenburg
Kirghis
Lithuania
Prussia
Hungary
Poland
Tartary
Persia
Georgia
Moscow
Astrakhan
Kazan
Siberia
Archangel
Kiev
Volhynia
Podolia
Tauris
Caucasus
Tiflis
Tiberan
Mosul
Erzerum
Trebizond
Warsaw
Vienna
Berlin
Constantinople
Smolensk
Tula
Kaluga
Riazan
Vladimir
Nijni Novgorod
Kasan
Simbirsk
Penza
Saratov
Tambov
Voronezh
Kursk
Orel
Tula
Kharkov
Ekaterinoslav
Kherson
Simferopol
Sebastopol
Kertch
Taganrog
Azov
Stavropol
Kuban
Georgievsk
Kizliar
Derbent
Baku
Elisabethpol
Nukha
Shemakha
Erivan
Nakhichevan
Ararat
Kars
Batum
Trebizond
Sinope
Angora
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Cairo
Suez
Mecca
Medina
Bagdad
Bassorah
Muscat
Ormuz
Herat
Kandahar
Cabul
Candahar
Khiva
Bokhara
Samarkand
Tashkend
Khokand
Kuldja
Yarkand
Kashgar
Aksu
Turfan
Hami
Barkul
Urumtsi
Kobdo
Uliassutai
Kiachta
Urga
Selenginsk
Irkutsk
Yakutsk
Verkhoyansk
Ostiaks
Samoyedes
Tungusians
Yakuts
Tchuktchi
Kamtschatka
Petropavlovsk
Okhotsk
Ochotsk
Gizhiga
Anadyrsk
Behring Sea
Behring Strait
Kara Sea
New Siberia
Liakhov
Yenisei
Lena
Obi
Irtish
Amur
Amur Province
Kirghis Steppe
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Sea of Azov
Sea of Okhotsk
Sea of Japan
Gulf of Finland
Gulf of Bothnia
Baltic Sea
Lake Baikal
Lake Aral
Lake Balkash
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
Lake Peipus
Lake Ilmen
Lake Chudskoi
Lake Tchany
Lake Tengri
Lake Issikul
Lake Zaisan
Lake Dzaisang
Lake Koko Nor
Lake Urmia
Lake Van
Lake Wan
Lake Tiberias
Dead Sea
Lake Asphaltites
Lake Menzaleh
Lake Mareotis
Lake Maeotis
Lake Sirbonis
Lake Timsah
Lake Bitter
Lake Manchar
Lake Hamun
Lake Urumiah
Lake Tatta
Lake Kurnub
Lake Ashkhabad
Lake Kara Bogaz
Lake Kara Kul
Lake Kara Kum
Lake Kara Tau
Lake Kara Tepe
Lake Kara Tiube
Lake Kara Tuz
Lake Kara Yar
Lake Kara Yazi
Lake Kara Yilan
Lake Kara Yuz
Lake Kara Zhan
Lake Kara Zhol
Lake Kara Zhyra
Lake Kara Zhyrau
Lake Kara Zhyrga
Lake Kara Zhyrgau
Lake Kara Zhyrgaul
Lake Kara Zhyrgauly
Lake Kara Zhyrgaulyk
Lake Kara Zhyrgaulyq

whole history of Russia. Condemned by nature to seclusion, she became in the course of time accustomed to this, and soon regarded it as a natural characteristic. The little country of Greece was formerly indebted to its position on the Mediterranean, the highroad of the world, for its high civilization, as also was ancient Italy. For this reason Ivan IV had already endeavoured to conquer Livonia and win a place on the Baltic. Peter grasped this idea still more clearly and applied himself to the naval question with all the fire of his soul. When he saw the sea for the first time at Archangel, he was as it were inspired. English and Dutch ships came thither by the long and seldom ice-free route past the North Cape. That was for the time being the only way to Western Europe, and there was the first opportunity of seeing foreign shipping; Peter was seized by a longing for the sea, like a man who, after long years in a foreign country, is smitten with homesickness. He learnt shipbuilding, studied naval subjects, associated with mariners, and formed the plan of journeying to Western Europe in order to gain a complete knowledge of the subject. But he first conquered the Turkish Azov, in 1696, and determined to build a fleet on the corner of the Sea of Azov.

He had been primarily indebted to the technical skill of foreign officers for the capture of the fortress, and this could only confirm him in his intention of going to the West. His victory over the Turks produced an impression in Western Europe, and many sovereigns congratulated him. In the year 1697 he started on his first European journey, accompanied by two hundred and seventy followers. This was an epoch-making event for Russia and for the civilized world, since Russia thus broke with her past and went to sit at the feet of the West, only to assume later one of the first places in the circle of the European powers. It was not so much the magnificence of the Western courts that impressed the royal barbarian as the culture; before that he bowed humbly. Disguised as a simple member of his suite under the plebeian name of Peter Michailof, he went into foreign countries, not to enjoy himself, but to learn. He did not yet consider himself worthy to appear in all his state. He had for some time served in his own army as a private, then as a bombardier, later as a captain, and so through the grades, and had submitted to the orders of foreigners. It was only after great victories that he ventured to assume higher commands. He went *via* Riga to Holland first, and then visited England and Holland; not France this time, because Louis XIV, as Duke Louis de Saint-Simon tells us, dissuaded him in a courteous manner. He wished to see everything everywhere. Holland, with its highly developed navy, especially attracted him. It was an important point for the education of the Russian people, particularly the nobles, who avoided all manual labour, that he worked there with an axe as a carpenter in order to learn thoroughly the art of shipbuilding.

Peter, on his return home from abroad, tried to utilise what he had learnt in as many ways and places as he could. The knowledge that Russia emphatically required access to the sea for her development soon led him into war with Sweden, which, by the possession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Finland, could call the Baltic its own (*dominium maris Baltici*). This, the second or true, "Northern War" with Charles IX of Sweden ranks among the most important in European history. Peter's badly armed and ill-trained army confronted the best troops in Europe. But every defeat which he sustained only served him as a lesson. The losses of his enemies grew larger and larger, until on the 8th of July, 1709, he

crushed them at Poltava. At a banquet afterwards he drank the health of the captured Swedish officers for the lessons they had taught him. From that day forward he made continuous progress on the Baltic, until at the peace of Nystad (10th of September, 1721) he obtained Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and parts of Finland and Carelia (see the inserted map). Sweden thus sank to the position of a second-class or third-class power. The maritime problem was solved for Russia; a new era dawned. Peter and Russia were seized with a wild joy. Peter publicly danced upon the table and drank to the health of the cheering mob. He had resolved even before the close of the war to remove the centre of the empire to the Baltic. He therefore built after 1703 on the Neva, in the territory conquered from Sweden, a fortress and a new capital which was to bear his name, in order that Russia should not again be driven back from the sea, and that she should not forget the man who had led her to the sea. He remembered, as he did so, the ancient times when that coast had been Russian, and the men who had won the first victory over the Swedes (p. 467). He therefore founded the Alexander-Nevskij Order. St. Petersburg, where he felt himself "in a sort of paradise," he modestly called his little window looking on Europe.

This same longing for the sea impelled him to win the shore of the Black Sea. The declaration of hostilities by the Sultan, whom Sweden, the Tartars, Stanislaus Leszczynski, and the French had instigated to make war on Russia, was therefore most welcome to him. Peter already dreamt of marching to Zarigrad (Slav = Constantinople), as once the heroes of old Russia had done, in order to free the Christians of the East — Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Wallachians — from the Turkish yoke. He calculated upon a universal rising of the Christians, but his undertaking failed simply because no such rising took place. Surrounded at Husch on the Pruth by two hundred thousand Turks and Tartars, he was compelled to surrender Azov on July 23, 1711, and destroy his fleet. He took this humiliation deeply to heart. It was reserved for his successors to conquer the northern shore of the Black Sea (see the map facing last page).

He fought with better fortune against the Persians for the possession of the Caspian Sea, across which the commerce between Europe and Asia was intended to pass. The Russians captured in 1723 Daghestan, Gilan, Mazenderan, with Resht, Ashterabad, and Baku. The way was paved for their dominion on the Caspian Sea.

With a thorough appreciation of the value of free intercourse, Peter provided for new highroads and waterways throughout his empire, and contemplated connecting the Twerza with the Msta, the Dwina and the Don with the Volga, the Caspian Sea with the Black Sea, and both by means of the Volga with the Baltic. He constructed the great Ladoga Canal, which connected the Wolchov with the Neva. Holland was his model in these operations, as Sweden was for road-making. The postal system was satisfactorily enlarged under Peter, although German officials were still employed and the postal accounts were for a long time kept in German. Peter also tried to improve the fairs, of which there were some sixteen hundred and thirty. He concluded commercial treaties with several European states, ordered his Boyars to send their children abroad, and undertook himself, in the year 1716, his second journey to the West, where he devoted his special attention this time to art and science, a proof of the progress he himself

had made in culture. He now visited France and took pains to conclude a commercial treaty and a closer alliance with Louis XV, and would have been glad to marry his daughter Elizabeth to the heir to the throne. But France only consented to a commercial treaty. Louis XV married on September 5, 1725, Maria, daughter of that Stanislaus Leszczynski whom Peter in 1707 had helped to drive from the Polish throne.

Peter also brought foreigners into the country that they might erect workshops there and carry on business. The French started tapestry works and stocking factories on the model of the Gobelins manufactory at Paris, and were famous for their skill in weaving Russian wool, as the English were for the preparation of Russian leather. The Czar allowed foreigners to look everywhere for metals. He himself founded factories and commanded the Russian artisans to take instruction from foreigners; thus he sent a number of shoemakers from every town to Moscow to be taught by the English who were working there. He improved the conditions of mining, agriculture, and stock-rearing. No aspect of economic development escaped his notice. The prosperity of the empire increased and the economic revival spread. The national revenue increased in fifteen years (1710–1725) from three to ten million roubles. The influence and prestige of Russia were immensely widened by the growth of national wealth and intercourse with other countries. The first place among all Russian monarchs is on these grounds most emphatically to be assigned to Peter the Great.

The chief corps in Russia had been, since Ivan the Terrible, the Strelitz. As they had several times revolted against Peter, he dissolved them in 1698, after inflicting a sanguinary punishment on their disloyalty. He now formed new regiments of foot soldiers and dragoons as a standing army, which was raised to two hundred and ten thousand men and regularly levied. The Cossacks and the wild Eastern tribes supplied an unlimited number of fighting men. Peter created a large force of artillery and a fleet, numbering forty-eight ships of the line, eight hundred vessels, and twenty-eight thousand sailors, which soon showed its value in war. There were in his army many foreign officers or Russians educated abroad, so that in the end he was able to defeat all his enemies. In this task he was especially supported by his general Patrick Gordon, a Scotchman, his admiral François Lefort, a Genevan (both died in 1699), and James Bruce, a Scotchman, who managed the artillery department. The Russians themselves soon made merry over the old army; Theophan Pososhkof, the peasant scholar and partisan of Peter, compared it to a herd of cattle. The army which Peter created beat the first commanders in Europe.

He devoted not less careful attention to founding educational institutions, so that Russia might no longer be dependent for her culture on the outside world. He thus set up technical schools, such as a school for accountants, a school for working builders, a naval academy, a school of cartography, and introduced foreign teachers, with whom he had personally much intercourse. His acquaintance with Leibnitz, whom he nominated privy councillor with a salary of one thousand thalers, was important. At the suggestion of Leibnitz he founded the Academy of Sciences, which was intended to have its seat in St. Petersburg (it only came into existence after his death, 1725). Peter also equipped scientific expeditions, as for example to Kamtchatka, in order to solve the

problem whether Asia is connected with America. It was not less important for Russia that he brought to his court scholars from Little Russia such as Theophan Prokopovitch and Stephan Javorsky, who had already advised the founding of an Academy and now found a useful outlet for their energies in the ecclesiastical domain. But the most important point was, that Peter decided no one should be admitted to the service of the State who had not acquired the rudiments of school education and some technical knowledge. Nobles who were unable to read and write were to lose their nobility. Every official was bound to put his children in a national school from their tenth to their fifteenth year; uneducated children of the official class were not allowed to marry unless they had learnt a trade. The Czar ordered a number of technical books to be translated into Russian, on which task he himself gave advice to the authors. They were to aim in their translations at reproducing not so much the words as the sense, and were to be on their guard against useless digressions. He also reformed the obsolete and unpractical alphabet by devising new forms of letters. Since the art of printing in Russia had made no progress since the sixteenth century, he summoned Dutch printers and set up two printing-presses in Moscow, four in St. Petersburg, one each in Tchernigov, Novgorod, and other towns. He also was a patron of science. The author Polykarpov received two hundred roubles from Peter for the "History of Russia from the Sixteenth Century onwards," which he printed. Peter did much also for geography. He ordered curious bones, peculiar stones, and even inscriptions to be collected, and human and animal abortions to be exhibited, while he noticed in the ukase that ignorant people made mysteries of such things and ascribed them usually to diabolic agency. He had the monastic libraries examined and copies made of their archives. He built hospitals and sent young persons to study medicine abroad. From the 1st of January, 1700, he introduced into Russia the Christian chronology (of course according to the Julian calendar, which had become in the interval antiquated, but was still tenaciously upheld by most non-Catholics), while hitherto the foundation of the world had been taken as the starting-point. He even recognised the value of the public press, and brought into existence in 1714 the "Petersburg Journal." By such many-sided and far-sighted efforts to advance the civilization of his country he more than justified the doctorate which he received from Oxford, and the further honour of being nominated a member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris.

The ancient provincial administration would obviously be affected by this great reorganisation, and all the more so as the worst abuses prevailed in this domain. Since the officials, as was then the custom almost everywhere, received no salary, but only grants of land, or had to maintain themselves at the expense of the population, they became regular tormentors of the people, whom they could plunder without breaking the law. Such emoluments were called in Russia *Kormlenje*, that is, nourishment or forage. "Wait for your post and grow fat" was the formula for appointment in the days of the old Czars. Peter abolished the Kormlenje, in doing which he acted with his usual harshness, if not brutality, and appointed a fixed salary for every office.

In the machinery of administration complete confusion prevailed, since the departments of the individual magistrates were not clearly separated. Peter divided the empire in 1708 into eight, in 1719 into ten (and later into eleven) governorships, and these finally into forty-three provinces. Each governor had at

his side a provincial council elected from the nobles. As central authorities he created in 1718 ten governmental colleges or ministries, on the Danish and Swedish model, for foreign affairs, for war, the navy, the treasury, law, the revenue, noble estates, industries, mining and trade. In each college one foreigner was given a position. In 1711 Peter instituted a Senate, in the place of the Council of the Boyars, as the supreme court of justice and a supervisory authority; he nominated a Procurator-General as its president, who was to watch over the observance of the laws. He gave the towns self-government and independent jurisdiction, and established at St. Petersburg, to control them all, a chief magistrate who was responsible to the Senate only, and had to attend to trade and commerce. The Czar created a body of police and introduced a sort of state inquisition in order to break down the opposition to his reforms. He improved the judicial system partly after the Swedish model, more especially the criminal code, and reformed the system of taxation by substituting a poll-tax for the hearth-tax. He took the severest measures to ensure the public peace, by no means an easy task when brigandage was so widely prevalent. He prosecuted the coiners, built workhouses, infirmaries, and lunatic asylums; he called on all his subjects to inform against thieves, and punished the guilty often with his own hand. In order to raise the tone of honour among the whole body of officials, who were both ignorant and corrupt, he ordered that every one who entered the public service should become noble. By this expedient and by the institution of orders (p. 575), he abolished the privileges of the hereditary nobility. Service and work would for the future ennoble a man. He introduced into the public service fourteen grades, of which the highest were to be attained by merit only, without respect of birth.

He interfered even with family and social life. He would not tolerate face-veils, or litters concealed by curtains. Women were not to live in Asiatic seclusion, but move about freely in the European fashion. He repealed the old Russian law by which all members of a family had equal rights of inheritance, and introduced the German law of primogeniture, in order that the younger sons should be compelled to look for a livelihood in trade or in the civil service. But this enactment was repealed under the empress Anna, since it did not suit Russian conditions. Peter further decreed that serfs should only be sold by families and not separately like heads of cattle. He introduced the social forms and customs of the West, arranging, for example, balls and receptions upon the French model. Indeed, he gave orders that Western dress should be worn in order, as an English diplomat expressed it, that his people might be transformed both outwardly and inwardly; and to make them entirely European, or as he himself declared to the Danish ambassador Juel, in order to make men cut of beasts. When, having returned from his first European journey, he was respectfully welcomed by the Boyars, he received them graciously, embraced and kissed them, but at the same time remonstrated with them about their dress, cut off with his own hands the beards of Field-Marshal Alexef S. Schein and others, as well as their long skirts and sleeves, and required that men and women alike should dress as Europeans. No one might appear at court in any other costume; a tax of from thirty to one hundred roubles was laid upon beards. In short, there was hardly a form of life that Peter would not have gladly reformed, all to raise his people as quickly as possible from the condition of barbarism. But although he esteemed strangers, followed their advice, and wished to Europeanise Russia, he did not do so slavishly,

but only adopted useful novelties; he preserved the dignity of the Russian nation and allowed no encroachments by foreigners; thus he punished severely any one who propagated Lutheran doctrines among the Russians. He placed, as far as possible, Russians in the leading positions.

He did all this with as much haste as if he wanted to leave nothing for his successors to do, or as if he were afraid that his reforms would be reversed and his Russians brought back to the old barbarism. Nor was this anticipation altogether groundless; for in spite of his iron rule and unparalleled energy he had his enemies; he had not by any means conquered the darkness. The party of Old Russia still lived; they crept away like reptiles when a sunbeam strikes into their lurking place. "Unhappily he stands alone with his dozen workers while millions block the way," wrote the enlightened Pososhkof, peasant and merchant at once (p. 577), in his book on "Poverty and Wealth." The people, the body of officials, the clergy, the Boyars, and in fact his own relations, were dissatisfied with the reforms. When Peter came back in 1698 from his travels, a story was current that it was not the Czar, but a stranger, while the real Czar had been rolled into the sea in a barrel by the Germans. The priests announced the approach of Antichrist, and since, according to a prophecy, Antichrist was to be born in adultery, it was said that Peter's mother, the second wife of Alexej, was the false virgin, the adulteress. Insulting notices were posted on the walls. The clergy were especially dangerous, since, being unpleasantly disturbed in their *dolce far niente* by Peter, they thought it their duty to oppose the innovations. The patriarch of Moscow declared that shaven beards were unworthy of men; a beardless man resembled an animal. European dress was stigmatised as the badge of unchristian views. Foreigners were always in such danger that Peter had to protect them. A physician, Bremburg, was almost murdered because a skeleton had been seen in his possession. Whenever fires broke out foreigners were not infrequently the victims. On the occasion of the revolt of the Strelitz corps a massacre of all foreigners had been planned. It was intended to destroy the German quarter and to attempt the life of the Czar. If he had not intervened at the very first with severity and courage, a general revolution would have broken out.

The victories of Azov and Poltawa contributed largely to strengthen Peter's government. Nevertheless he was called upon to suppress numerous risings of the Cossacks and different bands as well as the rebellions of various individuals. How far the clergy were to blame for these insurrections cannot at this distance of time be ascertained. They even knew how to sow opposition in his family. His sister, his wife Eudoxia Lopuchin, and even his son Alexej, were unfriendly to his reforms and therefore to him. That was the greatest sorrow to Peter. He sent his wife in 1698 to a convent, but her cell became the centre of all the machinations against him. He tried vainly to guide his son's steps into another path. Even the threat to exclude him from the throne proved unavailing. While he was on his travels Alexej fled in 1717 to the relations of his wife, Charlotte of Brunswick, at Vienna. But Peter sent secret agents after him. They found him at Sant' Elmo, near Naples. He was induced to return home, and his father sat sternly in judgment over him. He forced Alexej, at a meeting of notables in the Kremlin, to renounce the throne (February 14, 1718). He then ordered him to be thrown into prison and tortured. The Czarevitch was found dead there

on July 7. Peter the Great, in excess of zeal, had thought himself bound to sacrifice his own son on the altar of his country.

He clearly saw from which side the greatest danger threatened his immense work: it was the Church; and he therefore soon determined to limit the influence of the clergy. On the death of the patriarch Adrian, the enemy of his reforms, in 1700, he did not again fill the vacant chair (p. 525), but nominated Stephan Javorsky (p. 578) as vice-patriarch. In 1721 he definitely abolished the office of Patriarch, and appointed a synod of bishops as the highest ecclesiastical authority, and, as in the case of the Senate, he placed at its head a Procurator-General, who was often a soldier, to represent the Czar. In the edict which announced this change the Czar stated that "the common people cannot grasp the difference between the highest spiritual and secular power, and imagine that the chief pastor of the Church is a second sovereign, who is the equal, if not the superior, of the Czar." He advised the bishops to avoid display and pride, and to forbid men prostrating themselves before them. Every bishop was to set up a school in his palace. Peter also looked into the monastic question, and forbade any one to enter a convent before the age of thirty. He ordered the monks to learn a trade. He did not venture to confiscate the monastic revenues, although the monasteries had piled up immense wealth, and were often merely incentives to idleness and vice. He imposed on them also the duty of keeping up schools and supporting the destitute. With these exceptions he interfered little in religious questions, and was thoroughly tolerant to all denominations.

It was perhaps mainly from fear of the excessive power of the Church that he retained the despotic form of government, and even wished to strengthen the power of the sovereign. Even Ivan the Terrible had condescended to convene provincial diets (p. 521); his successors did the same; but Peter refused. His ministers supported him in this. Stephan Javorsky actually wrote a book in which he tried to give a scientific basis to absolutism (cf. Vol. VIII). Peter did not, however, go so far; for instance, he forbade prostration before him and servile modes of address. But in the question of the royal title he wished to break with tradition, and assumed the style of Emperor of all the Russias. He thus placed himself on an equality with the Roman emperor, since he regarded himself as a successor of the Byzantine Cæsars. He was thus the first sovereign in Europe who no longer acknowledged the Roman idea of world-empire. In order that his reforms and those of his heirs might not be exposed to an attack delivered by some crown prince of the Old Russian party, he changed the law of succession in so far that each Czar could nominate his successor.

A more versatile monarch can hardly be imagined. Peter put his hand to everything; almost everything was due to his own initiative. Even if he tried to introduce the civilization and morality of the West into Russia by force, he never allowed Russia to become dependent on strangers or to be governed by them. He summoned young Russians as well as foreigners to his side. In Peter's eyrie, as Pushkin says (Vol. VIII), there was a wonderful brood of eaglets: Alex. Menschikov, who sprang from a small family, became prince, field-marshal, and admiral; Boris P. Scheremetjef, the first marshal of Russia, renowned for his bravery and uprightness, whose exploits were the theme of folk-songs; the brothers Demetrius and Michail M. Golizyn, Feodor A. Golovin, Gavrilo J. Golovkin, Jacob Vasily, and Gregor Dolgoruky; the fiery, honest, and shrewd

Pawel J. Jagusinsky, solicitor-general of the Senate; Boris and Alexander Kurakin (father and son), ambassadors to the European courts; Peter A. Tolstoi, a splendid diplomat; Alexej Kurbatof, the treasurer; Andrej A. Matvjejev, etc. Even Peter III of Holstein, the degenerate grandson of Peter the Great, said in his praise that he had reared an enlightened family and furnished the state with able generals and prominent officials.

Peter died on the 8th of February (28th January o. s.), 1725, barely fifty-three years old, the greatest of the Romanovs, and one of the greatest monarchs of any nation. Seldom has any man employed his life to more advantage. The new era of Russia begins with him. He filled the country with fresh and vigorous sap, breathed a new spirit into the giant frame of the nation, and rejuvenated the empire. His successors stand on his shoulders. The foreign diplomats were full of wonder at his person. "The Czar towers above every man in his realm," wrote the Danish ambassador; "he is a marvel of wisdom, acuteness, observation, promptness, and strength." The Holstein chamberlain, Fr. Wilh. v. Bergholz, who was in Russia 1721–1725, Joh. Gg. Korb, secretary to the Austrian embassy, P. Gordon, etc., made similar statements. The Czar's own people honoured such services. The Senate bestowed on him the title of Great Father of his Country. Yet he had received a very defective and old-fashioned education. The electress Sophia Charlotte of Brandenburg, after 1701 first queen in Prussia, admirably described him: "He is at once very good and very bad," she wrote; "had he enjoyed a better education he would have been a perfect man." It is obvious that sometimes in his exacting labours he acted over-hastily, and that thus many of his creations appeared clumsy at first; much also that he planned was not carried out, and much proved ephemeral. Documents that have been quite recently published give us a glimpse into the indefatigableness and variety of his labours, and into his capacity for carrying a matter through. The documents for the history of his reign are not yet completely accessible, nor has any exhaustive life of Peter been written owing to the mass of materials. But with the lapse of time his true greatness has been more fully realised. In days of distress his disciples wept at his grave, and folk-songs called on him to rise from the tomb. Voltaire wrote a "History of Russia under Peter the Great." Antioch Kantemir (1709–1744; son of the Moldavian Hospodar mentioned on page 361) and Pushkin have glorified him in their poetry.

C. The Last Three-quarters of the Eighteenth Century

(*a*) *From Catherine I to Elizabeth.* — It was a misfortune for the empire that Peter the Great died without having nominated his successor, not merely because a civil war might easily have arisen, but because this insecurity grew into a malady which endured for a whole century, occasioning great dangers to the empire. Almost all the relations of Peter, his second wife, Catherine I, his nieces, his daughters, and his grandsons grasped at the sceptre. After 1598 almost every change of sovereignty from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century was effected by a *coup d'état;* and how many Czars died a natural death?

Peter was followed on the throne by Catherine, a Lithuanian of low origin,

The House of Romanov-Holstein

Roman Jurievitch Ssacharin, † 1543

Ivan IV Vassilievitch of the house of Rurik, † 1584 (1547) — Anastasia, † 1560 — Nikita Romanitch, † 1586

Feodor I, † 1598 — Dmitri, † 1591 — Xenia Shestova († 1631, as a nun, "Marfa") — Feodor Nikititch *Romanov* († 1632 as Metropolitan "Philaret") — Ivan — Nikita († 1654)

Michael, 1613–45, married, 1, Maria Dolgoruki († 1625); 2, Eudoxia Streshnev († 1645)

Alexei, 1645–76; married, 1, in 1648, Maria Iljisnova Miloslavski († 1688); 2, in 1671, Natalia Naryshkim († 1694)

(1) Feodor III (1676–82); married, 1, Agasia Grushecka († 1681); 2, in 1682, Marfa Apraxiu († 1715)

(1) Ivan V, † 1696: in 1684 married Prasskovaia Saltykov

(1) Sophie, 1682–89 († 1704 as the nun "Susanne")

(2) Peter I the Great, 1682 (1689)–1725; 1689, married, 1, Eudoxia Lopuchin; 1712 (official), 2, Katharina I, 1725–27, Alexeievna, *née* Skavronska, † 1727

Katharina, † 1733; 1716, married Karl Leopold of Mecklenburg Schwerin († 1747)

Anna (1730–40); married in 1710 Frederick William of Courland († 1711)

(1) Alexei, † 1718; married, 1712, Charl. Christine Sophia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel († 1715)

(2) Elizabeth, 1741–62 († Dec. 25, 1761 = Jan. 5, 1762)

Anna, † 1728; 1725, married Charles Frederick of *Holstein-Gottorp* († 1739)

Anna (Elizabeth; queen regent, 1740–41), † 1746; married, 1739, Anton Ulrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel-Bevern († 1776)

Daughter, * 1714, † 1728 — Peter II, 1727–30

Peter III, Jan. 5 to July 17, 1762; married Katharina II, 1762–96 (daughter of Chr. August of Anhalt-Zerbst)

Paul I, 1796–1801; second wife, 1776, Maria Feodorovna (Sophie Dorothea) of Würtemberg († 1828)

Ivan IV, 1740–41 († 1764) — Katharina and three other children (emancipated 1780)

Alexander I, 1801–25; married, 1793, Elizabeth (Louise) of Baden († 1826)

Constantine, † 1831; married, 1, in 1796, Anna Feodorovna (Juliana) of S.-Coburg-Saalfeld († 1860); 2, in 1820, Countess Johanna Grudzinska

Helena, † 1803; married, 1799, Frederic Louis of Mecklenburg-Schwerin

Maria, † 1859; married, 1807, Charles Frederick of S.-Weimar

Katharina, † 1819; married, 1816, William I of Würtemberg

Anna, † 1865; married, 1816, William II, king of the Netherlands

Nicholas I, 1825–55; married, 1817, Alexandra Feodorovna (Charlotte, daughter of Frederic William III of Prussia; † 1860)

Michael, † 1849; married, 1824, Helena (Friedr. Charlotte) of Würtemberg († 1873)

Alexander II, 1855–81; married, 1, 1841, Maria Alexandrovna (Maximiliane) of Hesse († 1880); 2, 1880 (morganatic), Katharina Dolgorukov, Princess Jurieftskaia

Constantine, † 1892; married, 1848, Alexandra of Altenburg (* 1830)

Nicholas, † 1891; married, 1856, Alexandra Petrovna (Friederike) of Oldenburg († 1900)

Michael, * 1832; married, 1857, Olga (Cecilia) of Baden († 1891)

Alexander III, 1881–94; married, 1866, Maria Feodorovna (Dagmar) of Denmark, * 1847

Vladimir, * 1847; married, 1874, Maria Pavlovna of Mecklenburg-Schwerin

Alexei, * 1850

Sergius, † 1905; married, 1884, Elizabeth of Hesse-Darmstadt

Paul, * 1860, married, 1, in 1889, Alexandra Georgievna of Greece († 1891); 2, in 1902 (morganatic), Olga, Countess of Hohenfelsen, *née* Karnovitch, of the Pistohlkor family)

Nicholas II, * 1868; Czar since 1894; married, 1894, Alexandra Feodorovna (Alice Victoria) of Hesse-Darmstadt

George, † 1899 — Michael, * 1878 — Olga, * 1882; married, 1901, Peter of Oldenburg

Alexis, * 1904

chiefly because she had won much credit both with the army and with the official classes by wise bribery of the Grand Vizier in the crisis on the Pruth (1711). She designated Peter II, grandson of Peter and son of the unfortunate Alexej, as her successor. She died in 1727, and he on the 9th of February, 1730. The throne was then held by the army, especially by the guards. Thus in 1730 the niece of Peter, the duchess of Courland, Anna Ivanovna, the second daughter of his brother and co-Czar Ivan, came to the throne, and in 1740 Ivan VI Antonovitch of Brunswick-Bevern, a grandson of Peter, with his mother, Anna Leopoldovna, as regent. But these latter were deposed in the course of the next years, and Elizabeth, the third daughter (born in 1709, and therefore illegitimate) of Peter, mounted the throne, which she occupied until her death in 1762. After her, the grandson of Peter the Great by his second daughter, Anne of Holstein-Gothorp, came to the throne as Peter III, but was forced to abdicate after six months, and finally, on the 17th of July, 1762, was murdered by Alexej Orlov at the country house of Ropsha. His wife, Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, mounted the throne as Catherine II. She was followed in 1796 by her son Paul I, who was forcibly put out of the way on the 23d of March, 1801 (cf. the accompanying genealogical table, "The Romanov-Holstein Family").

During this reign of terror various pretenders to the throne came forward, as Peter III, Ivan VI, Paul I, and so on,—a peculiarity of Russian history and an attendant phenomenon of the *coups d'état*. It is also remarkable that in the course of the eighteenth century women mostly guide the fates of Russia, while the men cannot hold their own, but usually died violent deaths. Peter's sister Sophia had been the first to sit on the throne, at first as regent; she wished to be proclaimed sole ruler. She allowed herself more liberty of movement than her brother Peter would have liked, and in this way paved the way for other women to the throne, hitherto an unprecedented event in Russia. The respect felt for Peter I was so intense and permanent that his second wife was able to succeed him at once. Catherine I was the first absolute mistress of Russia. The Raskolniki alone, true to their tradition, refused to swear allegiance to her and preferred to suffer death.

With the women came also the power of favourites, of whom some, such as Ernst Johann Bühren (Biron), the favourite of Anna Ivanovna, behaved defiantly, and treated the whole nation with contempt; some even were desirous of mounting the throne themselves, such as Alexander D. Menschikov, who immediately, after the death of Catherine I, betrothed his daughter Maria on the 25th of May, 1727, to the heir to the throne (Peter II), and wished to marry his son Alexander to the latter's sister; in writing to the young Czar Peter II he signed himself "your father," and ordered the members of his family to be inserted in the almanac with those of the imperial family, and the names of his daughters to be recited in the church prayers. Alexej G. Rasumovsky, who was secretly betrothed to Elizabeth, became count (1744), field-marshal, and master of the hunt; Grigory Orlov, ennobled in 1762, "the handsomest man in the north," wished to marry Catherine II, and became in 1762 an ancestor of Count Bobrinsky. It was a shameless state of things. The parties at court were fighting one against the other without regard for the welfare of the nation. If one party came to the helm, it wreaked its fury recklessly on the outgoing party. The defeated were beheaded; if mercy was shown them from the "inborn goodness" of the Czarina,

their hands were lopped off, their tongues and ears cut off, their property confiscated, and they were sent to Siberia. Thus a series of able men were killed in barbarous party feuds. The hatred against foreigners was revived, and foreign officers were murdered from "patriotism."

The new constitutional changes were usually due to the favourites; an attempt was made in them to limit the power of the crown in favour of the councillors of the crown. After the death of the last Romanov (1730) the "High Privy Council" resolved to utilise the situation in order to obtain "*pacta conventa*" (p. 543) for the nobility. The Dolgoruky and Golizyn accordingly offered the crown to the female descendants of Ivan V, who stood farther from the throne, in the well-founded anticipation that they would more easily accept terms. Anna Ivanovna actually signed the demands laid before her to the effect that the High Council should consist of eight members; that vacancies should be filled by coöptation, and that the council should be summoned for all imperial affairs, so that without its consent no decision could be taken as to peace and war, nor any new taxes levied; that no offices from the highest downwards might be conferred, nor any crown property alienated without its approbation, nor any member of the nobility punished without its judicial cognisance. Anna further might neither marry nor nominate her successor without the approval of the council. Thus in 1730 the Russian Privy Councillors demanded all at once that which the Polish nobility only obtained in the course of centuries. Possibly, too, the Swedish Riksrad had supplied them with a model. But the text of the capitulations which we have quoted shows that the Russians were tyros in such matters. Men would not tolerate too sudden innovations, especially when the body of Boyars and priests was intended to submit to the rule of a few persons. The Russian nation feared the domination of the high nobility more than the tyranny of the Czar. When, therefore, a few days afterwards, a general assembly of the States was summoned and the capitulation was read out, there was no one, so Bishop Theophan Procopovitch tells us, among those present who did not tremble from head to foot when he heard the document. The members of the Senate and many others presented the empress with petitions against the new constitution, and the officers of the guard cried: "We do not wish that laws shall be dictated to the empress; she ought to have the same rights as her predecessors." Anna, as might be expected, then carried out a *coup d'état* to secure the crown. Russia was not yet ripe for a more liberal constitution. Despotism, in fact, now struck deeper roots, since it had, as it were, received the sanction of the people.

In other respects the rule of the Russian empresses, with the exception of Catherine II, was thoroughly bad. Apart from the fact that the greatest licentiousness prevailed at the court, and that some empresses, like Catherine I and Elizabeth, were addicted to drink, they achieved nothing of note by their foreign policy, although they all governed in the spirit of Peter, and were anxious to carry out his plans. Elizabeth, at the advice of her favourite, Ivan J. Schuvalov, founded the University at Moscow in 1755 and the Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg in 1758. Cyril Rasumovsky wished to establish a university at Baturin in the Ukraine. The learned Privy Councillor Teplof said, with justice, of these foundations: "The Academy is without academicians, the University without students, the rules are not followed; an irremediable confusion prevails everywhere." This confusion was apparent in foreign policy no less than in home

affairs. The influence of foreigners now made itself felt in a harsh manner. Under Anna the German influence was predominant; the Russians were treated with contempt. Anna regarded herself as a foreigner, and ridiculed the Russian nobility and all that was Russian in an unseemly fashion. She chose her court fools by preference from among the Russian nobles; even princesses were compelled to submit to whippings, to crow like hens, sit on nests of eggs, etc. Under Elizabeth French fashions were the vogue, and were equally exaggerated. The foreign policy was shaped to suit this movement. The greatest victories, such as that won in alliance with Laudon in 1759 at Kunersdorf (Vol. VII, p. 540) were not made full use of. Policy was guided by sentiment rather than by regard for the public welfare. Some advantages had been obtained against Turkey (see map on p. 575), but at an excessive price.

(*b*) *Catherine II.*—At the invitation of the empress Elizabeth there then came to court Johanna Elizabeth of Anhalt-Zerbst, a princess of Gottorp, connected through Anna Petrovna with the Romanovs, together with her daughter Sophia Augusta Frederica. She succeeded in marrying her daughter to the heir to the throne Peter Tedorovitch (September 1, 1745). Sophia had already adopted the Orthodox religion in 1744, and took the name of Catherine Alexejevna; she became afterwards the great empress Catherine II. Herself a beautiful and accomplished woman, of great intellectual powers, she could not but overshadow her husband, who possessed limited abilities and had been indifferently educated. When she was only fifteen she read Plato, Cicero, and other classics. She studied later the new French literature, especially the Encyclopædists. Thus, besides d'Alembert and others she read the passionately admired Montesquieu, whose writings she "pillaged," and called his "Esprit des Lois" the monarch's breviary; "if I were Pope," she said, "I would canonise him." She kept up a vigorous correspondence with Voltaire: "the ancients would have ranked him among the gods," she wrote of him. She "bought" Diderot's library for fifteen thousand livres, but on the condition that he managed it for her during the rest of his life at a high salary. She was also familiar with the literatures of England and Spain.

Her gifts and accomplishments were balanced by her licentiousness, in which she surpassed her predecessors. Nevertheless, the fortunes of Russia took a turn for the better when she mounted the throne in July 9, 1762, having deposed her husband by force. This able woman soon probed the most complicated questions. It could not, therefore, escape her notice that the future of Russia depended on the establishment of connections with the West. It was a great stroke of good fortune for the Russian nation that in her person a ruler took the reins of government who, as Peter the Great formerly, in the great struggle between reaction and progress definitely placed herself on the side of progress. She possessed not only the will to do something for the elevation of culture, but knew how to set the machinery of reform in motion with undeniable skill and intelligence. Her powerful mind had long contemplated various schemes of reform. She found a coadjutor in the equally intellectual and beautiful princess Catherine Romanovna Woronzov-Dashkov, the most accomplished Russian woman of her time, who, as she said, was willing to mount the scaffold for her mistress. She did Catherine great service in the deposition of Peter III. The French were the models for Catherine in culture as well as in immorality; but she did not imitate them to a slavish or

vulgar degree. As she always remained a sovereign in her attitude towards her favourites, so she always maintained her dignity among the foreigners from whom she learnt. She knew how to strike the happy mean, and did not go to extremes, as Anna and Elizabeth did, or her husband Peter III, who had deified the Prussian king Frederick the Great to an absurd degree. Besides French she also brought Germans to her court, especially natives of the Baltic provinces, in which the best schools were to be found.

Above all, she allowed the French philosophy of enlightenment to influence her mind. Worshipping the views of the Encyclopædists she was filled with the lofty thought of making her people happy. She thought of no less a scheme than the abolition of serfdom. "Freedom, thou soul of all things," she wrote, "without thee all is dead; I wish to have obedience to laws, but no slaves." Steeped in these ideals she desired to inaugurate her reign with a modern code. She therefore resolved to summon a legislative assembly, on the model of the old French estates, from the whole of Russia, and worked for some years with great diligence and acuteness at a draft scheme for its constitution, which testified to her liberal views. She wrote, "the nation is not for the ruler, but the ruler for the nation. The equality of the citizens consists in their only having to obey the law; freedom is the right to do everything that is not forbidden by the law." She condemned religious persecutions and every form of intolerance. Voltaire expressed his astonishment to her. Even Frederick the Great could not find words enough to celebrate the authoress, the first woman who came forward as a legislator. The legislative assembly was summoned in the year 1766. It consisted of representatives of all classes and races in the empire, five hundred and fifty-nine persons. There were to be seen senators, officials, soldiers, members of the synod, citizens, peasants, Tartars, Kalmucks, Laffs, Samoyedes, Germans, and Poles. Every member was required to be provided with an authorisation from at least five of his electors, and received a medallion bearing the likeness of Catherine and the inscription, "For the happiness of one and all, December 14, 1766." All members were declared inviolable for the period of their sittings, and exempt for ever from all corporal punishments. She wrote to Voltaire, "I think that you would be pleased with an assembly in which the Orthodox believer sits between the heretic and the Moslem, all three listen to the speech of an idolator, and then the four of them come to an unanimous opinion." This assembly, owing to its composition, was naturally unfitted for legislative work. In the middle of an earnest discussion over the rights of citizens in towns, one member talked about hygiene, and another recommended a remedy against frost bite. Nevertheless, in the two hundred sittings or more which the assembly held, a number of questions were thoroughly discussed, and resolutions which were formulated are of the highest interest. Owing presumably to the Turkish war, Catherine dissolved the assembly on December 18, 1768; only the special committees continued in force until December 4, 1774. She emphasised at any rate in a ukase the belief that the proceedings had diffused light and learning over the whole realm. The question of the abolition of serfdom had also been touched upon in the assembly; even some nobles among the deputies were in favour of it. Count Peter B. Scheremetjet, a great benefactor to the poor, and so free from prejudice that he had married a serf, declared his readiness to emancipate them all. But on the whole the Russian nobility were not inclined to release their "souls"; for that

would have meant economic ruin for most of them. Many were full of class prejudices. The poet Alexander Sumarokov expressed their view when he says, "The peasant is as fitted for serfdom as the house dog for the chain or the canary for the cage."

Catherine herself honestly desired the complete, but gradual, abolition of serfdom, and energetically advocated its amelioration. She severely punished persons who were denounced to her for their inhumane treatment of serfs. But the question was very complicated, for serfdom had a political basis. Its beginning lies in the Tartar age, when the Russian petty princes, who were also the chief tax collectors of the Tartar Khans (p. 466), were obliged to raise the Tartar imposts together with their own, and for this object to introduce a new system of fiscal groups. The increased demands on the army and revenue caused by continual wars compelled the Muscovite Grand Dukes above all to look for means with which they could enforce the military duties of the nobility and the taxes and services of the peasantry. A suitable machinery was found in the well-proved system of fiscal groups with common responsibility, so that the government could not touch each separate individual immediately, but only through the body of rate-payers. The same method was applied to the nobility to bring them into touch with military service by the creation of "districts of nobility," in which an *oçladczik* elected from amongst the nobles fixed the amount and value of the military service which each of the "district nobles" had to render. As a reward for the service the prince handed over to the nobles crown lands with the resident peasants, whose numbers constituted the real value of the lands. The nobles naturally could only discharge their obligations to the state if the peasants remained on the soil and cultivated it; if these left their part of the country, the lands which they deserted had no further value. In order, therefore, that military service might be secured, and the land tax (plough-tax), and, after Peter the Great, the hearth-tax or poll-tax, might not be diminished, the peasants' right of moving their domicile required to be checked. At first it was only restricted. Feodor Ivanovitch, 1592 and 1597, then Boris Godunov, 1601 and 1602, Schuskij, 1607, and Peter the Great, frequently occupied themselves with this problem. First of all, emigration was rendered difficult, then it was absolutely forbidden, and the "floating element" of the population was permanently riveted to the soil. The power of the lord over his serf thus was strengthened, and the state did not interfere in their mutual relations. In the seventeenth century, prison, fetters, and neck-irons were to be found in a country house. This patriarchal jurisdiction was not limited by any legal conditions, except that the death penalty was forbidden. The peasants, however, always endured this burden in the knowledge that their services were rendered directly to the state as payment for the officials performing military and other services; that is, the nobility. But when Peter III in 1762 released the nobles from the obligation to serve the state, on the grounds that love for the sovereign and zeal for the service of the state were so universal that it no longer appeared necessary to maintain those compulsory measures, a great agitation was roused among the peasants, for they believed that on their side they were released from all obligations to the nobility. A responsive quiver was felt throughout the empire; even the disturbances in the Ukraine of the year, 1767–1768, were influenced by it. For the first time the peasants were overcome by mistrust of the

nobles, whom they accused of keeping them in slavery in defiance of the Czar's will. This idea came more prominently forward under Alexander II, and has not been entirely dissipated to-day.

Catherine would certainly have lightened the yoke of serfdom. But on the one hand the solution of this question was then far too difficult; on the other hand she had just been diverted from that idea by the barbarism of the empire, and altered her views surprisingly in 1768. Instead of alleviating the lot of the peasants, she extended the prerogatives of the landowners, conceded to them the most extensive jurisdiction, forbade the peasants to impeach their lords, and allowed the lords to send their serfs to Siberia. Catherine, who erased the word *rab* (slave) from the Russian dictionary, reduced to serfdom a million and a half peasants in Little Russia (cf. above, p. 562). The sanguinary revolt of the Ukraine peasants under Gonta and Selisnjak in 1767–1768, just at the time when the abolition of serfdom was being discussed, completely destroyed the Czarina's pleasure in reforms, since she was indignant at the cruelties perpetrated there, and she entirely changed her attitude, as the dangerous and sanguinary rebellion of Pugatchef fully occupied her attention. Although the Russian nobility in the bulk was hardly worth more than the peasantry, yet it helped the state to keep the savage peasantry in check, and might be regarded therefore as part of the state machinery. Catherine's liberal notions received a still ruder shock when, in the course of the French Revolution, that very people, for whose welfare and freedom men had written and toiled indefatigably, perpetrated hideous atrocities. Gonta, Selisnjak, and the Jacobins, Umani and the storm of the Bastile, gave her much food for meditation. Her opinion was that the people did not deserve liberty. Then her reactionary efforts began. She destroyed socialistic books and ordered their authors to be watched and their correspondence opened. She broke off relations with France, banished all Frenchmen who were supporters of the Revolution, and received the *émigrés* with open arms. Catherine did not, however, entirely sacrifice her liberal ideas; the peasants were only temporarily in disfavour with her. She gave the nobility a sort of constitution according to districts; to the towns self-government and private jurisdiction, and special privileges to the merchants. The nobility at that period enjoyed her peculiar favour. She thought the king's cause was the nobles' cause; no nobility, no monarch.

Although Catherine would not abolish serfdom, she was at least trying to prepare for its abolition. She saw that the culture of the nation must first be raised, before its condition was ameliorated, and she threw herself heart and soul into the task of raising the standard of schools and education. In this effort she was much helped by Ivan J. Betzkoy, who had been educated abroad. Like Peter the Great, she founded schools, academies of science and art, and educational establishments. There was room, for example, for some hundreds of well-born girls in the Smolna convent, and the immense educational institute (*wospytatelnyj dom*) for destitute children roused the admiration of Napoleon I. She commissioned Diderot to prepare a scheme for a system of secondary schools. But, unlike Peter the Great, she contemplated the education of the masses, and, therefore, set more thoroughly to work. She not only, in 1775, ordered the "colleges of general supervision" in the separate governments to provide for the foundation of schools in every large town, and in 1781 built in Petersburg seven schools containing one class only, which immediately received four hundred and eighty-

six scholars, but also nominated, in 1782, a special committee for the establishment of national schools. At the head of the commission, it is true, was placed Peter Savadovskij, who in spite of his learning was very indolent, but he had efficient scholars at his side, among them the "Illyrian" school-director Theodor von Jankovics sent by the emperor Joseph II, in 1782, who elaborated a new curriculum and wrote text-books. The Russian Kosodavlef published twenty-eight school-books. These were modest beginnings; no village school had yet been erected. But the National School Ordinance of August 5, 1786, made school reform obligatory on the whole of Russia. The French educational system was the empress's ideal in this; the emperor Joseph, whom she had met at the beginning of July, 1780, in Mohilef (p. 170) influenced her in this direction, since he too was under the spell of the French enlightenment. At the advice of the princess Dashkov, Catherine founded in 1783, on the model of the French, a Russian Academy, which was intrusted with the duty of "drawing up rules for orthography, preparing a Russian grammar and prosody, and of encouraging the study of Russian history." The Russian Academy stood, therefore, independently by the side of the Academy of Sciences, whose director was also the princess from 1783–1796; the former was incorporated in the latter as a second division as recently as 1855. The Russian Academy set about the preparation of a Russian dictionary. The princess Dashkov edited three letters; the empress composed an appendix to the first volume. Both academies performed meritorious services in elevating the progress of science in Russia.

Catherine's literary activity had many phases. When Princess Dashkov in 1783–1785 published "the Companion" (Ssobessjednik or "Conversational Guide for Friends of Russian Literature") the empress composed for it some anonymous sketches of a satirical character. She also wrote treatises, tales, and plays. Thus she glorified in "Oleg" the first campaign of the Russians against Constantinople; her court bandmaster Guiseppe Sarti composed choruses for this piece. In the piece called "Gore-bogatyr" or the "Hero of Misfortunes" she ridiculed Gustavus III of Sweden (Giambattista Martini set the work to music). Other works from her pen are "The Siberian Shamans," "Deceivers," "The Blinded," "Woe for the Times." For her grandsons Alexander and Constantine she wrote "The Grandmother's Alphabet," and "The Library," which was printed in Berlin. She collected linguistic notes, spent time on archæology and mythology, and extracted chronicles. She was fond of history, especially Russian. "No history supplies better and greater men than ours; I love it to infatuation," she wrote to Diderot. An imperishable monument of her genius is to be found in her numerous letters, which testify to her grace, her good breeding, her great intellect and literary talent, as well as to her sparkling wit and sensibility. She wrote with equal facility (though, it must be owned, with equal incorrectness) in Russian, German, and French. Her French letters, according to the opinion of the Abbé Jean Siffrein Maury, surpassed even those of Voltaire. For music alone she had no talent. She commissioned many translators and paid them well, as Peter the Great had formerly done. As a patroness of *belles lettres* she brought distinguished poets, artists, philosophers, and scholars to her court, at which a high intellectual tone prevailed. Many famous contemporaries visited her there, among them Voltaire and Diderot. With Baron Melchior Grimm (1723–1807) she once conversed for seven hours without interruption on scientific questions. He was her art and lit-

erary agent in France, and bought for her books, works of art, and collections. Voltaire was her intellectual model. Liberal and tasteful, she adorned and enriched St. Petersburg with works of art and splendid buildings of every sort. She loved brilliance and a luxury hitherto unknown in Russia.

She also patronised the Russian scholars and poets. Even in her day, Russian literature showed a list of famous names; the Russian drama was created at this time. The empress had a great share in rousing the self-consciousness of the nation. Although a German princess by birth, she felt herself a Russian. She said in jest to the physician who opened one of her veins, "That is better; the last drop of German blood is gone." The Russian party might have seen that it was possible to be a reformer and remain a true Russian. A number of Russian newspapers sprung up, and the national literature of Russia now flowed in a broad stream. In short, the culture of East Europe rose, at least in the higher circles of society, to heights of which the most sanguine had never dreamed. It was also greatly to the honour of Catherine that she employed the Church in the cause of culture. She completed a step, on which Peter the Great did not venture, namely, the confiscation of the estates of the Church. The Russian monasteries were enormously wealthy. They had been spared even by the Tartars, and their property had grown from century to century. The number of their members amounted to more than a million; the Convent at Troizko-Sergiev, at Moscow alone, had one hundred and twenty thousand. Catherine now appointed a board, which placed all Church estates under one government. The convents received for every male member a rouble and a half; from the surplus, schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions were to be erected.

Catherine divided the Russian state into districts, in order to improve the administration and facilitate supervision, and thus created forty governments. During her reign large tracts of land were settled, mostly with colonists from the West, among them many Germans. The number of the population of the kingdom rose under her to forty millions, which was due not only to the colonisation and incorporation of various regions, but also to the circumstance that she paid attention to public sanitation and among other things introduced vaccination. She founded many towns, several of which bear her name (Jekaterinodar, = grad, = slav), constructed, like Peter, canals and roads, and promoted trade and industries.

It was fortunate for Russia that through the advocacy of her great Czarina the warming rays of Western culture shone on her longer than formerly under Peter the Great. For the military strength and political influence of Russia grew with the progress of her civilization. In spite of the great services of Catherine we must not forget that she only built on the foundation which Peter I had laid. Peter the Great had roused Russia from a secular apathy, and his task was the greater. He did almost everything himself. Catherine worked mainly through her statesmen; her greatest gift was her knack of gathering splendid men round her. She was aware of this, and just enough to admit it openly and to give the precedence to Peter the Great. When the French artist Maur. Ét. Falconet at her command after 1766 executed a colossal equestrian statue in honour of him, she placed the inscription on it: "Ekaterina wtoraja Petru Pierwomu" (The Second to the First).

If she did good service in the domain of culture, her political and military

successes (pp. 583–585) were equally great. Here too she was favoured by fortune in so far that the neighbouring empires of Sweden, Poland, Prussia, and Turkey were partly weak, partly decaying. She knew how to make full use of this favourable position of politics and to extend the frontiers of the empire more widely than had been the case since the days of Ivan IV.

Her favourites were to some extent highly gifted men, to whose suggestion Catherine may have been indebted for many an act, ascribed to her own inventive powers; they were as capable in the field as in the works of peace. The position of lover was then almost regarded as a court appointment and cost the Russian state many millions. There were the brothers Orlov, especially Gregory, Alexander Vassiltschikov, Gregory Potemkin, Peter Savadovski, Ivan Rimsky-Korssakof, Ivan J. Dmitrijev-Mamonov, Platon Sulofse. It is perhaps an excuse for Catherine's weaknesses and sensuality that in her days such conduct was universal. But while other sovereigns were taken up with sensuality, she worked indefatigably; from early morning until late into the night she attended to the business of the empire. No weariness ever came over her eye or hand; she wrote and read without stint. "I have been working for some time like a horse," she wrote once to Grimm, "and my secretaries no longer are sufficient; I must increase their numbers. I am a mere scribbler. Never have I written so much." And again shortly before her death she wrote, "Even in sleep I am composing long chapters." Her people readily forgave her any failings in view of her services; they regarded her as a mother, and gave her the title "Catherine the Great, mother of the country." She only assumed the last title. Even foreigners admired her. She won the high esteem of Count Ségur, the French ambassador at her court; the intellectual and witty Karl Prince von Ligne was charmed by her conversation. Grimm called Petersburg the capital of glory and immortality, and Voltaire, who dubbed Catherine the Semirami of the North, wrote, "C'est du Nord aujourd'hui, que nous vient la lumière."

D. Progress and Reaction in the Nineteenth Century

(*a*) *From Paul I. to Nicholas I.* — The struggle between progress and reaction, between light and darkness in Russia was far from being ended. Paul I, son and successor of Catherine, a stern and gloomy ruler, held quite different views from his mother. Enlightenment and liberty were to him synonymous with revolution; his most pressing duty was to bar the frontier of his empire against Western Europe. He forbade the introduction of books from the West, did not welcome foreigners into the country, recalled the Russians who were travelling, supervised the press and the theatre, and expunged from the official language the words *monsieur* and *citoyen*. In order to increase the respect paid to the crown he ordered that carriages should stop when he passed by; men and women were bound to fall on their knees, in dirt or in snow. The following saying was put into his mouth, "There is no honourable person in Russia except the man with whom I am speaking, and that so long only as I am speaking with him." He and his contemporary the emperor Francis of Austria were the champions of reaction in Europe. He had not been the favourite of his mother; she would gladly have passed him over and raised his sons at once to

the throne. She had taken the best steps to provide for the education of her two grandsons, Alexander and Constantine; when Diderot refused the task, Frédéric Laharpe (1754–1838) undertook the duty. If Paul had traces in him of Alexej Petrovitch, his sons were once more liberally inclined. As an antagonist to his mother, he treated her favourites harshly. After 1796 he became a reactionary, a tyrant capable of anything, and he was liable to fits of insanity. These were, perhaps, the chief causes of the conspiracy formed at the instigation of the English ambassador, Sir Charles Whitworth, Count Panin, and Admiral de Ribas. Paul fell a victim to it in the night of the 23d (11) to 24th (12) March, 1801.

His son Alexander I reigned at first in a liberal spirit, and surrounded himself with men of the same views; among them his secretary of state, Michael Speranskij, was conspicuous. Magnanimous plans were proposed, and the emperor himself spoke of the burden of an absolute monarchy. There was a wish to introduce reforms on the English model, or, as Speranskij suggested, in imitation of the French constitution. People talked, as Catherine had once done, of "the rights of the subjects, and the duty of the government," and of the abolition of serfdom; and a sum of a million roubles yearly was laid aside in order to buy estates with serfs for the crown. The German nobility of Esthonia, Courland, and Livonia took the first step by the emancipation of the Lettic and Ethonian serfs. The coercive measures were repealed, the frontier opened, the "Secret Chancery" as well as corporal punishment for nobles, citizens, priests, and church officials abolished. Schools and universities were founded, and the empire was divided into six educational districts. In place of the old boards dating from the days of Peter, real ministries and a Council of State were created for the first time.

Alexander thus reigned "according to the principles and after the heart of Catherine" until 1812, when he suddenly changed his views. The enemies of freedom, the Church once more at their head, strained every nerve to overthrow Speranskij and restore the old order of things. Even the great historian Nikolaj Karamsin recommended serfdom and autocracy in his memoir on "Ancient and Modern Russia." Others also recommended the same policy. Speranskij was overthrown from a "wounded feeling of disappointed inclination;" Count Alexej Araktshejev, an apostle of slavery, as an all-powerful favourite, guided the affairs of government. Alexander himself fell more and more under the influence of Metternich; he became the founder of the Holy Alliance (Vol. VIII), and visited the Congresses at Carlsbad, Laibach, and Verona: in short, he became a reactionary, if not at heart, at least in act. A sort of religious melancholy seized him. In Paris he frequented circles which were devoted to mysticism. The terrible ravages and unspeakable misfortune which followed in the train of the Napoleonic wars strengthened this feeling. The government of Russia meanwhile was conducted in the sense of the Holy Alliance. Sciences, even medicine and astronomy, were adapted to the phraseology of the Bible; the earth was not admitted to move around the sun. But the opposition to the government now strengthened. On the one hand the efforts of Peter the Great, of Catherine and Alexander himself in the cause of civilization had not been wasted; on the other hand the wars of liberation, which led the Russian troops westward, brought the Russian nation into closer relations with the West. Not merely the officers, who came back to their homes in 1815 as thorough free-thinkers, but even

the privates returned influenced by these views. And just as in the West secret societies were formed, which aimed at the overthrow of the existing order of things (Vol. VIII), so there arose in Russia secret leagues, for example the "Société occulte," which was divided after 1820 into the Southern and the Northern leagues; the programme, mainly of an economic nature, had as its goal the emancipation of Russia. If Alexander in his latter days complained of the ingratitude of men, he was right as regards Russia. No government was more liberal than his at first. He had only been deterred, like his grandmother, by the experiences which he was fated to undergo among his own people.

After the death of Alexander I (at Taganrog, on December 1, 1825) Constantine as the elder brother would have had the next claim to the throne, had he not formally renounced it in 1820 and 1822, in order to be able to marry a Polish countess, Johanna Grudzinska. The idea that Nicholas had learnt nothing of this before the memorable December days of the year 1825 is no longer tenable after the fresh materials collected by Th. Schiemann ("The Murder of Paul and the Accession of Nicholas I." Berlin, 1902). The homage paid by the younger brother to Constantine, who was staying in Warsaw, was a rash act chiefly due to Count Miloradovitch, the military governor-general of St. Petersburg at that time, and it cost trouble enough to cancel it in the days between the 9th and the 24th December, 1825. There is accordingly no need to suppose noble contest of magnanimity between the two brothers. But the idea of freedom had already struck root so deeply under Alexander I, that the supporters of a Constitution, who had been secretly organised since 1816, especially in the corps of officers, wished to use the opportunity of placing the liberal-minded Constantine on the throne. The rumour was spread that Constantine's renunciation was only fictitious; that he was being kept a prisoner at Warsaw. The troops shouted "Long live Constantine!" and when the cry "Long live the Constitution!" mingled with it, the troops thought that it was the name of the wife of Constantine.

Nicholas I crushed the rebellion on the 26th of December, 1825, with great firmness. Several "Decabrists" were executed and many exiled. Possibly that was one of the reasons why Nicholas was throughout his whole reign a sworn enemy of popular liberty. A man of iron strength of character and energy, he was, with his immense stature and commanding presence, the personification of absolutism. But he was fully alive to the duties and responsibilities which his great position threw upon him, and he devoted all his powers to the affairs of the country. His first attention was given to the publication of the legal code. His government aimed at "stopping the rotation of the earth," as Lamartine aptly puts it. He recognised no peoples or nations, only cabinets and States. The press was therefore once more gagged, printing-offices were watched and schools were placed under strict supervision. The government's mistrust of education was so great that all lecture courses on philosophy were intrusted to the clergy. Even the Church was watched, and the emperor's adjutant, Protassov, a general of hussars, was attached to the Holy Synod as Procurator-General, and for twenty years conducted the business of the Church on a military system. But the movement towards civilization and liberty did not fail to have some influence even on this iron despot; for he advocated throughout his whole life the abolition of serfdom, and allowed even the peasants to acquire property. And when in 1853 he

brought upon himself the Crimean War, and was defeated, the conviction dawned upon him that his autocratic system was doomed to fail. The peculation in the army, the venality of the officials, and the ignorance of the masses once more were the causes of an unmitigated defeat. But Nicholas would sooner have died than change his system, since he held the mistaken idea that no man of character will modify his views.

The misery which the Crimean War entailed on Russia and the disillusions of the people were vented in public manifestations against the government. Public opinion then for the first time awoke in Russia and, as a powerful member of the State, raised its voice against the rulers both on and by the throne. Since the newspapers were watched by the censor, various manifestoes were disseminated in manuscript. The voice of the people could no longer be so easily suppressed. Literature also had in these days been widely developed in spite of the strictness of the government.

(*b*) *Russia since Alexander II.* — The collapse of the system of Nicholas was followed by the liberal rule of his son Alexander II. He was the first ruler of Russia since 1598 who was able to mount the throne of his fathers in peace. His father, who had felt in his own case the want of a good education, procured the best teachers for his son, and it was fortunate for Russia that the celebrated poet Shukovsky directed the training of Alexander and filled his soul with philanthropic impulses. Alexander saw clearly the defects of his predecessor, but also understood that a thorough reform was only possible after the abolition of serfdom, and he therefore resolutely set himself to carry this out. He was spurred on by the example of the neighbouring empire of Austria, where the emancipation of the serfs had been carried out in 1781; the better class of Russians had long felt it to be a disgrace to their country that slavery still flourished there. It was necessary to go cautiously to work, and above all to win the nobility for the cause. The Czar therefore acted in a wise and noble manner when he expressed the wish that the nobles should take the work of emancipating the serfs into their own hands. There were, however, only a few who pledged themselves to the Czar's idea. Among these were the conscientious Rostovzof Levschin, who prepared an historical account of serfdom in Russia (*Krepostnoje prawo*), and the indefatigable Sergej St. Lanskoy and Tshevskin. The Grand Duke Constantine entered on that plan with great enthusiasm; the Grand Duchess Helene Pavlovna emancipated in 1859 the serfs of the estates comprised in her appanage. All were unanimous on the question of emancipation, only there was a division of opinion, as previously under Catherine II, on the point whether the land should be given to the peasants as freehold. A secret committee was appointed by the emperor. Since this did not make any progress with its labours, a higher board, known as the Chief Commission, met, composed of more trustworthy members. But even yet the opposition was too strong. Its leader, Prince Alexej Orlov, asserted that he would rather cut off his hand than sign the charter of emancipation. Finally a Supreme Commission was appointed; this, being vigorously supported by the whole press, finally completed the work. The imperial rescript of March 3, 1861, proclaimed the emancipation of the serfs on private estates and of the domestic slaves. By this edict more than twenty-three millions received their liberty. The peasants were required merely to pay a reasonable sum for their holdings,

which now became their property. The rejoicings of the people were boundless. Wherever the Czar appeared he was greeted and cheered as the Liberator. In the year 1864 he emancipated also the peasants in Poland and Transcaucasia, and in 1866 the peasants on the imperial demesnes, and restricted the infliction of corporal punishment.

Now for the first time further reforms could be carried out. The judicial system was separated from the executive and reorganised, trial by jury was introduced and the taxation regulated. The economic condition and the productive power of the empire increased rapidly. The Czar, as has recently been discovered, even thought seriously of granting a constitutional government; his untimely assassination prevented him from carrying out his scheme. He gave the governments a sort of autonomy, and established in every district an independently elected district diet, and a provincial diet (Zemstvo) above that in every government. Universal conscription was now introduced.

It was now possible to take serious steps toward spreading culture among the people. It is true that out of a budget of 443,670,171 roubles in 1867 only 7,255,814 had been applied to educational purposes. But the figures gradually rose, and thousands of schools were founded. On the whole, even in the department of public education a more liberal spirit prevailed. In the year 1863 a liberal statute was passed for the universities. Russia had seldom had a more philanthropic monarch. And yet the life of this Czar, whose motto was "Justice, light, and freedom," was frequently attempted. Just as the rustic population of the Russian provinces furnishes the best imaginable material for new religious sects, so the half-educated world of Russia is a fertile soil for every sort of "great ideas." The students especially, who were scrupulously prevented from receiving a sound, intellectual discipline, were often led astray by senseless oppression and still more senseless reforms. The Czar, while in the imperial summer garden, was shot at by a student, Demetrius (April 16, 1866). Alexander did not allow this to divert him from the path of reform. On June 6, 1867, a Pole, Anton Beresovsky, aimed at him, although he had bestowed benefits on the Poles. The folly of such inexperienced youths was outdone by the brutality of the police, which provoked the greatest indignation. Nihilist societies with widespread branches were founded at home and abroad. Secret newspapers were published, terrorism was preached, new assassinations were attempted, until finally the Czar was blown to pieces by a bomb thrown under his carriage (March 13, 1881).

It was a great blow for the free-thinking party, for the supporters of despotism and brute force were right when they asserted that the people did not yet know the proper use of liberty. The representatives of this reactionary movement, Ivan Aksakov the Slavophil and Michail Katkof, acquired more influence, especially since they had been able to impress on the educated sections of the people the idea that absolutism, orthodoxy, and many barbarous customs of the people, which it was proposed to eradicate, belonged to the essence of Russian, and in fact of Slavonic, life. When, therefore, Alexander's son, Alexander III, had mounted the throne, they became all powerful, more especially their associate Constantine Pobiedonostev, who has been Procurator-General of the Holy Synod since 1880. The ship of state was once more steered into the vortex of reaction.

It has kept on this course for the most part even under his successor

Nicholas II, who has been on the throne since 1894. Whether a beneficent programme of reform may spring from the grievous disputes and leaderless disturbances which the unhappy and always unpopular war with Japan (1904–1905) has conjured up in the interior of Russia, is at present more than doubtful (December, 1905). It is a remarkable fact that all the Czars, like the Russian nation itself, have piteously complained of the venality of the official class, and a whole literature has appeared on the subject, but no one has seen that the corruption of the official class is the outcome of the system. For so long as the authorities start from the idea that public criticism of officials might endanger the importance of the government, there can be no question of any improvement in the state of public life. On the other hand, the officials ought to receive higher salaries and security of tenure ; an official can hardly be trustworthy and conscientious in the long run unless he is protected from the caprice of his superiors and the police.

E. The Military and Political Successes of Russia after 1680

While the sum total of the work done by Russia in the domain of culture during her general development was hardly sufficient for her own requirements, her military and political successes were, on the other hand, most important, although purchased by great sacrifices. The Russian people had stubbornly survived the Tartar terrorism, had subdued in the sixteenth century the Tartar Khanates of Kosan and Astrakhan, obtained possession of Siberia, acquired in the seventeenth century the Ukraine, conquered under Peter the Great the Baltic coast, the Caspian, and the Sea of Azov, and carried their arms to Persia.

(*a*) *The so-called Oriental Question.* — In the eighteenth century the diplomatists of Europe were much occupied by the Turkish or Oriental question in addition to the destiny of Poland. A happy solution of this problem was a vitally important task for Russia. Some few years after the great defeat under the walls of Vienna (1683 ; see p. 163) the victories of Eugene of Savoy had shaken the Turkish power to its foundations. As long as a war against the Porte seemed a dangerous enterprise, Hungary, Austria, and Poland had been forced to bear the brunt of it alone ; in fact they had been sometimes actually hindered by other powers. But when after 1718 the question of the Turkish succession became one of practical politics, all the powers announced their interest in what they were pleased to call the Eastern question, and thus Turkey has been as great a bone of contention as was Poland at an earlier period. Russia, France, and England, who hitherto had taken practically no share in wars with Turkey, now became so susceptible on this very point that they thought they alone had a right to settle the matter.

Russia has been often surprised by events at a moment when she was still too weak to discharge some great task with which she suddenly found herself confronted ; but then, after collecting all her forces, she has often outdistanced her rivals, who had got the start. At the end of the seventeenth century, when Poland and Austria dealt Turkey such heavy blows, Russia was still too unprepared to think of making war upon the Sultan. The war, which she was com-

pelled to wage for the possession of the Ukraine, ended in 1681 with the inglorious peace of Bachtschissarai. Then in 1684 a joint embassy for Austria and Poland appeared in Moscow to induce the Czar to occupy the Crimea, the "right hand of the Sultan." In 1686 John Sobieski ceded the Ukraine east of the Dnieper to Moscow, in order to secure its co-operation in his plan. War against the Osmans was then still regarded as a holy war, to which all Christian States ought to feel themselves bound; the fact that the Polish king nevertheless richly rewarded Moscow for its services shows that other motives besides those of the Crusader were brought into play. The Russian court, indeed, promised in that treaty to attack the Crimea; but two expeditions equipped for that purpose were abortive. Even Peter the Great only succeeded in taking Azov at the second attempt (1696). By these campaigns he formally opened the series of Russian wars with Turkey, just as on the west he was the first to gain a firm footing in Poland. When Peter, a year later, started on his European journey, he received congratulations on all sides, even in Poland. In Vienna the Jesuit Freiherr von Lüdinghausen brought into his sermon the words that "God would give the Czar, as the namesake of St. Peter, the keys to open the Sublime Porte." But Peter had more important matters to settle first. It was not until after Poltava (1709) that he recurred to that idea. To drive out the Osmans from Europe in the name of civilization became a favourite scheme of his; he saw many millions of Christians of his own faith pining under the Turkish yoke and fixing their hopes on him. He was already thinking of relieving these peoples when he sustained the reverse of 1711. Surrounded on the Pruth, he was compelled to resign Azov and destroy his fleet. Peter did not venture to contemplate a fourth war against Turkey.

Austria meanwhile was still entangled in the war of the Spanish Succession (cf. Vol. VII, p. 495 f.). The Hapsburgs won, it is true, whole regions by the treaty at Posharevatz (1718); but twenty years had hardly passed before most of the fruits of these great efforts and sacrifices were once more lost. Russia filled the place of the now crippled Poland. Soon after the promotion of Russia to the rank of a kingdom (1701), the growing hostility between Brandenburg and Austria had formed the political axis of Central Europe; at the conferences of Vienna in 1720 Frederick William I was already termed the most dangerous enemy. Hardly any other State than Russia could be taken into consideration as an ally against the house of Hohenzollern. The first alliance, therefore, between them was concluded on August 6, 1726. The advantage lay on the side of Austria. The Viennese diplomatists cautiously assumed no responsibility towards Turkey except for Russian possessions in Europe, and succeeded in strictly limiting their obligations to their ally, while the latter was pledged in general terms to afford assistance against the house of Brandenburg. The assistance which Austria voluntarily extended to Russia on the question of the Polish Succession was possibly of more value; later, too, the friendly attitude of Austria in Polish matters was highly useful to Russia. France, however, on the one hand avenged herself for the defeat of Leszczynski in the Polish election of 1735 by Frederick Augustus II (Augustus III) of Saxony by declaring war on Austria, and by inciting to rebellion the electors of Mainz, Cologne, Bavaria, and the Palatinate, and on the other hand by forcing Turkey into war against Russia. Urged by Austria, Russia in 1736 sent for the first time her armies to the West, and

simultaneously, supported by Austria, began a war against the Porte, after she had, by a treaty with Persia, given up the conquests of Peter. This common action is the more noteworthy since from the language of the Russian and Austrian diplomatists in Niemirov it was clearly shown that both countries had Constantinople before their eyes as the ultimate goal. While, however, Russia fought victoriously both against France in Poland, and also against Turkey, Austria was beaten on both fields of battle with considerable losses. In the peace of Belgrade of 1739 Charles VI was forced to give back Belgrade and Orsova, with Servia and Wallachia. Anna Ivanovna, however, won on the Black Sea a strip of country between the Bug and the Dniester. The influence of Austria henceforth steadily declines in the south, while Russian influence rises; the victories of Prince Eugene in the end only benefited Austria's neighbours.

It would seem as if fear of Prussia had crippled all the energies of Austria. The watchword of Austrian diplomacy was necessarily "Freedom from Prussia." A scheme for effecting this was soon prepared; it proposed the partition of Prussia. Sweden and France declared their readiness for it, and Russia was to be the main support. But on May 3, 1740, Frederick the Great mounted the throne of Prussia; on October 20 the emperor Charles VI died, and by December Frederick was in possession of Silesia (Vol. VII, p. 525), having stolen a march on his enemies. Austria was defeated in two wars. In their terror the Austrian diplomatists allied themselves still more closely with Russia in the new treaty of June 2, 1746. Attempts were made in every possible way to bring home to Russia the conviction that Prussia was dangerous to both parties. The advantage lay again on the side of Austria; Russia was pledged to send her sixty thousand auxiliaries should the position become critical. And it was only because Frederick had insulted the empress Elizabeth by a disparaging remark that the latter had on her part a cause for fighting.

Notwithstanding that Russian armies several times defeated the Prussian king (Kunersdorf, August 12, 1759) or his generals, the opinion gained ground in St. Petersburg that Russia was only picking the chestnuts out of the fire for Austria, and that nothing could be accomplished in Polish affairs without Prussia. The Court of St. Petersburg was driven to this view by the Eastern policy of Austria. In the eighteenth century Austria possessed no statesman of first rank; even the much-lauded Kaunitz really accomplished nothing (cf. Vol. VII, p. 527). Confusion and hollow phrases mark the style of the Austrian memoirs of that age. Since the Congress of Niemirov and the peace of Belgrade envious glances had been turned on Russia. The mediocre diplomatists of Vienna thought that Russia would help to crush Prussia and rebuild the power of Austria in the West without interfering with Turkey in return. This absence of any definite plan wearied and exasperated two northern courts. Not to mention Peter II, who was an unqualified admirer of Frederick, even the cool-headed Catherine II came to an understanding with Frederick as to all the essential questions of the foreign policy of both countries (the "treaty for mutual defence" of April 11, 1764).

France now, as in the year 1736, fanned a flame in the East, since she urged the Porte to a war against Russia with the intention of diverting the latter from Poland. Kaunitz probably had a hand in the matter; he was convinced that Russia was not in a position to offer resistance, and that he thus would cheaply

get rid of the danger threatened from that quarter. But the very opposite result followed. Alexander M. Golizyn with thirty thousand men defeated the Grand Vizier Mohammed Emin with his one hundred thousand men in 1769 at Chotin on the Dniester, and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia; Peter Rumjänzov similarly with a few thousand troops defeated one hundred thousand Tartars on the Large, and then with seventeen thousand beat the Grand Vizier himself with one hundred and fifty thousand men on the Kaghul. Vasilij Dolgorukij conquered almost the whole Crimea (1771), after Alexej Orlov on July 16, 1770, had annihilated the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Tsheshme (p. 169). Bessarabia, some part of Bulgaria, and a few islands of the Archipelago were conquered. The panic at Constantinople knew no bounds. Even in the cabinet of Vienna the greatest bewilderment prevailed. Russia, it was feared, would conquer Turkey single handed. The Prussians now were acceptable to Kaunitz, and, with the approval of Emperor Joseph II, he paved the way for an understanding with Frederick. He also concluded a secret treaty on July 7, 1771, with Turkey, which was, however, repudiated by Maria Theresa. But he did not wish definitely to abandon the old alliance with Russia.

Frederick the Great began to feel anxious about the rapid growth of Russian power. A suitable pressure exerted at this fitting opportunity, when the Russian State, on account of Austria, was dependent on the friendly neutrality of Prussia, promised success; after the brilliant victories of the Russians he saw that some enlargement of his empire was a political necessity in order to preserve the balance of power. In Poland alone was there any possibility of acquiring some *enclaves*, which could be permanently incorporated with the body of the empire. The Prussian king therefore asserted that he required some parts of it. A complete annexation of Poland, such as Peter I had contemplated for his son Alexej, was abandoned by Catherine II, who had too great interests at stake in the South, and was compelled to satisfy the claims of her two other neighbours. Prussia made the proposal, Austria took Zips (p. 406) with waiting to arrange matters with the other courts, and Russia put the seal to it. Thus the first partition of Poland was arranged on August 5, 1772. The lion's share, the rest of Livonia and White Russia (Witebsk, Mstislav, half Polock, and districts on the Dnieper), with 1,800,000 inhabitants fell to Russia.

Russia, after soothing the political conscience of Prussia and Austria, could now, strengthened by Polish territory, follow out her southern aims with greater energy. From this aspect we can understand the arrangement of her favourable treaty with the Porte, concluded on July 21, 1774, at Kutshuk-Kainardje (near Silistria). Turkey was compelled to recognise the independence of the Tartars in the Kuban country, on the Bug, and in the Crimea. Russia received Azov on the Don, Kinburn on the Dniester, and all fortified places in the Crimea; besides that, the right of sailing in all Turkish waters, and the protectorate over all Orthodox Christians in the East, were secured to Russia. The severance of the Tartars from Turkey rendered it easier for Russia to subdue them, and the protectorate over the Orthodox Christians allowed her to interfere at any time in the political affairs of Turkey. By the first stipulation the loss of the Black Sea for Turkey, and by the second the loss of the Balkan countries, became nearer possibilities.

Catherine would certainly have dictated harder terms had not her attention

been then occupied by the rebellion of Jemeljan Pugatchef (1773–1774; executed January 11, 1775). But reasons of foreign policy imposed moderation upon her; the Austrian statesmen, who had themselves brought on the Eastern question, terrified at the unwelcome turn of events, sounded a loud alarm. In defiance of the principle of the inviolability of Turkey laid down by the Viennese Cabinet, Austria induced the Porte to cede Bukowina to her in 1774, an act which could only at bottom be acceptable to the Russian statesmen. Austria reaped the fruits of this policy in the war of the Bavarian Succession (1778 to 1779), in which she was driven out of Bavaria by Prussia and Russia. The young monarch Joseph II (1780–1790), after receiving these new blows, became wiser than his diplomatists; he sided with his Russian neighbour, since he would not or could not come to terms with Prussia; he guaranteed to Russia her Turkish conquests by the treaty concluded in the autumn of 1782, and confirmed the agreements as to Poland.

Russia meanwhile resolutely pushed on towards her goal. In March, 1779, the Porte was induced to complete the treaty of 1774 by the agreement of Ainali Kavak. In 1783 the Kuban and the Crimea were annexed by Russia, and thus the subjugation of the Turkish Khanates, which Ivan the Terrible had begun, was completed. Petersburg actually prepared a plan for the partition of Turkey, the "Greek scheme" of September 10, which Joseph II sanctioned on November 13, 1782. The Greek Empire was to be restored and the Grand Duke Constantine (born on May 8, 1770) to be created emperor. The child was given a Greek nurse; he learnt Greek and was surrounded by Greeks. Potemkin's "Road to Byzantium" (p. 170) belongs to this period. Turkey, in great disquietude, and encouraged by England, Sweden (whose help was of little value), and Prussia, took the initiative in declaring war. The Russian commanders, Suvorof, Potemkin, Repnin, supported by Austrian generals (Josias of Saxe-Coburg, Landon, Clerfait), again won brilliant victories over the Turks. In the peace of Jassy (January 9, 1792) Russia received merely Oczakov and the stretch of coast between the Bug and the Dniester; Russian influence over the Danubian principalities was secured.

This moderation was prescribed by the same or similar reasons as those in the year 1771. Russia urged a further partition of Poland. The latter had after 1772 zealously reformed the educational and fiscal systems, raised the number of her troops to one hundred thousand, and even abolished the *liberum veto*. The new constitution, which had been laboriously and judiciously elaborated by the Polish diet, was based on patriotic ideas and liberal notions. It was published on May 3, 1791, and held out the promise of a better future. If Russia and Prussia did not wish to suffer by this movement, they must nip it in the bud. The official pretext for intervention was offered by the guarantee which they had given for the maintenance of the old constitution. There was besides this, as may well be imagined, a strong party in Poland which advocated the earlier constitution, formed on March 14, 1792, the "Confederation of Targovica" (Targovicz near Kiev), and appealed to Russia for help. The savage party feud thus produced once more rendered Poland impotent and ripe for a new partition. Besides this, the horrors of the French Revolution had a sobering and deterrent effect even on such liberal-minded monarchs as the king of Prussia and the empress of Russia; traces of Jacobinism were now discovered in the new Polish constitution, because it contained proposals for a permanent diet, for a revision of the constitution after every twenty-five years, and for the rights of the peasants (whom the nobility, coquetting with

France, wished to incite to a rising after the French model). In 1772 the powers had appropriated pieces of Poland on political grounds; but now the northern courts were forced on social grounds and in self-protection to decree the death of the Polish republic.

Thus followed in 1793 the second, and in 1795, after the insurrection under Th. Kosciusko, the third, partition of Poland; in the latter Austria again participated, having just then (January 3, 1795) come to an understanding with Russia against Prussia (Vol. VIII). Only these two events properly deserve the name of partitions, since the three courts then actually contemplated erasing Poland from the map of Europe, while in 1772 it had only been a question of ceding several districts (see maps at page 564). The Polish diet, as in 1772, was compelled in 1793 also to approve the resolutions of the powers and to sign its own death-warrant. But matters were to go further than the treaties of 1793 and 1795. While Prussia and Austria, after numerous changes of ownership, took the central districts of old Poland, Cracow (and the old Russian principality of Halicz), Gnesen, Posen, and Polish Prussia, Russia, with the exception of Masovia (Warsaw), only occupied territories once belonging to old Russia. Catherine thus almost completed the "collection of Russia" which Ivan III had begun.

Russia was soon destined to employ her forces in another direction; France claimed them (*vide* Vol. VIII for the share taken by the Czar Paul I in the second coalition, and for his change of view). In the ensuing Napoleonic wars, Russia, in spite of Austerlitz and Friedland, maintained the prestige of her arms. After 1811 Alexander I stood at the head of Europe against the conqueror of the world. The reputation of Russia increased immensely when Napoleon lost his Grand Army in Russia and the Czar could dictate to him terms at Paris.

After 1756 Russia had carried on war almost continuously, with short interruptions, and on various fields. But even in the Napoleonic days she did not abandon her Turkish plans. When Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) concluded a treaty of friendship with the padishah of the French (p. 171), in the hope of confining Russia to her former frontiers, and, in violation of the agreement of Jassy, deposed the pro-Russian hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, Alexander led his troops there without a declaration of war. Russia occupied the Danubian principalities for six years, being actually supported then by France. The Serbs also rose in 1804 at the instigation of Russia, at first nominally against the Janissaries, and did not lay down their arms until they had won their independence (cf. p. 171). In order to support them, Russia began a new war in 1809 against Turkey. In spite of a reverse which the Grand Vizier inflicted on them in Bulgaria, the Russians, under Kamenskij (victory at Batin on September 7, 1810), captured all the Danubian fortresses, and M. Golenischtschev-Kutosov crushed the Grand Vizier at Slobodse on the 12th of October, 1811. In the treaty of Bucharest (on the 12th of May, 1812) the Czar resigned Moldavia and Wallachia, and received in exchange Bessarabia, with the fortresses of Chotin and Bender; that is to say, the whole stretch of coast between the Dniester and the Pruth and the mouths of the Danube. Besides this, in article 8 the autonomy of Servia was guaranteed, and "Black George" (p. 307) was to rule there with a Skupchtina. The efforts of Russia to conquer the northern shore of the Black Sea, at any rate, were concluded by this treaty.

At the Congress of Vienna in 1814 (Vol. VIII) the Turkish ambassadors were commissioned to negotiate the restoration of the districts ceded to Russia in 1812. Prince Metternich, "the political archæologist," who considered the struggle against the onrush of Liberalism as the main issue and the Oriental question as a secondary matter, refused to do so. He only consented to discuss whether the possessions of the Porte should be guaranteed; but a corresponding article, applicable in general terms to all states, was not accepted; Russia and England were against it, out of consideration for the Porte. Although the former power might now have followed out its plans on the Balkan Peninsula quite unhindered, it did very little there, since the Czar, becoming a prey to mysticism after the terrible events which had shaken the world, longed for universal peace and spiritual calm. It was in this attitude of mind that the Czar assumed in 1815 the title "King of Poland" and partially restored the kingdom, in order that "severity might be mitigated, and the Poles, if possible, might preserve their individuality," as he wrote to the president of the Polish Senate. The political independence of the Serbs under Turkish suzerainty was indeed recognised in 1817. But Alexander himself would do nothing for the Greeks (p. 173), who were equally insistent, but regarded them as rebels. When the Patriarch was hanged by the excited Osmans in Constantinople (April 22, 1821), and the Russian ambassador, Gr. Stroganov (Vol. VIII) was insulted, he contented himself with an ineffectual remonstrance.

It was not until the reign of Nicholas I that Russia once more took up the thread of the Eastern question. The independence of Moldavia and Wallachia under the Sultan's suzerainty was proclaimed on the 6th of October, 1826, in the treaty of Akkermann. In Servia matters were to be organised according to the treaties. Russia received some districts in Asia, and her right of passing freely through the Dardanelles was confirmed. The Czar, therefore, in agreement with England and France, put pressure on the Porte in virtue of the resolutions adopted in London on July 6, 1827. But Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) would not give way (cf. *supra*, p. 177). Russia, to prevent the reform in the Turkish army being carried out (the Muallem Ishkendj in place of the Janissaries), forced on the war (cf. *supra*, p. 178). In the treaty concluded on September 14, 1829, at Adrianople, Turkey, in addition to paying a war indemnity and confirming previous treaties, was compelled to cede the islands at the mouths of the Danube and to promise to keep the southern shore of the stream unpopulated for a distance of some six miles. Russia retained Anapa and Poti on the Black Sea; south of Guriel the river Tchuruksu was to be the line of demarcation. The frontier went further through the Pashaliks of Tchyldyr Achalzich and Kars to Georgia, so that the northern part, with the fortresses of Achalzich and Achalkalaki, remained Russian.

Apart from Moldavia and Wallachia, Russia was thus compelled to resign all conquests (the Banat of Krajova, Bulgaria, and the Drobudja, with many fortresses), as well as the country south of the Balkan, with Adrianople, etc. At St. Petersburg the cabinet of Vienna was accused of having fostered the resistance of the Porte. Metternich changed his tone and began to say how important for Europe was the integrity of the Porte. When Russia, therefore, in the execution of the treaty of 1829, on the occasion of the revolt of Mehemed Ali in Egypt, took the side of the Sultan, the Austrian statesman thought he could once more

ensure that Russia would not prosecute any plans of aggrandisement; he declared that he would support Russia, and that there was on the Eastern question no difference of views between Vienna and Petersburg. Nevertheless the disruption of the Osman Empire was meditated at Petersburg. Russia, making use of the embarrassment of the Porte, and fearing on the other hand a temporary revival of Turkish power by the Egyptian khedive, played a masterly move, since she concluded a defensive alliance with the Sultan on July 8, 1833, at Unkiar-Skelessi, by which both countries guaranteed security of possession and maintenance of order in their respective territories. A secret article closed the Dardanelles to the rest of Europe. In September of the same year the emperors Nicholas and Francis met at Münchengrätz. "I come here," said Nicholas to Metternich, "to place myself under the orders of my chief." A complete understanding was arrived at. Metternich once more thought that he was the leader of European policy. But on January 14, 1834, Russia concluded an agreement with Turkey at St. Petersburg without Austria. Russia received a small district in Asia. The political relations of Moldavia and Wallachia to Turkey were concurrently revised.

If the personal ambition of Metternich was mortified by this treaty, the former treaty of 1833 had, above all, caused excitement in England and France. A joint agreement was made to protect the Porte from Russian attacks. Since then Russia has found avowed enemies in these two powers as regards the Turkish question. But just then she redoubled her efforts in order to strike what she hoped would be the last blow at dying Turkey. The saying was current among the Christians in the East that the Turks would be driven out of Constantinople; that the last Byzantine emperor had not fallen, but was sleeping in St. Sophia and awaiting the liberators. And now the Russians supposed that the fruit was ripe, and the more so as the year 1853 approached, when it was supposed that the crescent, after a sovereignty of four hundred years over Byzantium, would disappear for ever. This prophecy captivated the emperor Nicholas; he sacrificed all other interests to it. Nicholas sounded the European cabinets in order to assure himself of their neutrality, if not of their help. He necessarily attached peculiar importance to the attitude of the cabinets of St. James and Vienna. In 1844 he went to London. But in a conversation with Sir George Hamilton Seymour he was somewhat incautious, and England was on her guard. He insulted all the other powers, since, in order to flatter the British people, he ventured to assert that the other cabinets would be ignored by him. This remark was especially resented in Paris. He was forced therefore to redouble his efforts in order to win over Austria at any rate. Poland was doomed once more to furnish the bribe. In 1846 Nicholas allowed Austria to occupy the free State of Cracow, and in 1849 he helped to crush the Hungarian rebellion (Vol. VIII). He observed a surprisingly amicable attitude towards Austrian interests in the Balkan Peninsula. He went in 1852 to Vienna in order to win over the young emperor Francis Joseph. Nicholas thus thought he was ready to strike. Sermons were preached in the Russian churches on the coming war as on a crusade. The enthusiasm was universal. At last the longed-for year 1853 arrived. Montenegro was first made a stalking-horse to draw off part of the Turkish army. Omer Pasha was sent by the Sultan in order to suppress the Montenegrin rising. After the Russian ultimatum had been presented by Count Alex. Menschikov (cf. *supra*, p. 185, and Vol. VIII) the Crimean War broke out. England,

France, and Sardinia sent fleets and troops against Russia; even Austria placed two hundred thousand men in Moldavia and Wallachia to watch events. Hostile fleets appeared in the Black Sea, before Cronstadt, and in the White Sea. In spite of heroic courage the Russians were defeated, Sebastopol was taken, and the Russian fleet annihilated. Only in Asia were any successes achieved by the Russian arms.

The emperor Nicholas had died on the 2d of March, 1855, before the end of the war; his son Alexander II was forced to conclude a very unfavourable peace for Russia on March 30, 1856 at Paris. All that Russia had acquired in a long series of treaties with the Porte; the right of sailing her fleets in Turkish waters, the passage of the Dardanelles, the possession of the mouths of the Danube, the protectorate over the Orthodox Greek Christians, over Moldavia and Wallachia, over Servia, — all these rights were lost. The Black Sea was opened to all nations; Russia and Turkey were not allowed to keep ships of war there; the free navigation on the Danube was placed under the supervision of a European commission (Vol. VII, p. 124). The position of the Porte was guaranteed by the Western powers; it entered as an equal into the circle of European states.

Thus Russia, when she thought that she had reached her goal, was once more repulsed. When Gortchakov, her foreign minister after 1856, said, in answer to the attempts of Francis Joseph in 1860 to renew more friendly relations, "*La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille,*" he could hardly palliate the humiliation which had been sustained. England, whose influence in the East increased enormously, had been the chief gainer by the war. Lord Palmerston then celebrated his greatest diplomatic triumph, since Napoleon III had, as it turned out, fought for English interests. The Russian defeat was attributable to the miscalculations of Russian diplomatists, the impetuosity of the Czar, in himself indefatigable and self-sacrificing, and above all to the rotten system of government. And now that the Slavonic consciousness was awakened, one point was discovered: independence had been won for Moldavia and Wallachia and for Greece; but nothing or next to nothing had been done for the Slavonic tribes of the Balkans, for the Bulgarians and the Serbs. The Pan-Slavists did not rest until the emperor Alexander II declared war on Turkey in April, 1877 (p. 195). This was the last war between Russia and the Porte. By it Bulgaria, among other results, was freed. The treaty concluded at San Stefano, between Russia and Turkey, on March 3, 1878, was, to some extent, limited by the Congress of Berlin. Russia only slowly recovered from the blow of the years 1854–1855; even at the present day the Treaty of Paris is still in force, although it has been evaded in many ways, and Russia is allowed to keep a fleet in the Black Sea.

(*b*) *Russia in Asia.* — Russia achieved incomparable greater successes in Asia against Turkey, Persia, and the nations of Central and Upper Asia as far as the Pacific Ocean. The reign of Ivan the Terrible had opened up Asia, when the Cossack Jarmak Timofejev laid at the feet of the Czar the crown of Siberia (see Fig. 2 on the plate at page 467), an illimitable region, and when Ivan himself had conquered the Khanates of Kasan and Astrakhan, Russia had at one leap planted her foot in Central Asia. The effort to press onward was only natural. Although Russia was still very weak in many respects, numerous towns were founded in the course of years, as, for example, Temsk, Krasnojarsk, Yakutsk.

Peter the Great applied himself with zeal to Asiatic affairs. Kamschatka was conquered in his reign (1696–1699); in 1708 the Siberian government, with its seat in Tobolsk, was established, and in 1719 the province of Irkutsk was formed. As the Cossacks had overrun and raided Khiva, the Khan surrendered to the Czar in 1700. It is true that he revoked his submission; but the subjection of Khiva could only be a question of time. Under Peter and Anna the Kirghiz tribes between the Ural and Lake Balkash submitted (Vol. II, p. 197). Peter's ambition was to make the Caspian a Russian sea; he therefore took from the Persians Baku, Daghestan, Gilan, and Masenderan, with Resht and Asterabad; but these conquests had to be ceded to Persia in the course of a few years. Catherine II obtained the Kuban region and the country as far as the river Terek. The Russians then crossed the Caucasus for the first time. In 1798 Heraclius II of Georgia put himself under the protection of Russia in order that the Persians should not force the country into Mohammedanism, and his dominions became a Russian province in 1802. A long line of fortresses, the "Caucasian line," was built under Catherine II; a road from north to south was constructed through the mountains; the chief fortress received the significant name of Vladicaucas ("queen of the Caucasus"). The nineteenth century brought with it the subjugation of the hitherto independent Tcherkesses, Tchetchenzes, Lesghians, Ossetes, Swanetes, Apkhazes (see map at p. 576).

But here Russia came upon another obstacle. While Russia as a northern continental power tried to push on southeastwards to Central Asia, England, as a great sea power, was anxious to extend her rule over the islands and coasts of Asia and then go northward. England then obtained India and portions of Further India, the Arabian coast with Aden, and other possessions. The two most powerful nations drew nearer and nearer to each other. Russia soon detected the hand of England in the Caucasus. While the Russian armies slowly subdued one mountain tribe after another, English emissaries appeared in the country. David Urquhart, a Scotchman (1805–1877), who published in 1835–1837, expressly as an attack on Russia, the journal, the "Portfolio," a marvellous collection of diplomatic papers, knew how to unite the Caucasians into a political and religious entity. These became known after 1828 as sects under the name of Murides. Urquhart gave them a common standard, green, with a sheaf of arrows, and a starry border on it. British merchants supplied them with arms and ammunition. Among their leaders, Schamyl, of the tribe of the Tchetchenzes, distinguished himself after 1824, being after 1834 the political and religious head of all the mountain tribes of Daghestan. It required decades for Russia to break down their resistance; whole armies perished there. At last in 1859 the Russians, led by Nikolai J. Jevdomikov and Alexander J. Barjatynskij, succeeded in taking Ghunib, the last fortress of Schamyl; he died at Medina in March, 1871. Many tribes were exterminated or quitted their country to settle in Turkey. In the year 1864 there was not a free tribe left in the Caucasus; in 1867, Prince Dadian of Mingrelia ceded to Russia all his rights of sovereignty for a million roubles. Similar difficulties confronted Russia in Persia, with which, since the days of Peter the Great, she waged war on favourable occasions. The Shah, counselled by England, thought the moment when Russia was occupied in the Caucasus a fitting one to strike a blow, and ordered a Holy War to be preached. English officers entered the Persian service. But Ivan B. Paskevitch (Vol. VIII) took Erivan

("Erivanskij") on October 19, 1827, and marched on Teheran. Fath Ali, deserted by England, sued for peace. In the treaty of Turkmantchai February 22–23, 1828) Russia received besides trading privileges, the provinces of Erivan and Nachitchevan, so that the river Araxes formed the frontier for the future.

In Central Asia, also, Russia in her advance came across English rear-guards everywhere (Vol. II, p. 223). War was waged with incredible hardships on the Amu Daria and Sir Daria, against Khiva, Bokhara, Ferghana (Khokand), and the Achal-Tekke-Turcomans, on the northern frontier of Persia. In 1867 the governor-generalship of Turkestan was instituted with Tashkent as its capital; Khokand was incorporated with Turkestan on March 3, 1876. In 1872 Yakub Beg of Kashgar was compelled to conclude a commercial treaty. Generals Tchernajev (1865, against Tashkent), von Kaufmann (1868, against Khiva), Skobelev (1880–1881, against the Turcomans), Alexander B. Komarov (1884, against Merv), won reputations for themselves. Russia thus indemnified herself in Western Asia for the losses of the Crimean War. The main object of Russia is not, as so many suppose, to win India, but to reach the Persian coast; then for the first time the Asiatic possessions of Russia will have their full value. The ice-bound coast of the northwestern Pacific is only a partial substitute for such a southern outlet.

Russia had a lighter task in Siberia and Northeast Asia. After Siberia in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been conquered as far as Kamschatka, and many towns and fortresses founded, the country was divided in 1822 into East and West Siberia; Catherine II was the first sovereign to visit Siberia. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Russia extended her dominion along the east coast of Asia towards China. Peter II had already concluded a commercial treaty with the Celestial Empire (Vol. II, p. 106) in 1727, according to which Russian merchants might travel every three years to Pekin and trade there without paying tolls. Permission was also given to four priests and six young persons to stay in the country for the purpose of learning the Chinese language. The Russian town of Kiachta and the Chinese town of Majmatchin were the stipulated marts south of Lake Baikal. In the nineteenth century Russia occupied the Kuriles (which she exchanged, however, with Japan for Sakhalin in 1875), also a part of Manchuria and other districts (cf. Vol. II, p. 225). Japan and China recognised these conquests, — China in the treaties of Aigun (May 28, 1858) and of Pekin (November 14, 1860), Japan in 1875. In the year 1881 Russia, to secure peace, restored to China Ili or Kuldcha, which had been occupied a decade before and formally ceded in 1879 (Vol. II, p. 110). She established on the coast of the Pacific the fortified harbour of Vladivostock (Ibid. p. 226). Siberia was so steadily colonised with exiled and emigrated Russians that these soon formed the majority of the population. But it is only by the construction of the gigantic trans-Siberian railway that the cultivation and civilization of this country can be really improved. How far the repeated defeats inflicted by the Japanese[1] and the disastrous results of the recent war will retard this progress cannot yet be determined.

[1] Crossing of the Yalu May 1, 1904; battles at Liaoyang August 30 to September 3, and on the Shaho October 8 to 19, 1904; surrender of Port Arthur January 2, 1905; battle at Mukden March 1 to 10; annihilation of the fleet off the Tsushima islands April 27, 28.

F. Retrospect and Prospect

The successes achieved by Russia were so great that they aroused on every side fear and envy, and occasionally raised imperialistic cravings in thoroughly constitutional and republican states. From the standpoint of universal history a survey of the development of Russia would hardly be intelligible if we left two questions unanswered: with what means and with what sacrifices has Russia attained such success? In no other way shall we be able to value its successes at their proper worth.

(*a*) *The Connection between Natural Conditions and Absolutism.* — The nature of the Russian Empire, that illimitable plain lying open almost on every side, rendered the country the thoroughfare of heterogeneous nations who continually were jostling one against the other. The tribes, therefore, which inhabited Russia could never be tranquil. Since the Russian state was gradually built up of various components, its first duty was that of defence, and therefore war; everything had to be done which could increase its defensive power, and everything avoided which might weaken it. The smallest states of ancient Greece, indeed almost every individual πόλις, had found time and leisure to make constitutional experiments; at one time they tried a republic, at another a tyranny or an oligarchy; but Russia, whose existence was almost always threatened, did not venture to do so. A strong executive power was the first essential. The weakness induced by division into petty principalities was closely followed by the yoke of the Tartars. No wonder that autocracy became the ideal of the Russian nation. This wish found its realisation in the Muscovite princes, who were the salvation of Russia.

Apart from the fact that the growth of a despotic power in Russia had been promoted by the influence of Byzantium, and more especially of the Greek Church, then by the Tartar dominion, and finally by the absence of a feudal system, the economic conditions and the incessant wars had largely contributed to this end. Agriculture was at a very low stage in Russia. The inhabitants lived mostly from hunting and fishing, and when the stock of game was exhausted in the interior of the country the population moved out to the borders. Arable land and meadows composed hardly one per cent of the total acreage, in many provinces only a half per cent or even less. Agriculture was, therefore, hardly known, especially since the climatic conditions in North Russia were unfavourable to it. Herberstein (p. 571) definitely stated that corn was seldom if ever used. This condition of things lasted a long time, and exists in some places even yet. The Don Cossacks so late as 1690 decided that any one who ploughed should be beaten to death and that his property should be confiscated; and in the horde of the Ural fishing by the community has lasted to the present day. Skins, wax, and honey were, therefore, almost the only articles of export in Russia. It is only in the nineteenth century that Russia has become a corn-growing country.

In this condition of affairs landed property could have little or no value. The upper classes, therefore, gladly left their estates, and moved to the court of the prince where they could live more pleasantly and make a reputation. The class

of free men gradually disappeared and was changed into a subservient class. As long as there were still petty princes, members of this class were free to leave their prince and enter into the service of another prince, which change was the more easily effected since the princes usually bound each other by mutual treaties not to confiscate the property of those who changed their service. But when the Grand Duke of Moscow gradually united in his hands all the petty principalities, this change of service could no longer take place, not at least by withdrawal to a foreign prince, for such change (*izmiena*) was already treason. The official class of Boyars became, therefore, attached to the court of Moscow and ceased to be free. Its importance and its prosperity depended now on the favour of the prince. But not merely the existing landowners were forced into service, the government created for itself new servants, since it conferred landed estate on other persons in return for "service." The class of landed proprietors or Boyars thus formed in Russia no rigidly exclusive caste or class proper, but continually received through the influence of the government an infusion of other persons. No sooner did a landowner die, or become incapable of rendering service, than his estate was transferred to the son, if he were capable of service, or to some other man under obligations of service. It was only in the seventeenth century that the government consented to intrust the estate to the second husband of the widow, or to the husband of the daughter. In this way steps were taken to make the "service estate" hereditary. In the course of time this was carried further, and the government extended the obligation of service to hereditary estates, since it demanded service from them also. By this means the difference between service estates and hereditary estates was bound to disappear, and the service due to the state to become more onerous.

Then there arose in the sixteenth century a new social danger for the despotism. The court of Moscow was thronged with former petty princes, descendants of Rurik and Gedymin. They all retained their jurisdiction over their old principalities, and, what was more harmful, their special traditions. Ivan IV began to take measures against them. They were forbidden to leave the country at will. In order to make this enactment effective, Ivan introduced the common and joint liability of the Boyars, in the same way as the peasants were compelled to pay the taxes by a system of mutual responsibility (p. 587). For example, the Boyars would have had to pay 1,500,000 roubles for the flight of Prince Serebrjanyi, 1,200,000 for Prince Ivan Mstislavskij, and so on. Besides this, Ivan took away their ancestral estates and extirpated them "by families," to use the expression of Prince Kurbskij (p. 522). The cruelties of Ivan have, therefore, this importance for the development of Russia, — he broke down the last resistance to absolute monarchy, placed in the highest offices of State new men, and even serfs, in place of the old families, and thus prevented the formation of a firmly consolidated and privileged Boyar class. The power of the sovereign found additional support in the old law of inheritance, according to which a man's property upon his death was to be equally divided among the heirs; by this law the creation of large landed estates was *prima facie* made more difficult. The Russian aristocracy, in contradistinction to the English lords, who held by entail, or the frequently powerful feudal vassals of Western Europe, possessed comparatively little land, which circumstance could only weaken their resistance to the sovereign. The Boyar class had one single privilege, that of being allowed to serve. And since

the "*tchin*" alone could procure estates and influence, since a man without "*tchin*" even now is of no importance there, a mad rivalry for posts of service (*miestnitchestvo*) developed, and has become a marked peculiarity of the Russian people. There were bitter struggles for precedence, and official lists were drawn up; many a man would have died rather than allow himself to be pushed into a lower post which did not belong to him according to the list. The most important military operations and political negotiations were sometimes stultified by a strike of the insulted parties, until Czar Feodor Alexejewitch prohibited the *miestnitchestvo* and ordered the lists to be burnt. Peter the Great proceeded in the same way as his predecessors, since he only rewarded work and service. Every individual thus stood at the absolute disposal of the despotic power. This strengthened the Russian state. The result which the West only attained by the French Revolution, namely, the abolition of classes and the equalisation of every man in the eyes of the law, was produced by Russia, if we disregard the peasant class, automatically. The Russian state only knew a serving and a paying class.

As we might expect in a state which was almost permanently under arms, all the institutions bore a military stamp. Not merely were military frontiers formed in the south and east which gradually advanced further, but the whole administration and collection of taxes were assigned to the military authorities. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that different branches of the administration were detached and placed under civil authorities. Russian absolutism in this form is, therefore, the special product of the Russian people. So peculiar a development must have influenced in a marked degree the methods of life as well as the character of the people. The body of serfs, who always waited for instructions from above, could not but lose all sense of free agency and free action. The liberal English constitution has promoted the growth of the individual without depriving the state of the most important rights of sovereignty; it thus happened that the English people first and foremost thought of its own requirements, and even interfered in public life, while the government only gave assistance to its efforts. The idea of self-help could arise on English soil. Quite otherwise in Russia. There, all good (and all evil) comes literally from above.

It was the government which first began to practise agriculture on a large scale, when it was compelled to give out corn as pay. The government compulsorily created an industry by founding factories or assigning to the manufacturers a number of serfs as workmen. The government created trade by ordering the establishment of trading companies. The government defined the rights of the Church and the limits of the knowledge of its subjects. Indeed, occasionally from a misunderstanding or ignorance things were introduced which did not fit in with the whole fabric, since either they did not grow up naturally, or there was no need felt for them. Many reforms of Peter or Catherine were of this sort; for instance, the creation of estates of the realm on the West European model. People in Russia had not yet reached the level of the knowledge which the West had meanwhile attained. Many other innovations proved dead forms which required to be repealed; but amazingly little was produced from the bosom of Russian society itself. Compared, for example, with the English subject, the Russian

peasant is on the average distinctly inferior; without his government he is still, one may say, in pupilage.

Then there is the financial side of the national life. Wars required money; therefore the second duty of the state was to provide the requisite means. Here, too, it demanded everything from the subjects, and cared only for the treasury and not for the general economic welfare. Only towards the end of the seventeenth century did people recognise the fact that the state is bound not merely to take but also to give, since it should open up new sources of revenue. We see clearly how oppressive the incidence of taxation was, from the fact that the people left the soil by hundreds, and that the government was forced to institute a compulsory organisation of taxpayers (cf. above, p. 587). It is sufficiently obvious that the state authorities committed many abuses in this matter.

Thus the strength of the Russian state, its political independence and its conquests, were bought by the destruction of personal liberty and of national prosperity. The Russian nation, in spite of enormous acquisitions of territory, remained miserably poor, and even at the present day is hardly secure against famine.

The Russian nation without gigantic efforts and great sacrifices would not have been able to hold its own, not because it had to fight with powerful foes and an inclement climate, but because from the very start the task was far beyond its ordinary powers. We must think of the Russians as a comparatively small people inhabiting an immense plain, which can only be protected by extraordinary efforts along all its frontiers. Russia, throughout her development, has been destined to see herself faced by problems which she was hardly capable of solving; she was almost always surprised by events which outstripped her internal development at a moment when she could hardly collect her forces. The boundless plain, however, compelled the Russian people, in the interests of their personal safety, perpetually to extend the range of their conquests (cf. Vol. II, p. 219), and never allowed the nation to rest. The recent Russian advance on Asia was, properly speaking, since Russia possesses no sea on the south, an act of self-defence; she fought there for her existence.

Russia was forced to wear herself away by centuries of this war and to offer, in addition to the sacrifices already mentioned, the still greater one of a retarded civilization. It had cost much labour to advance the culture of a nation inured to barbarism and darkness. But this civilization was only to be attained by improving the cultivation of Russia. And here Russia was again faced by a task for which she was far from being strong enough. For thorough cultivation of the country a certain density of population is essential; the Russian nation, although it numbered some millions, was swallowed up in that vast empire. The Russian people, since the enormous size of its plains crushed any proper cultivation, practised for a long time the extensive system of agriculture, simply because, owing to its numbers, it was too weak for a better method of farming. The same was the case with the means of communication, which are absolutely essential to the development of culture. The physical characteristics of the country are therefore, in the first place, to blame for the backward civilization of the Russian people.

(*b*) *Russian Antipathy to Culture.* — Some part of the blame falls on the Russian people themselves, or, more correctly, upon their governors. It is true that life was spent in the past under such harsh conditions that the nation was bound to sink into barbarism in the everlasting struggle with barbarous tribes. But the fault lay in the fact that the Russians grew accustomed to the lack of culture, characterised it as a national peculiarity, and were unable to estimate the value of the attainments which they had failed to grasp. The Russian government, instead of straining every effort to retrieve what had been lost by the force of circumstances, to found schools and compete in culture with Western Europe, was, and is, content with the mere importation of Western European culture for home use. Ten universities and two hundred secondary schools ("gymnasia") have to supply the educational needs of a giant empire of some eight million square miles, with one hundred and thirty million inhabitants, while Germany, besides four hundred and sixty "gymnasia" has twenty-one, Switzerland seven, and Austria eight flourishing universities. Whole provinces in Russia, larger than many a state in Western Europe, have no centres of culture. In the countries of Western Europe where several languages are spoken the races wrangle about every national or middle school, and each race grudges them to the other, since it appreciates their value; but Russia, which ought to found a hundred universities, will do nothing for herself and keeps the people intentionally in ignorance, as if ignorance were necessary for the maintenance of the empire. Oskar Peschel (in "Ausland," for July 17, 1866) prophesied "that the education of the people would decide the war, . . . that if the Prussians beat the Austrians it would be a victory of the Prussian schoolmasters over the Austrian." Nations do not in the long run yield to brute force, but to superior culture. The Russian people is despised in its own country by emigrants, who stand on a higher plane of civilization. Those Russians who go abroad do not care to return, since they have tasted a better life. When Boris Godunov sent Russian youths to study in the West, they never returned. And what was the case with Michael Lomonossov? Similar events often recurred later. This dissatisfaction of the people with the conditions of their own national existence constitutes a grave menace for the future of Russia; a piece of Russian territory that might be dissevered after some defeat would soon be denationalised. Since the Russian is accustomed to follow slavishly the commands of his government, he would quickly submit to the commands of foreign rulers. Culture, on the other hand, promotes self-consciousness. "Let each," says Goethe, "be a Greek in his own fashion; only let him be a Greek." If Russia had been civilized in the sixteenth century, when she began to conquer Siberia, there would be no England in Asia now. Those monarchs who aided culture, like Peter and Catherine, have achieved the greatest political results.

Russia thus, in all human probability, has reached the tether of her Asiatic conquests. So long as she was dealing with races of a still lower civilization she could easily assert her superiority; but she has been defeated on land and sea by the civilized Japanese, a result which is surprising only to the unthinking. Her enemies fight not merely with cannon, but still more with the weapons of culture. A national school is worth a battery; a university is more valuable than a brigade. The ignorance of the lower sections of the Russian people supplies the best weapon for foreign emissaries, who can easily misguide and incite the nation.

Schools have been granted in Western Europe as rewards. Thus the government of the Netherlands, in the war of liberation against Spain, gave the heroic town of Leyden a university (1575); Prussia did the same thing with Berlin shortly before the wars of liberation. Nor is that enough: Russia is threatened with a process of denationalisation in her own country. Perpetual dependence on foreign civilization has produced the result that a number of foreign ideas and phrases have been transferred into the living language. Was not the Eastern half of the Roman Empire slowly and surely Grecised? Now the German language is irresistibly making its way in the Balkans and in Russia.

Culture spells prosperity. The Russian nation is and always has been poor, since it was ignorant. The method of agriculture in Russia was, and with few exceptions still is, *extensive;* only a modest beginning has been made to employ better methods. The Russian soil is so exhausted that Russian corn can hardly compete with foreign corn in the markets of the world; it is continually deteriorating in quality. The Russian peasant still clings to the old three-field system. The unenterprising Russian settler could not hold his own without the support of his government. The supply of fish in the Russian lakes and rivers, and of animals in the Russian forests, has disappeared, so far as the average Russian is concerned. Emigrants have exhausted the streams and woods merely to fill their purses. The Caucasus was rich in valuable kinds of timber. There grew the yew (*Taxus baccata*), whose beautiful reddish wood never rots or becomes worm-eaten; the maple (*Acer pseudoplatanus*), the wood of which takes a beautiful polish; the Norwegian pine or Caucasian palm (*Buxus sempervirens*); the hazel (*Juglans regia*), and other timber trees. But the tradé in these valuable commodities is vested in the hands of foreigners. It all goes to Marseilles, London, Liverpool, or Paris. The most important market for Russian tobacco, etc., is Leipsic. The soil of Russia still conceals great treasures which only require to be exploited.

The Russian manufacturers as well as the merchants cannot enter into serious competition with those of Western Europe, since they do not possess sufficient education. They can only exist by the protection which the government allows them to enjoy, while English, German, and French manufacturers and traders are pioneers who conquer whole regions for their mother-country. Russian gold soon goes across the frontier, since almost everything must be bought abroad, while the German chemical industry alone gains millions from other countries. The soil of Scandinavia is certainly poorer than the Russian, and yet prosperity reigns there. Even in early times the Germanic North took the lead in educational affairs. Ripen, a town with a few thousand inhabitants, had at the beginning of the sixteenth century seven hundred scholars, most of whom lived on alms, and the small town of Roskilde nine hundred. A similar state of things existed in Copenhagen and other Danish towns. The United States have advanced in that respect more in one century than Russia in three, since the former, admittedly under more favourable conditions, laid stress in the first place on the dissemination of culture. Germany, after the wars of liberation, put before herself the noble ambition of reaching a triple supremacy, — scientific, military, financial. Russia urgently needs another Peter the Great to tear aside the veil of darkness. She has had great men in abundance, and only awaits the one leader who may, like Moses, by one magic stroke make the stream gush from the rock.

The small people of the ancient Greeks once conquered the world by its culture and won itself friends everywhere; even the masterful Roman nation bowed before the Hellenic intellect. Russia, from her antipathy to culture, has many bitter foes. The world in these days can only tolerate enlightened peoples. The first achievement expected from a great nation is progress in culture. The day may come when Western Europe itself will learn some lesson from Russia. Military and political conquests alone can bring no salvation, and the results hitherto attained can hardly repay the Russian people for the enormous sacrifices it has made.

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